

29/04/92

Citizen

AP1992-6-4-29

Page 6

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Not blameless

NO section is blameless in the violence that has wracked the country.

A police captain and four special constables have been found guilty of murdering 11 people at Trust Feed, near Hanover, in 1988.

There was not only a ghastly massacre but an attempted cover-up.

The case was grave enough for the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, to order a thorough investigation of the initial investigation with a view to possible criminal and/or departmental steps.

"I will not tolerate or condone unprofessional investigations or any attempts at a so-called cover-up," he said, adding: "I will not tolerate or condone misconduct by members of the SAP."

Justice, he said, was taking its course, which is so, but Trust Feed will be used against the police whenever the ANC and other organisations wish to attack the force.

Nevertheless, there was no "third force" involved.

While the accused and policemen in other cases have been guilty of criminal acts, the great majority of the force have shown exemplary behaviour in trying circumstances. We commend them for that.

Now comes the news that police have arrested two senior regional ANC members who were allegedly found armed and wearing items of police uniforms after a gun attack on a car resembling a police vehicle in Sebokeng, near Vereeniging.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party secretary-general, has called on the ANC to explain why its office-bearers were armed and posing as policemen.

"It calls into question the ANC's integrity. It also makes accusations against State President De Klerk and the government regarding township violence look cynical indeed."

ANC president Nelson Mandela meanwhile continues his tirades against Mr De Klerk, saying in an interview published in a Sunday newspaper that the government and Mr De Klerk were directly involved in the continu-

ing violence.

Shortly after unbanning the ANC, Mr De Klerk authorised the carrying of dangerous weapons such as assegais and battle-axes, knowing they were being used to kill people, Mr Mandela said.

"Since September 1984 13 000 people have been killed mainly with assegais, sticks, knobkerries, battle-axes, and all along there has been a law making the carrying in public of these weapons a criminal offence.

"When De Klerk unbanned the ANC, shortly thereafter he authorised the carrying of these dangerous weapons, knowing that they are being used for killing people.

"He was giving capacity to certain people, to certain organisations, to carry weapons of death and to murder innocent people. I told him so; it's no secret."

Addressing the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday, Mr Mandela said a nationwide network existed within the security forces to destabilise South Africa.

He compared the situation in South Africa with that in Nazi Germany where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are Black."

This is not true, but was calculated to get OAU support for international intervention. It's no surprise that the OAU backed his call in this regard.

Meanwhile, the bloodletting continues, with Inkatha Freedom Party officials and supporters being assassinated and ANC supporters being killed in turn.

Nobody, as we said, is blameless, but contrary to what Mr Mandela says, we believe the main cause of the killings is the ANC-IFP battle for power in the townships, plus Xhosa-Zulu animosities.

We need to have an end to all the violence because while it goes on, we will not have a peaceful transition to a new South Africa — nor will we have peace after the new South Africa dawns.

Big-party cartel' foreseen

By Michael Chester

The current checkmate between political rivals in South Africa will be broken by the creation of a coalition government by 1995, according to new forecasts by the Human Sciences Research Council.

HSRC general manager Professor Lawrence Schlemmer predicted yesterday that the most likely scenario to unfold was what he termed the establishment of a "big-party cartel" to provide a compromise over divisions at political negotiations.

He was addressing a conference in Pretoria called to examine the outlook for South Africa in its transition phase.

"Because of the rapid pace of transformation ... South Africa's future is in a speed wobble," he said. "But there are patterns emerging that show the major players can still find solutions to the current checkmate."

Surveys indicated that no

single political party would win an absolute majority if snap elections were held:

- The ANC and SA Communist Party would win 45 percent of the vote.
- National Party and Democratic Party — 32 percent.
- Inkatha Free Party — 12 percent.
- Conservative Party — 5 percent.
- Others — 6 percent.

Despite rhetoric by party leaders, none of the main parties could achieve their individual objectives without some form of co-operation. Neither the ANC, NP, nor IFP enjoyed the image of sufficient widespread legitimacy to govern alone in the foreseeable future.

Polls showed that the rank-and-file supporters of all the main parties favoured a period of formal or informal power-sharing, at least in the transition phase.

Professor Schlemmer said there were also strong pressures from overseas to achieve a moderate political settlement.

Nationwide surveys showed that well over half of supporters of all the main parties favoured a coalition. They favoured constraints on presidential power and wanted a second parliamentary chamber with powers of veto.

The alternative scenario — a schism in the ANC and an escalation in activism by ANC followers finding it difficult to relinquish the politics of resistance and so threatening to worsen the climate of violence — was considered possible but far less probable.

"Once major parties experience the responsibilities of power, competitive activism will decline," he predicted.

The probability of a coalition government, he said, was in answer to potential overseas investors who were still nervous about ploughing funds into South Africa.

Surveys showed that out of every 10 investment-fund managers in Britain, nine favoured dealings with South Africa, but six put SA in the medium to high-risk category of global choices.

Half reckoned it would take five years or longer to correct the imbalances caused by decades of apartheid.

However, survey results also showed that many fund managers were ignorant about the economic and political facts of the transition phase.

The positive basic features were that South African exports were likely to grow by between 8 and 10 percent between 1992 and 1994, with new loan capital and modest investments flowing in.

Also, the creation of a coalition government promised that by 1995 the average economic growth rate would be running far stronger at 3 to 4 percent a year, inflation would be down to 10-12 percent and overall confidence would be moderate to good.

"It may not be an ideal market-economy system," Professor Schlemmer said. "It could, however, provide a platform of relative stability from which later growth and economic restructuring could occur."

B. Day 29/4/92

'Act must go'

THE ANC yesterday demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Interim Measures on Local Government Act and the speedy creation of a multiparty commission with executive functions to replace those of appointed township administrators. Page 4

B. Day 29/4/92

Mangope spells out proviso for unity

MMABATHO — Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday there should be no doubt that the homeland wanted to continue as an autonomous country.

Opening Bophuthatswana's parliament, he said Bophuthatswana would consider reincorporation only if a new constitution offered the homeland a better deal than it had at present. Such a decision would be left to the people of Bophuthatswana.

He said there were groups still using their powers to intimidate people and make the country unsafe. "I regret to have to say that the understanding made with ANC president Nelson Mandela has not been given effect by the ANC. On the con-

PATRICK BULGER

trary, statements and affiliates, initiated and orchestrated from across our borders, have totally negated his undertaking."

He warned that all steps would be taken to defend the constitution and implement the law. "We have no wish to allow the disruption, the fear and the political killings and violence which have become the hallmark of so-called 'free' political activities in SA to wash across our borders. The ANC is becoming the common factor in all acts of violence and intimidation from the Cape to Messina, no matter how hard they deny their involvement," Mangope said.

B. Day 29/4/92

Kriel covering up, says Gastrow

CAPE TOWN — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was trying to cover up the Trust Feed massacre by refusing to appoint an independent inquiry, DP spokesman and newly appointed member of the multiparty police board Peter Gastrow said yesterday.

In a statement he said Kriel's response of appointing a departmental inquiry was "totally inadequate".

Credible South Africans from outside the police force could be appointed to participate in the investigation.

BILLY PADDOCK

The public had lost confidence in closed departmental inquiries where the police investigated the police and where findings were not made public. The DP therefore called for an inquiry headed by a person of integrity from outside the police.

Gastrow also slammed the way the sub judice rule was used in Parliament, saying the Speaker had turned down numerous requests to urgently discuss the Trust Feed case.

B. Day 29/4/92

One killed, five injured in Phola Park clash — claim

ONE person was killed and at least five injured when police opened fire in the East Rand Phola Park squatter camp yesterday, a community leader said.

The leader said the incident happened about 2pm after police ransacked shacks and arrested a number of people.

"Then, without provocation, police started shooting indiscriminately at residents," he said.

Witwatersrand police spokesman Capt Ida van Zweek confirmed the incident, but denied police shot at residents without provocation.

Van Zweek said policemen — including members of the Beconi Murder and Robbery Squad — went to Phola Park to investigate a number of alleged murders of policemen.

They were apparently sprayed with AK-47 gunfire. They fired in retaliation and a man was wounded and taken to Netalspruit Hospital. He was under police guard.

Van Zweek said she had no knowledge of other in-

WILSON ZWANE

juries or the death. Nine men were arrested and held for questioning.

Sapa reports police pledged yesterday to re-deploy forces on railway stations in the Witwatersrand in a fresh attempt to quell train killings. Witwatersrand police commissioner Gen Gerrit Erasmus made the pledge in marathon talks with activists who occupied Spoornek's office to highlight bloodshed on commuter trains.

At a news conference, which was not attended by police, the protesters said they had ended their seven-day sit-in at Spoornek. A boycott of trains planned for May 4 would go ahead.

Further discussions with political and community organisations would take place "to see how best we can implement resolutions" taken at the talks, said one of the protesters Father Simangaliso Mkhatswa.

The negotiating parties agreed to form five working groups to implement

the agreement reached yesterday afternoon.

□ Former Transvaal Attorney-General Don Brummett has been appointed chairman of the Police Board, which includes three prominent human rights lawyers — some with ANC links — by Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel.

Reconstituted in terms of the national peace accord, the Police Board would comprise members of the public, SAP and members of police forces of the self-governing territories.

Meanwhile President F W de Klerk has accepted an invitation to meet the national peace committee to discuss the continuing political violence.

B-Day 29/4/92

Wednesday, April 29 1992

OAU backs Mandela's call

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday asked the OAU for an international force to end what he said was government-inspired carnage in SA's black townships.

"The ANC is asking for international support to end, or at least bring under control, the violence," Mandela told the OAU's ad hoc committee for southern Africa, which met in Arusha, Tanzania.

The OAU also called for international intervention and appealed to SA's blacks to end the violence.

"The committee stressed the need to ensure active international involvement in stopping the killings in the black community," OAU chairman and Nigerian President Ibrahim Babangida said.

He said "incessant violence" would bar quick reform and deflate negotiations at Codesa.

Mandela, PAC leader Clarence

Makwetu and heads of nine African nations attended the meeting.

A statement after the one-day summit said the OAU would request the UN Security Council's "attention and action" on a proposal for international intervention.

The statement said the OAU would send a monitoring team to SA to report on the escalating violence and to try help the negotiating process.

Mandela said in his speech, released in Johannesburg by the ANC, that he was convinced international monitoring and a role in securing a peace-keeping force would "bring under the spotlight all those... who are determined to plunge us into the abyss".

"As long as the SAP and SADF continue to be the private armed forces of the NP, so long will the slaughter of our people continue," he said.

Mandela called the ruling in the

Natal Trust Feed case, in which five policemen were convicted of murdering 11 people, "the one instance which has been proved in court of a massive, nationwide network of elements within the security forces to destabilise SA."

The violence was also aimed at stalling progress towards elections for a constituent assembly, he said.

OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim said the OAU summit in June would discuss a permanent conflict resolution mechanism, which could include an armed peace-keeping force.

Swedish Prime Minister Carl Bildt invited Mandela to visit Sweden between May 19-21. A spokesman said Mandela had not yet replied. Finland's foreign ministry said earlier Mandela would visit Finland on May 21-23, following visits to Norway and Sweden. — Sapa-Reuter-AFP.

B-Day 29/4/92

Death penalty call in Trust Feed case

MARITZBURG — The four former SAP special constables convicted of the 1988 Trust Feed massacre will not face the death sentence, but the State has called for the ultimate penalty to be imposed on former SA police captain Brian Mitchell, 34, who gave the orders for the killings.

Indicating yesterday that he would not impose the death sentence on former special policemen, Khele Ngubane, Thabo Sikhosana, Dumnisani Ndwalane and David Khambule, Judge Andrew Wilson said they could consider themselves "very lucky" that all they faced was a long period of imprisonment.

Sentence will be passed at 10am tomorrow.

Mitchell's advocate, Etienne du Toit, SC, pleaded with Wilson not to impose the death sentence on the former station commander for the sake of retribution alone.

The political motive behind the killing was mitigating as well as that Mitchell was a first offender and did not pose a future danger to society. He was not naturally aggressive or inherently wicked and did not seek the death of women and children

Own Correspondent

holding a funeral wake, he said.

Du Toit was asked by the judge how it could be mitigating that Mitchell had gone to the "wrong" house and whether it was less heinous to kill "comrades" (UDF supporters), as Mitchell had intended, than to kill anyone else. Du Toit responded that in Mitchell's perception the comrades were the enemies of the State and it would be morally less blameworthy than shooting women and children asleep in a house.

Du Toit also submitted Mitchell did not play a major "physical" role in the attack. The judge, however, said in his view it was not mitigating that Mitchell had left the special policemen to "do the dirty work".

Du Toit said Mitchell was heavily intoxicated and his level of aggression was increased due to the alcohol.

Calling for the death sentence for Mitchell, State advocate Anthony Irons said according to the court's findings the violence in the Trust Feed area at that time was largely due to Mitchell's own doing. It was also aggravating that he had abused his position of trust and the power and influence that went with it.

B. Day 29/4/92

Act on local govt must go — ANC

THE ANC yesterday demanded the immediate withdrawal of the Interim Measures on Local Government Act and the speedy creation of a multiparty commission with executive functions to replace those of appointed township administrators.

ANC national executive committee member responsible for local government Thozamile Botha told a news conference in Johannesburg his department had decided last month that a national negotiation forum should formulate a temporary legal framework to replace the Act.

The Act provides for local authorities to negotiate new structures. While the ANC does not oppose such negotiations, it believes the Act allows white and black municipalities to unilaterally restructure.

The meeting had adopted a programme of action, including mass action, to ensure that all the demands were met by government. Botha said. Organisations represented at the meeting included: the ANC Women's League, SA Communist Party, Cosatu, the SA National Civics Organisation and the SA Municipal Workers' Union.

Botha said the multiparty commission's functions would include the monitoring of unilateral restructuring by white local authorities and ensuring that all local authorities adhered to a set of guidelines of local negotiating principles.

THEO RAWANA

The meeting had also noted the current crises at local level had been exacerbated by the ultimatum issued by Local Government Minister Leon Wessels urging local authorities to create joint administrations by year end or face penalties.

"It was also noted that using the Act and other related apartheid legislation as a framework for local negotiation has enabled unrepresentative white and black local authorities to proceed with unilateral restructuring that could have long-term detrimental effects on the future of a non-racial and democratic government."

He said the Kimberley City Council was restructuring despite concern voiced by civic associations in the region and the ANC, and Port Elizabeth, where 800 workers were "retrenched as a result of unilateral local government restructuring".

The meeting called on government to sign a protocol agreement together with community and political organisations committing itself to the immediate withdrawal of the Act, the end to all unilateral restructuring at local level, a moratorium on retrenchments until a proper and negotiated process of rationalisation can be implemented, and the immediate establishment of a national negotiations forum to formulate a temporary legal framework to replace the Act.

B. Day 29/4/92

ANC conference to debate 'more acceptable' policy guidelines

THE ANC is to stage a four-day conference at the end of May to debate a comprehensive set of policy guidelines, sections of which an ANC spokesman said would be "more generally acceptable" than previous policy documents.

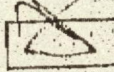
The conference will be a follow-up to last July's national conference in Durban.

At a media briefing yesterday, the ANC released a 16-page discussion document covering a variety of areas including a new constitution, economic policy, land policy, local government, health, social welfare, education, human resource development,

science and technology, the environment and arts and culture.

Sections on the armed forces and police, media policy, housing and basic services, international relations and rural development are still being drafted and will also be debated by the conference.

Conference organiser Tito Mboweni said the ANC had a responsibility to ensure that its policies met three basic objectives — "overcoming the legacy of apartheid inequalities in a swift, progressive, principled and responsible manner; developing a national economy and state infrastructure

 **ALAN FINE and DARIUS BANAI**

which will progressively and radically improve the quality of life of all... and encouraging the real feeling that SA indeed belongs to all who live in it."

The document says it is critical that the ANC "honestly face up to the extent of the problems confronting the country. There are no quick and easy solutions. The problems are deep and resources are limited."

While covering much of the same ground

as previous discussion documents, there are certain refinements which, according to Mboweni, would — if adopted by the conference — make ANC proposals more acceptable to a broader range of South Africans.

The document proposes a more flexible approach to economic policy, arguing that policy choices should depend on "the balance of evidence" rather than a rigid ideological framework. These include increased public sector activity through nationalisation — which would be subject to compensation; establishing new public

corporations; or reducing the role of the public sector through privatisation.

An ANC government, it suggests, should in general support trade liberalisation through GATT, although it should attempt to persuade developed countries to facilitate a regional development process.

While the ANC is not opposed to large firms as such, the document says, it would consider introducing anti-monopoly policies "in accordance with international norms".

Foreign investment would be promoted

☐ To Page 2

ANC policy

through guarantees on the repatriation of profits and through other incentives.

Regarding a bill of rights, the document proposes a "new system of just and secure property rights", and that "everyone should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights".

Where individuals have been deprived of land by apartheid statutes, a land claims tribunal would restore such rights "wherever feasible", but, for those whose existing titles are affected, "compensation will have a big role to play".

The document proposes the establishment of a national health service, and considers health care a basic right to be incorporated in the bill of rights.

The document proposes that local government be governed by strict statutory and constitutional safeguards. Local refer-

☐ From Page 1

endums would be held on important local issues between elections.

"Just" new municipal boundaries would be drawn up by the national legislature, and local government would be responsible for providing a number of public services, including a system of public transport available to all residents, subsidised for the poorer sections. Services would be paid for by national taxation and local service charges.

On education, the document proposes the creation of a single education department, responsible for the provision of a free education up to senior secondary level. Education and training were also vital to hone skills in the scientific and technological fields.

The retention of a public broadcasting system as a community service, regulated by an independent board, is envisaged.

4

WHAT'S OUR
SPEED - 33
OR
78?

I DON'T KNOW
BUT IT MUST BE
SOME KIND
OF RECORD

I THINK
I JUST
SUPPED
A DISC

I REALLY
WANTED A
CD

X

CONSTITUTIONAL
PLAN NO 148/F
**REVOLVING
PRESIDENCY**
THE LAZY SUSAN DESIGN

THE STAR
29-04-92



Dated up 92

WHICH
ONE'S HIS
MASTER'S
VOICE?

'More generally acceptable' policy guidelines mooted

ANC policy revision

Mercury Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG—The ANC will stage a conference next month to debate a comprehensive set of policy guidelines, which, a spokesman said, would be "more generally acceptable" than previous policy documents.

Yesterday the ANC released a 46-page discussion document covering topics including a new constitution, economic policy, land policy, local government, health, welfare, education, human resource development, science and technology, the environment and arts and culture.

Mr Tito Mboweni said the ANC policies must "overcome the legacy of apartheid inequalities in a swift, principled and responsible manner; develop a national economy and state infrastructure which will progressively and radically improve the quality of life of all; and encourage the real feeling that SA belongs to all who live in it".

The document says it is critical the ANC "honestly faces up to the extent of the problems confronting the country ... which are deep and resources are limited."

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Meanwhile the ANC would consider introducing anti-monopoly policies "in accordance with international norms".

Foreign investment would be promoted through guarantees on the repatriation of profits and other incentives.

"Everyone should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights".

Where individuals were deprived of land by apartheid statutes, a land claims tribunal would restore such rights "wherever feasible". For those whose existing titles are affected, "compensation will have a big role to play".

New municipal boundaries would be drawn up. Local government would be responsible for providing services, including subsidised public transport.

NATAL MERCURY 29/04/92

Homelands' consensus ✓ 'matches obstacles' ✕

THE
CITIZEN

29/04/92

THE African National Congress said yesterday it was not surprised at the meeting held in Cape Town between the State President and three homeland leaders on Monday.

In a statement, the ANC said that the issues President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brig Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu found consensus on at the meeting were "precisely those areas that constituted a stumbling block to speedy progress in Code-

sa".

The statement added that all working groups in Codesa had found over the past weeks that consistent efforts had been made to slow down, if not halt, the process.

According to the statement, these efforts were trying to ensure that Codesa 2 was transformed into a mere talking shop, rather than being the vehicle through which substantive decisions were taken.

The ANC remained firmly committed to keeping Codesa on track.

"Our people, who are daily being slaughtered by forces opposed to peace, will not accept delaying tactics aimed at frustrating their aspirations for peace, freedom and democracy."

Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA president Mr Phathekile Holomisa says the leaders of the Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana are not interested in the Black man's liberation because their hold on power depends entirely on the "bantustan system".

— Sapa.

✓ Inkatha branch leader ✕ shot dead at bus-stop

Citizen Reporter

THE vice-chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Enkanyezini, near Pietermaritzburg's Table Mountain area, Mr John Khanyile, was shot dead on Monday night.

Police confirmed yesterday Mr Khanyile had been murdered while waiting for transport at a bus-stop near Pietermaritzburg.

The head of the Inka-

tha Institute's violence study unit, Mr Kim Hodgson, said Mr Khanyile had long been a target of attacks and threats on his life.

He said the murdered man's family had in the past informed his department of several threats made on his life.

"The death of Mr Khanyile brings to 205 the number of recorded IFP office bearers who had

been assassinated in political violence," said Mr Hodgson.

He added that there was no other party or organisation in the country which had borne the brunt of such "systematic and strategic assassination of its leadership".

Police are investigating Mr Khanyile's murder and no arrests have been made.

**AFRIKAANS
PRESS**

Terry
McElligott



Transitional Cabinet selections

JUST when we were recovering from the row over the selection of the South African cricket team, along comes the **VRYE WEEKBLAD** with its selection for a multiracial Cabinet to run the country during the transitional period.

One person who is going to be very angry at being overlooked is Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. The newspaper's selection panel says the Zulu Chief Minister must be left out of the "team" at all costs.

It's doubtful whether State President F.W. de Klerk will be too pleased, either. He is demoted to Vice-President, with you-know-who as President.

The selectors, **VRYE WEEKBLAD**'s editor Max du Preez and journalist Ivor Powell, described proposals for a rotating presidency as "unworkable and unsatisfactory".

They said there must be only one State President, Nelson Mandela, but he must have a strong Vice-President. The two must work as a team, as it were.

The Cabinet must be representative not only of Codesa, but also of the various other groups in the country.

"The Cabinet will have to be formulated before a democratic election takes place, but will nevertheless have to reflect popular support. That means that most members will presumably have to come from the ANC."

Leaders of the PAC, Azapo and the CP couldn't be considered for posts because they did not want to be part of a negotiated settlement.

There must be a Prime Minister (the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa) so that the State President and his deputy could remain a little distant from day-to-day governing of the country.

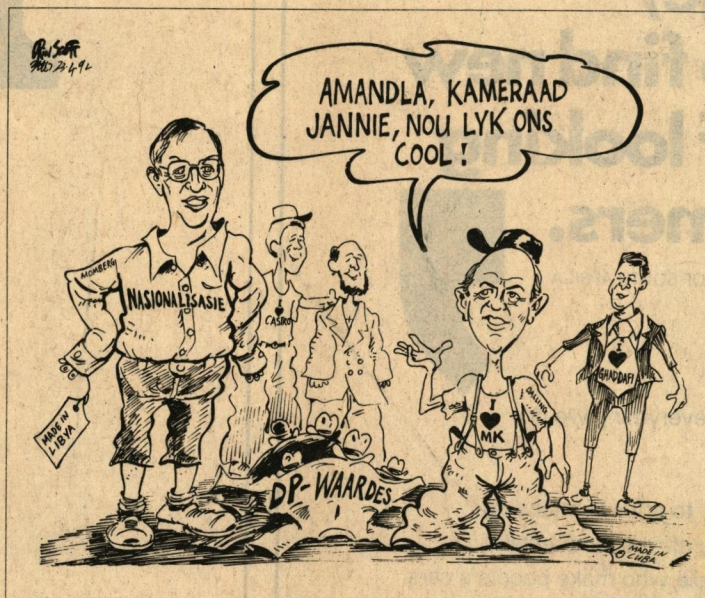
"There are certain politicians who in view of their backgrounds could perhaps bid for Cabinet posts, but who must be kept out at all costs. One such person is Chief Buthelezi."

The writers maintained that Dr Buthelezi had a record of political deceit and aggression.

"The Zulu traditionalists and Inkatha would be much better off with another representative in the Cabinet — someone like Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose."

Some of the other interesting/controversial selections by **VRYE WEEKBLAD** are:

- Foreign Affairs Minister: Thabo Mbeki (Deputy, Niel van Heerden);
- Constitutional Affairs and Human Rights: Frederik van Zyl Slabbert (Deputy, Azhar Cachalla);
- Defence: Chris Hani. Yes, Chris Hani (Roelf Meyer);
- Police: Terror Lekota (Jan van Eck);
- Finance: Harry Schwarz (Jay Naidoo);
- Justice: Durban advocate Louis



BEELD's cartoon of the five DP rebels who have defected to the ANC. "Amandla, Comrade Jannie, now we look cool," says Dave Dalling, wearing his "I love MK" shirt. Jannie Mornberg's shirt, made in Libya, has the slogan, "Nationalisation".

Skweyiya (Laurie Ackerman);

■ Land Affairs: Oscar Dhlomo (Murphy Morobe);

■ Sport: Steve Tshwete (Jannie Mornberg);

■ Public Works: Frank Mdlalose.

The **VRYE WEEKBLAD** writers said: "South Africa needs De Klerk to take a back seat to Mandela, if only in order to symbolise to itself and the world that the changes are real."

"The symbolism of De Klerk and Mandela as paired South African figureheads would guarantee some measure of stability and reconciliation in a future South Africa."

Dr van Zyl Slabbert, as Minister of Constitutional Affairs and Human Rights, would control the "most vital portfolio" in the Cabinet, having the task of guaranteeing and monitoring the principles enshrined in the new constitution.

The proposed Prime Minister, Cyril Ramaphosa, was "a dynamic leader, a fearsome and respected negotiator, and one of the most strategic thinkers in the business".

JOHANNESBURG—A Codesa working group has unanimously agreed to let their principals decide on a plan for a directly elected interim government, which will draw up a new constitution.

Working Group 2 proposed that Codesa should decide on general constitutional principles and agree to an interim constitution, which will provide for a constitution-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution providing for:

☐ An elected parliament which will draft a new Constitution and act as an interim legislature;

'Basis for breakthrough' with plan for interim government

NATAL MERCURY 29/04/92

Codesa delegates agree

Mercury Correspondent

☐ The composition of, and procedures to be followed by, an interim executive;

☐ Civil and political rights during the transition;

☐ Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections;

☐ Elections for the national

assembly on the basis of proportional representation, half the seats allocated through national lists and half through regional lists; and

☐ Decisions on all matters relating to the Constitution to be taken by "a special majority". A two-thirds majority is envisaged.

Decisions on matters relat-

ing to regional structures would require a special majority of regional representatives and a special majority of all delegates in the national assembly.

Codesa delegates across the political spectrum said the plan was "the basis for a breakthrough" but stressed that the proposal, although

presented by a group representative of all the major players, "was drawn up by delegates in their personal capacities".

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a Codesa statement. However, sources said when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single

delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The plan concerns the second stage of transitional government. It follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders was still a stumbling block.

Codesa declared yesterday it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose described the in-principle decision on traditional leaders insignificant.

NATAL MERCURY 29/04/92

Codesa will fail, says CP man

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was certain Codesa would collapse because the NP and the ANC view of a new South Africa was as different as "chalk and cheese".

CP President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis said Codesa would collapse because it was dominated by "terrorists, communists and useful idiots". No national grouping would allow itself to be submerged under a Xhosa-led ANC government.

As the NP caved in to more ANC demands, those who voted Yes would have to accept what they got was not what they voted for.

Liberals were already complaining about various manifestations of the new SA. "I believe it will be liberals, not conservatives, who will disappoint Africans more, because they raised expectations which they can never fulfil."

NATAL MERCURY 29/04/92

Homeland talks

'no surprise'

JOHANNESBURG—The African National Congress said yesterday it was not surprised at the meeting held in Cape Town between the State President and three homeland leaders on Monday.

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According to the statement, these efforts were trying to ensure that Codesa II was transformed into a mere talking shop, rather than being the vehicle through which substantive decisions were taken.

— (Sapa)

Cosatu seeks a coherent economic policy

Argus 27.3.92

Argus Correspondent MIKE SILUMA previews the economic policy conference of the Congress of South African Trade Unions which starts in Johannesburg today.

THE Congress of South African Trade Unions economic policy conference — the first of its kind since the federation was formed seven years ago — is important in two ways.

It marks on the one hand the first stage in an attempt by the union body and its allies (the ANC and the Communist Party) to formulate a coherent economic policy which will serve as an alternative to present government policy.

On the other, it reflects a growing conviction within Cosatu that constituent assembly elections, which will end the Nationalist government's monopoly of political power, will take place sooner rather than later, and that the alliance must start now to build a solid platform from which to fight such elections.

Among the issues set to come under intense discussion are:

- The formation of an economic negotiation forum, which would include the unions, business and Government.

- VAT and food prices.

- Issues relating to workers' rights, such as the extension of the Labour Relations Act to farmworkers and Cosatu's participation in the National Manpower Commission.

- Economic restructuring including the government's privatisation programme.

- Nationalisation, an investment policy and code.

- Job creation.

Discussing the implications of the conference on the unfolding political process, Cosatu campaigns committee head Lisa Seftel said: "The conference will debate and suggest economic policies we would want a new democratic government to adopt."

"At the same time, it will discuss the economic de-

mands which will be put forward to the alliance (with the ANC and SACP) as part of an election platform for forthcoming constituent assembly elections. There is pressure on all liberation movements in South Africa, including Cosatu and its allies, to come up with economic policies for a new political dispensation. We can no longer just oppose (government or business policies). We have to begin to be pro-active."

Cosatu has already demanded a constituent assembly election by the end of the year.

Delegates to the conference will look with some satisfaction at progress made on the question of the economic negotiation forum, which was one of the demands of the anti-VAT national strike last year. After having reached consensus with business on the need for the establishment of the forum, the parties are set to approach government during the next month to try to persuade it to join.

So far the government has refused to be party to the forum, arguing that participation in the forum should be confined to those with a direct stake in the economy, capital and labour.

Ms Seftel said the conference would seek to finalise plans for a new growth path for the South African economy, focusing on economic restructuring with union participation.

To fight unemployment, delegates to the conference would examine proposals including the promotion of labour intensive methods in government projects, the establishment of a public works programme "as a matter of urgency" and a special programme for unemployed youth.

After months of debate, the

conference would also have to make a decision on an envisaged investment code, and will look at aspects such as channeling new investment towards the creation of sustainable jobs, equality of opportunity, job security, education and training and corporate social responsibility.

Ms Seftel said Cosatu was not wedded to nationalisation, but saw it as "one of the tools to restructure the economy".

However, there are some within the alliance, irked by the government's decision to push ahead with its privatisation programme despite the alliance's objections, who are asking whether it would be justifiable for a future government to re-nationalise "national assets" such as transport and the forests.

At the end of two days of deliberations the 300 delegates will also have to decide on a programme of action, based on proposals from the federation's central executive committee earlier this month, which includes calling a national strike in July if Cosatu's economic and political demands are not met by government.

Decisions from the conference are expected to feed into another important economic conference at the beginning of May, that of the ANC.

Commenting on the significance of the Cosatu conference, labour consultant and former University of the Witwatersrand industrial sociologist Dr Duncan Innes said: "The conference is an indication that Cosatu is taking the whole question of the future of the economy very seriously and that it has no intention of allowing the government and business to direct the structure and form of a future economy. This applies as much to the present government as to the ANC (should it come to power)."

CITIZEN 29-04-92

Pledge ends sit-in for action on train killings

Citizen Reporter and Sapa

NINE protesters seeking an end to train killings last night won a pledge for stricter measures and ended a sit-in they launched seven days ago.

Police, railway authorities and the activists, who included members of the African National Congress, reached agreement at the end of long talks that began on Monday.

At a joint news conference, the protesters, Spoornet and the SA Rail Commuter Corporation said police had committed themselves "to urgently re-deploy personnel at affected areas on the rail system".

In addition, the SA Rail Commuter Corporation had undertaken to bar armed commuters from stations and trains.

The agreement provided for the formation of five working groups "to give effect to the implementation of the agreement".

The nine protesters, including a Catholic priest, Father Mangaliso Mkhathshwa, occupied the of-

fices of Spoornet on Wednesday amid a rising train attack death toll.

The protesters also included representatives of the ANC, the SA Communist Party, the Congress of SA Trade Unions, the SA Railway and Harbour Workers' Union, and the Civic Association of Southern Transvaal.

They demanded that human and material resources be made available in the next four weeks to effectively curb violence on Reef trains.

In addition, they said permanent security systems such as fences and metal detectors should be installed; a special task force jointly maintained by Spoornet, the SA Railway and Harbour Workers' union and "the community" should be trained; and R500 million must be made available to upgrade security.

Compensation should also be paid to victims of attacks and their families, and a special fund for victims started.

They staged the sit-in in

the belief that train violence was not receiving the special attention it warranted.

They had earlier vowed to continue their sit-in until a decisive plan to halt the train carnage — which, according to a weekly report by the Human Rights Commission, claimed the lives of 129 people in the first four months this year — was agreed on.

A spokesman for the group, Father Smagaliso, said yesterday: "We chose an unorthodox action, but we wanted to draw attention to the train killings as the situation is deteriorating by the day".

He said the killing rate seemed to increase before important political happenings and the group feared an increase before Codesa 2.

ANC common factor in unrest: Mangope

MMABATHO. — Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday launched a blistering attack on the African National Congress, charging that it was becoming the common denominator in the countrywide violence.

"The ANC is becoming the common factor in all acts of violence and intimidation from the Cape to Messina, no matter how hard they deny their involvement.

"The double talk and use of its propaganda machinery to divert attention to others no longer works," he said in his opening address to the homeland's Parliament in Mmabatho.

Mr Mangope said at a meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on February 27 this year, he received the assurance that the

ANC would desist from destabilising his homeland.

"This, obviously, was a most important and fundamental undertaking to create a better understanding and more normal and constructive relationship between us," he noted.

"(But) I regret to have to say that the understanding reached with Mr Mandela has not been given effect by the ANC. On the contrary, statements made by members of his national executive and actions by their structures and affiliates, initiated and orchestrated from across our borders, have totally negated his undertaking."

He said while this situation persisted, his government would take all necessary steps to defend their constitution

and to implement the laws of the State.

"We have no wish to allow the disruption, the fear and the political killings and violence which have become the hallmark of so-called 'free' political activity in South Africa, to wash across our borders," Mr Mangope warned. — Sapa.

Mandela to visit Finns

HELSINKI. — Mr Nelson Mandela, president of the African National Congress, will visit Finland between May 21 and 23, Finland's Foreign Ministry announced yesterday.

A statement said Mr Mandela would be the guest of Finnish Prime Minister Esko Aho. — Sapa-AFP.

Stoffel demands explanation for ANC 'policemen'

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The ANC owed South Africa an explanation as to why its office-bearers were armed and posing as policemen, Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party secretary-general, said yesterday.

"The ANC must tell the people of South Africa why their operatives were impersonating the police in this matter. The ANC owes the public an explanation."

The NP called on the ANC to investigate the matter and explain it fully.

The revelation that two senior ANC office-bearers, including a Mr Mazobuko, vice-chairman of the ANC in Evaton, had been caught red-handed by the police while posing

as policemen and heavily armed was "shocking".

"It calls into question the ANC's integrity. It also makes accusations against President De Klerk and the government regarding township violence look cynical indeed.

"It is evident that the actions of these ANC regional leaders in dressing in police uniforms and driving around Sebokeng in a vehicle made to look like a police vehicle, were illegal and unauthorised.

"These men were caught with a handgrenade and a 9 mm pistol.

"If their regional leaders are renegades, then it means that the ANC does not have control over its members and cannot be relied upon to fulfil its undertakings," said Dr Van der Merwe.

Wednesday 29 April 1992

First joint May Day celebrations planned

ALL South Africa's main liberation and labour movements will for the first time engage in joint May Day celebrations countrywide on Friday, converging on main centres to commemorate the international Workers' Day.

Details of 51 rallies to commemorate May Day celebrations in South Africa were announced jointly yesterday at a Johannesburg news conference by representatives of the liberation and labour movements.

Leaders from the African National Con-

gress (ANC), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian Peoples' Organisation (APO) have been billed as speakers at the rallies.

Joining them will be leaders from the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu) and the National Council of Trade Unions (Nactu). Representatives of other trade unions and labour movements from southern Africa have been invited to attend.

PAC's president Mr Clarence Makwetu will

address a rally in Bloemfontein, and ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu will speak at Sebokeng near Vereeniging.

Cosatu and Nactu said: "Politically, workers are being battered by state violence daily. At the same time, the government is attempting to force through its constitutional monstrosities to entrench minority power and privilege."

Cosatu and Nactu said these challenges could only be met by unity in action.— Sapa.

Homelands' consensus 'matches obstacles'

THE African National Congress said yesterday it was not surprised at the meeting held in Cape Town between the State President and three homeland leaders on Monday.

In a statement, the ANC said that the issues President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brig Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu found consensus on at the meeting were "precisely those areas that constituted a stumbling block to speedy progress in Code-

sa".

The statement added that all working groups in Codesa had found over the past weeks that consistent efforts had been made to slow down, if not halt, the process.

According to the statement, these efforts were trying to ensure that Codesa 2 was transformed into a mere talking shop, rather than being the vehicle through which substantive decisions were taken.

The ANC remained firmly committed to keeping Codesa on track.

"Our people, who are daily being slaughtered by forces opposed to peace, will not accept delaying tactics aimed at frustrating their aspirations for peace, freedom and democracy."

Congress of Traditional Leaders of SA president Mr Phathekile Holomisa says the leaders of the Ciskei, KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana are not interested in the Black man's liberation because their hold on power depends entirely on the "bantustan system".

— Sapa.

Inkatha branch leader shot dead at bus-stop

Citizen Reporter

THE vice-chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Enkanyezini, near Pietermaritzburg's Table Mountain area, Mr John Khanyile, was shot dead on Monday night.

Police confirmed yesterday Mr Khanyile had been murdered while waiting for transport at a bus-stop near Pietermaritzburg.

The head of the Inka-

tha Institute's violence study unit, Mr Kim Hodgson, said Mr Khanyile had long been a target of attacks and threats on his life.

He said the murdered man's family had in the past informed his department of several threats made on his life.

"The death of Mr Khanyile brings to 205 the number of recorded IFP office bearers who had

been assassinated in political violence," said Mr Hodgson.

He added that there was no other party or organisation in the country which had borne the brunt of such "systematic and strategic assassination of its leadership".

Police are investigating Mr Khanyile's murder and no arrests have been made.

Bitter Mandela briefs OAU, blames whites

'Oppression continues'

JOHANNESBURG—The ANC would consider that "substantive progress" had been made at Codesa II if agreement was reached on a constitution-making body and free and fair elections, ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the OAU's *ad hoc* committee in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released here Mr Mandela said agreement on the constitution-making body included recognition that it be an elected body based on one person, one vote.

It would also have to include drafting and adopting a democratic constitution, and be a single chamber body. Its decisions would not be subject to any veto or overriding powers by any other structure.

"Furthermore, the conditions under which the elections take place must be such that no single political player serves as referee. The holding of elections must be removed from the hands of the present regime, and the security forces would have to be confined in such a way that they could not intervene or interfere with the right to free political activity."

According to Mr Mandela, the major problem confronting the "oppressed people of South Africa" was violence, where the situation compared with that of Nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling," he added.

Mr Mandela said "Pretoria's propaganda machine" had effectively put across the image that the violence in South Africa was a result of a political power struggle between various black organisations.

"When the ANC first spoke of a 'Third Force', it was laughed out of court. Yet today, with over 13 000 lives lost, this 'Third Force' concept has been recognised by most commentators and organisations within South Africa."

"The partiality of the police, the lack of arrests or convictions, confirm mounting evidence that the violence erupts at points which most weaken the ANC," Mr Mandela said.
— (Sapa)

OAU wants UN move on SA violence

ANC plan for mixed economy

THE ANC yesterday released draft guidelines for a post-apartheid economy which surprisingly backs off from wholesale nationalisation, and instead maps out a strategy for a mixed economy that seems to favour private enterprise.

The draft was released at the organisation's headquarters by its economic specialist Mr Tito Mboweni, who was at pains to point out that the document still had to receive the seal of approval at an African National Congress National Policy Conference in Johannesburg on May 28.

Noting that its main

aim was to create a strong economy, the document says the ANC measures should comprise two components — the opening

up of the economy to break economic barriers created by apartheid and

TO PAGE 2

ARUSHA. — An Organisation of African Unity summit meeting yesterday called for international intervention to end violence in South Africa's Black townships.

"The (OAU) committee stressed the need to ensure active international involvement in stopping the killings in the Black community," OAU Chairman and Nigerian President Ibrahim Ba-

bangida announced.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Pan African Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and heads of nine African nations were attending the OAU's eighth ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania's northern town of Arusha to discuss ways of accelerating reforms in South Africa.

A statement at the close of the one-day summit said the OAU would request the United Nations Security Council's "attention and action" on a proposal for international intervention.

It added that the African body would send a monitoring team to South Africa to report on the escalating violence and try to help the negotiating process.

Mr Mandela had asked the OAU for an international force to end what he said was White government-inspired carnage in South Africa's Black townships.

King for Codesa: IFP still unhappy

KING Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and traditional leaders will be allowed in principle to participate in Codesa, management committee chairman, Mr

Previn Gordhan, announced yesterday.

The announcement was, however, branded meaningless by Inkatha Freedom Party chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Whether the new

comers should have full participation or "special" participation has still to be decided.

"The management committee has agreed in principle to the partici-

TO PAGE 2

TO PAGE 2

COMMENT

Indian example

BY RAISING so directly and so forcefully the idea of a structural adjustment programme for South Africa, Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals has effectively placed the issue at the top of the agenda for his first meeting with the new Minister of Finance. The formal adoption of a rigid, thoroughgoing and timetabled programme of structural adjustment of the economy cannot come soon enough.

Adoption of such a programme is a most appropriate starting point for what should be a fertile and productive relationship between the Minister of Finance and the Governor of the Reserve Bank. Stals and the new Minister have little time in which to establish the identity of views and co-ordination of policy that characterised Stals's partnership with Barend du Plessis.

The country's two key economic policymakers need not look far for inspiration and example as to the finer detail of a structural adjustment programme. India set out its own programme last year, and its substance could have emboldened Stals to raise the concept so suddenly here. India's objectives will have been music to the ears of Reserve Bank officials who have been consistent but tactful advocates of such reforms ever since Stals assumed the governorship in 1989.

Many of the sectoral goals of the Indian programme will have a familiar ring to the think-tanks and

pressure groups which have been pressing for the freeing up of the South African economy. Its main target areas are fiscal and balance of payments stabilisation, the removal of most industrial licensing, lifting restrictions on the growth of large companies, trade deregulation and the encouragement of foreign investment.

Within those broad sectors is specified a series of micro-reforms: cuts in protective tariffs, allocation of bank credit by market mechanisms alone, full autonomy for public sector banks and industries and a reduction in the public sector workforce. Such reforms are now conventional wisdom in the international economic mainstream that South Africa is so keen to rejoin.

Indeed, South Africa is about to discover that any transfusion of international aid and development finance is conditional on the adoption of a structural adjustment programme. International Monetary Fund MD Michel Camdessus said as much when welcoming the Indian programme: "The support of the international community is quite dependent on the boldness and determination of your national efforts," Camdessus said.

Stals and the new Finance Minister must clearly waste no time in swiftly assembling a structural adjustment programme as rigorous and as far-reaching as India's. As Camdessus made abundantly clear to the Indians: no boldness, no backing.

Business Day

29/4/92

Why I did not quit — Zach

Dear Sir,
YOUR leading article "No precedent" (April 27) contains some good sense, but is perhaps a little oversimplified. Your first statement, that politicians resign their seats on changing parties only if they can win those seats in their new colours, is not fully borne out by SA history. John Malcomess did it when he left the NRP to join the PFP, and in a different way so did Bernard Friedman when he left the UP and fought Hillbrow as an Independent.

Quite reasonably, the latest group of party defectors have drawn attention to the fact that Helen Suzman, Colin Eglin and I, among others, declined to resign our seats when we left the UP in 1959 to form the old Progressive Party. Eglin and I indeed proved unable to win our seats in Progressive colours, but Helen Suzman did so.

The matter is more complex than you make it sound. An MP, in the course of gaining election, forms a sort of contract with the political activists who help him do so — normally, but not necessarily, the members of a party branch.

He says: "Here I am; there are the

things I believe in; this is where I think the party and the country should go." They say: "That sounds good to us; we will work and sacrifice to get you there." In any change of allegiance, the moral question actually turns on whether the contract between the MP and his supporters remains intact or not — and often, of course, the people are divided.

In 1959 there was a UP congress at which the party made two major policy changes. One was to reject absolutely the possibility of a common roll vote for black people, and the other was the notorious Land Resolution, in which the party unilaterally reneged on the Smuts-Hertzog undertaking of 1938 to purchase additional land for the then Native Reserves, on the ground that these were to become bantustans.

It was clear at the conclusion of that congress that it was the party which had shifted to the right, not we to the left. We had merely defended

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the status quo. (Later, of course, we did move left, but that was subsequent to the break.) Accordingly, many of our activists supported us — fully half in my case, more than half in Colin's and almost all in Helen's.

In assessing the position of the recent defectors from the DP, it is necessary to remember this history and to make appropriate comparisons. The DP has made no recent change in policy. Certainly the ANC has a policy, in the economic sphere, different from that on which these gentlemen were elected. And it is my impression that few of the activists in the constituencies concerned are supporting the defecting MPs.

ZACH DE BEER
House of Assembly

□□□□

Dear Sir,
DO NOT blame "white puritanical churchmen" for the closure of cinemas on Sundays. The part they may have played in this is not worth the paper used to express the view (Comment, April 28). Although the church is "an anvil that has worn out many hammers", let the blame be put where it rightly belongs.

Afrikaner culture, politics and religion are as interwoven as particles and waves are in the existence of light — one cannot exist without the other. As it is a well known fact that man's ceremonial life increases as and when his spirituality decreases, this so-called Christian government must give the appearance of being spiritual and thus maintain its Christian mythology.

What better way to do this than with the harmless and, frankly, use-

less and innocuous instrument, the cinema. It hopes by opening or closing cinemas on Sundays to declare its allegiance or otherwise to God.

The holiness of Sunday does not lie in what a person does or does not do; it is to be found in what a person is! As the track record of this government reveals anything but the ethic of the Kingdom of God, what they do regarding the closing of cinemas reveals even less.

As this government could never accept competition in its years of power, it seems to believe that the church has the same difficulty.

The church does not need the government's protection, it will exist in love and in truth. This means setting people free, treating them with respect, allowing them to be responsible, and trusting them to know how to choose the better and how to be their best, whether they go to the cinema or not.

REV LOUIS BOSCH
Joubert Park

□ While pseudonyms are sometimes acceptable, correspondents should sign letters and give their names, a street address and a daytime contact number. The Editor reserves the right to shorten letters.

Violence will deter foreign tourists: Min

FEW foreigners would risk visiting South Africa as a new and untried destination while violence continued unabated, the Minister of Administration and Tourism, Dr Org Marais, said yesterday.

Introducing the Tourism Budget vote debate, he said the number of for-

eign tourists visiting South Africa had increased by 4,5 percent in September last year, compared to 1990.

The country had also experienced the international slump in tourism which followed the Gulf War. The September 1991 figures, however,

augured well for this year.

Tourism, excluding airfares, had generated R2 572 billion in foreign currency in 1990, manufacturing had earned R30 286 billion, gold exports R18 069 billion, mining and quarrying R8 309 billion and agriculture R2 751 billion.

"By extrapolation it is easy to see that tourism has considerable potential and has the capacity to outstrip agriculture as one of the country's major foreign exchange earners."

Up to three million tourists could be expected by 2 000, but experience had shown tourists to be cautious.

Calling for a measure of realism against rampant optimism, he said: "Few foreigners will risk South Africa as a new and untried destination while violence continues unabated."

"Should it persist, tourist numbers will dwindle, cut airfares will prove ineffective and optimism in the shape of foreign hotel chains investing substantially in South Africa will similarly disappear."

Not elected on strength of this

DAVE DALLING appears to be blissfully ignorant of the fact that we, the electorate of Sandton, did not elect him to office on the strength of the following policy:

1. That he represent a radical liberation movement.

2. A movement, which as far back as 1985, had gangs, in the guise of the UDF, killing members of the Azapo movement in broad daylight by the most barbaric means, known as the "necklace" method (encouraged by none other than Winnie).

3. That we have "liberation before education", and the result is a lost generation of illiterates that the taxpayer is expected to do something about.

4. Who consider themselves above the law by handing down their own

method of justice known as the kangaroo courts.

5. Who keep detention camps outside South Africa and are responsible for many deaths and the most inhuman torture.

6. Who deliberately set out to make the townships ungovernable by their own admission - with the aid of the AK-47 and intimidation.

7. Who believe they have a right to their own army, MK, whose members are responsible for a large number of attacks on both Black and Whites, and impersonate the police to show the force up in a bad light.

8. Who, through their policies, have spawned a criminal element - by insisting on the retention of sanctions and preventing international investments. A truly suicidal policy for South Africa.

Talk of redistribution of wealth (what wealth? you may ask) and, of course, we must not forget nationalisation.

9. Who keep arms caches and misuse membership cards from other parties.

10. We must, however, give them some credit. The ability to regain stolen property, eg, senior members' executive vehicles, without the aid of the legal channels, but through negotiation!

11. A movement which is consistently inconsistent.

No, Dave Dalling, there is NOTHING here that the Sandton electorate could possibly have voted you to represent.

Furthermore, may I inform you that you by no means represent ALL the people of Alex.

SARAH Sandton

CP must meet NP this week

BEFORE Easter, Dr T Dèlport, the Deputy Minister of Constitutional Affairs, invited the CP to hold a CP/NP forum to discuss matters of mutual interest.

Last Friday, in Parliament, the State President repeated this invitation.

Almost a million voters expect the CP to respond positively to this invitation without delay or prevarication.

The matter is of the utmost urgency and there is simply no time to dither about like wet hens talk-

ing airily about future congresses and volksbe-raads.

The CP should hold its first meeting with the NP at Groote Schuur this week and demonstrate that it is serious about trying to achieve some form of confederal/federal government for our country.

It should also suggest that no transitional arrangement should be implemented until the constitution has been drawn-

up and law and order restored.

Almost a million voters expect the leadership of the CP either to act decisively and constructively, or to make way for those with the courage, determination and statesmanship to do so.

J R LAMBSON

Chairman

University Freedom of Speech Association

Sandton

29-4-92

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Not blameless

NO section is blameless in the violence that has wracked the country.

A police captain and four special constables have been found guilty of murdering 11 people at Trust Feed, near Hanover, in 1988. There was not only a ghastly massacre but an attempted cover-up.

The case was grave enough for the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe, to order a thorough investigation of the initial investigation with a view to possible criminal and/or departmental steps.

"I will not tolerate or condone unprofessional investigations or any attempts at a so-called cover-up," he said, adding: "I will not tolerate or condone misconduct by members of the SAP."

Justice, he said, was taking its course, which is so, but Trust Feed will be used against the police whenever the ANC and other organisations wish to attack the force.

Nevertheless, there was no "third force" involved.

While the accused and policemen in other cases have been guilty of criminal acts, the great majority of the force have shown exemplary behaviour in trying circumstances. We commend them for that.

Now comes the news that police have arrested two senior regional ANC members who were allegedly found armed and wearing items of police uniforms after a gun attack on a car resembling a police vehicle in Sebokeng, near Vereeniging.

Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party secretary-general, has called on the ANC to explain why its office-bearers were armed and posing as policemen.

"It calls into question the ANC's integrity. It also makes accusations against State President De Klerk and the government regarding township violence look cynical indeed."

ANC president Nelson Mandela meanwhile continues his tirades against Mr De Klerk, saying in an interview published in a Sunday newspaper that the government and Mr De Klerk were directly involved in the continuing violence.

Shortly after unbanning the ANC, Mr De Klerk authorised the carrying of dangerous weapons such as assegais and battle-axes, knowing they were being used to kill people, Mr Mandela said.

"Since September 1984 13 000 people have been killed mainly with assegais, sticks, knobkerries, battle-axes, and all along there has been a law making the carrying in public of these weapons a criminal offence.

"When De Klerk unbanned the ANC, shortly thereafter he authorised the carrying of these dangerous weapons, knowing that they are being used for killing people.

"He was giving capacity to certain people, to certain organisations, to carry weapons of death and to murder innocent people. I told him so; it's no secret."

Addressing the Organisation of African Unity's ad hoc committee in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday, Mr Mandela said a nationwide network existed within the security forces to destabilise South Africa.

He compared the situation in South Africa with that in Nazi Germany where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are Black."

This is not true, but was calculated to get OAU support for international intervention. It's no surprise that the OAU backed his call in this regard.

Meanwhile, the bloodletting continues, with Inkatha Freedom Party officials and supporters being assassinated and ANC supporters being killed in turn.

Nobody, as we said, is blameless, but contrary to what Mr Mandela says, we believe the main cause of the killings is the ANC-IFP battle for power in the townships, plus Xhosa-Zulu animosities.

We need to have an end to all the violence because while it goes on, we will not have a peaceful transition to a new South Africa — nor will we have peace after the new South Africa dawns.

Codesa pl

Cape Times 29.4.92

for election

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A Codesa steering committee has proposed that an elected parliament draft a new South African constitution.

Working group 2, which is considering interim arrangements, proposed that Codesa decide on general constitutional principles and agree to an interim constitution which will provide for a constitution-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution providing for:

- An elected parliament which will draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature.
- The composition of and procedures to be followed by an interim executive.
- Justiciable civil and political rights during the transition.
- Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections.
- Elections for the national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, half the seats allocated through national lists and half through regional lists.
- Decisions on all matters relating to the constitution to be taken by a "special majority". A two-thirds majority is envisaged.

Regional power

Regional power forms an important part of the proposal, which states that decisions on matters relating to regional structures would require a special majority of the regional representatives and a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

Codesa delegates across the political spectrum could hardly contain their enthusiasm yesterday, describing the plan as "the basis for a breakthrough".

One delegate said there were representatives present who were smiling for the first time since the referendum.

However, most delegates were at pains to point out that the proposal, although presented by a group representative of all the major players, was drawn up by these delegates in their personal capacities.

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a statement released by Codesa yesterday. However, Codesa sources said that when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The unveiling of the document, which concerns

From page 1

Codesa

the second stage of transitional government, follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage. Both outlines will be presented to delegates' principals this week and Codesa officials are holding their breath pending the outcome of these discussions.

If Codesa participants agree, the convention's second plenary session on May 15 and 16 will be in a position to endorse major agreements.

"The critical hour has been reached," one Codesa official said.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders is still a stumbling block.

Codesa declared yesterday that it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate. What has not been agreed, however, is the form of their participation.

Inkatha chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose described the in-principle decision on traditional leaders as insignificant.

To page 3

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SA problem violence — 'cynical'

Arrests: ANC claim

Johannesburg Bureau

JOHANNESBURG. — The major problem confronting the oppressed people of South Africa was violence, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said at an OAU committee meeting in Arusha, Tanzania, yesterday.

In a speech released here Mr Mandela said the situation in South Africa compared with that

of nazi Germany, where people were killed only because they were Jews.

"In today's 'apartheid-free' South Africa, our people are massacred simply because they are black. White indifference is appalling — the death and destruction, the refugees, homelessness and scale of the terror,

could be across the great chasm and what Mandela said. He said national spired" Sapa

THE National Party and Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday said the arrest of two armed ANC members wearing police jackets made a mockery of ANC claims of security force and IFP involvement in a "third force".

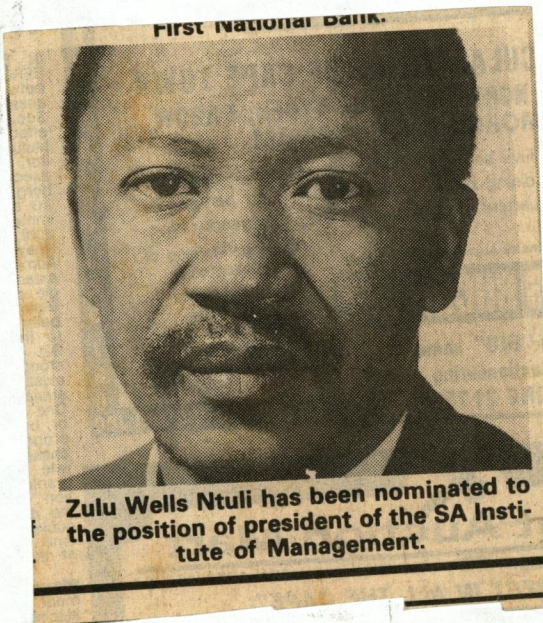
The vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton branch, Mr Mandla Mazobuko, and ANC member Mr Sitembiso Radebe were arrested at a murder scene in Sebokeng on Friday. They have appeared in court, but no charges have been put to them.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the "red-handed" arrests made the ANC allegations "look cynical indeed".

IFP youth leader Mr Themba Khoza said the arrests made a mockery of the "third force" theory propagated by the ANC.

ANC chief spokesman Dr Pallo Jordan said the ANC could not comment, as the men had appeared in court, where the police version would have to be tested.

The men were not senior ANC leaders but branch members.



Argus 29.8.92

ANC's policy guide leaves nationalisation issue wide open

SHAUN JOHNSON of The Argus Political Staff reports on the ANC's latest policy document in the run-up to its National Policy Conference next month.

THE ANC is leaving its proposals for the economy — including the burning issue of nationalisation — wide open in the run up to its vital National Policy Conference scheduled for the end of next month.

In a draft policy document released to the media in Johannesburg yesterday — dealing with 14 central policy issues — the section on the future economy highlights the role of private sector and market, and says possible nationalisation is not an "ideological" matter but will rather be considered on a case-by-case basis according to "the balance of evidence".

Any economic policy proposals must be viewed in the context of four overarching aims, according to the document. They are:

- The elimination of poverty and extreme inequalities generated by apartheid;
- The achievement of high employment and participation;
- Steady growth in goods and services;
- The development of a prosperous regional economy.

The document foresees a primary role for the State in providing for the basic needs of the population — "as in most parts of the world" — and a "dynamic private sector".

The State should "respond to the needs of the national economy in a flexible way ... rather than acting according to any rigid ideological framework when deciding for or against various economic policy measures."

In this context nationalisation is cited as one of several options available on a flexible case-by-case basis. Others include the buying of shares in companies through the market, the establishment of new public corporations or joint ventures, and the reduction of the role of the State through privatisation.

The document commits the ANC to a disciplined and well-co-ordinated "fiscal,

monetary and exchange rate policy package" and says "redistributive expenditures will be financed largely through a broadly based and progressive tax structure which will also reflect the need to create incentives for investment and expansion".

Foreign investment "will be promoted" and appropriate guarantees will be given to potential investors.

On "anti-trust, anti-monopoly and mergers policy", the document argues that while the ANC is "not opposed to large firms as such ... the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few conglomerates has been detrimental to balanced economic development in South Africa ..."

"We will investigate the possibility of introducing anti-monopoly and mergers policies in accordance with international norms ..."

Yesterday's briefing at ANC headquarters, addressed by secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, Information head Dr Pallo Jordan and senior economists Tito Mboweni and Khetso Gordon, inevitably drew the most probing questions on the controversial issue of nationalisation.

Mr Mboweni emphasised that the 46-page document, of which only four dealt with economic policy, was not a rigid blueprint but the product of widespread consultation with ANC members around the country which would serve as a "draft set of guidelines among members as they prepare for the conference".

Hundreds of workshops had been held in all of the ANC's 14 regions. Mr Mboweni conceded that the economy was a "hot issue" among the ANC rank and file: "Rest assured that the debates have been very, very heated. Some people say why allow our national resources to be privatised? Others say nationalisation

will destroy the economy. Consensus will have to be achieved at the conference."

Mr Mboweni said the draft document — which deals with, among other issues, a constitution, land, local government, health, welfare, education, science and technology and the environment, "still needs a lot of work in terms of form and content."

"We have taken into consideration the comments resulting from earlier policy documents, and further comments will be included in a second draft (to be produced before the conference)."

Pressed on whether the section on the economy represented a more flexible approach from the ANC in the face of widespread international hostility towards nationalisation and socialist economics, Mr Mboweni said the document had "been worked on to make it more presentable".

He said the theme running "throughout the document is that we must make South Africa a more prosperous place".

But, he warned, "whether the ANC regions will think this (the economic policy section) is the best way, (and approve of) the phraseology, depends on the conference itself".

The draft guidelines represented an "integrated, inter-linked" approach, he said, and he appealed to commentators not to "just dash off to the economic section" in isolation.

From May 28 to 31, about 770 ANC delegates will gather in Johannesburg finally to formalise ANC policy positions, held over since last July's national conference in Durban.

The decisions flowing from the meeting will be binding on ANC members, according to Mr Ramaphosa, "and conference will have to decide how these (positions) impact on the Freedom Charter".

ANC draws closer to free market

should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights. If it was in the public interest to take away property it should be done under the law and with just compensation.

The state would have primary responsibility for health care, education and basic social security. In addition, it should also be responsible for the country's infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications and power stations.

On the question of the immense econo-

mic concentration in few hands, the ANC said it was not against large firms as such. "However, we will investigate the possibility of introducing anti-monopoly and mergers policies."

The document continues that an ANC-dominated government would approach the national economy guided by the balance of evidence rather than according to any rigid ideological framework.

On the question of the redistribution of wealth, the draft said this would be financed largely through a broadly based and progressive tax structure.

Turning to mineral rights, the ANC said its mining policy should comprise the introduction of a new system of taxation, financing and leasing, with public ownership and joint ventures being considered where appropriate.

On the fishing industry, the ANC favoured a restructuring away from large fishing companies to smaller, community-based fisheries. — Sapa

King for Codesa: IFP still unhappy

KING Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and traditional leaders will be allowed in principle to participate in Codesa, management committee chairman, Mr

Previn Gordhan, announced yesterday.

The announcement was, however, branded meaningless by Inkatha Freedom Party chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

Whether the new-

comers should have full participation or "special" participation has still to be decided.

"The management committee has agreed in principle to the partici-

TO PAGE 2

King for Codesa

FROM PAGE 1

pation of the Zulu king and traditional leaders," Mr Gordhan said at a Johannesburg Press conference.

"But because of limited time, the Management Committee was not able to reach a decision on the form of participation. We hope finally to conclude the matter on May 4."

Asked whether the decision brought IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi closer to participation in Codesa, Dr Mdlalose replied: "No I don't think so. The agreement in principle doesn't mean much.

"What sort of participation will there be? We want full participation, not only half-measures."

Chief Buthelezi has

refused to participate in Codesa, demanding the Zulu king be accorded full participatory status.

Dr Mdlalose criticised the length of time it had taken for Codesa to reach a decision, especially in light of Codesa II, which was less than three weeks away.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee had considered a report compiled by a sub-committee and had decided:

- The Zulu king and other traditional leaders should have participation at Codesa. There should be, in principle, no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

- Participation should take the form of one delegation from each of the four provinces, consisting of 12 delegates and five advisers.

The administrations would be requested to facilitate with the bringing together of the traditional leaders, but not to prescribe as to who should form part of the delegations; and

- For Transvaal, the sub-committee agreed that there should be equal representatives from each region and that the delegates will decide on their advisers.

Two options on the form of participation tabled by the sub-committee were full participation like all other Codesa delegates, or "special" participation where there were specific issues relating to the king and traditional leaders.

Mr Gordhan said other options could be submitted to the Management Committee and these would also be considered. — Sapa.

The CITIZEN 29/4/82

OAU wants UN move on SA violence

ARUSHA. — An Organisation of African Unity summit meeting yesterday called for international intervention to end violence in South Africa's Black townships.

"The (OAU) committee stressed the need to ensure active international involvement in stopping the killings in the Black community," OAU Chairman and Nigerian President Ibrahim Ba-

bangida announced.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Pan African Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and heads of nine African nations were attending the OAU's eighth ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania's northern town of Arusha to discuss ways of accelerating reforms in South Africa.

A statement at the close of the one-day summit said the OAU would request the United Nations Security Council's "attention and action" on a proposal for international intervention.

It added that the African body would send a monitoring team to South Africa to report on the escalating violence and try to help the negotiating process.

Mr Mandela had asked the OAU for an international force to end what he said was White government-inspired carnage in South Africa's Black townships.

OAU call on SA violence

FROM PAGE 1

"The ANC is asking for international support to end, or at least bring under control, the violence," Mr Mandela, said.

"We are convinced that international monitoring and a role in securing a peace-keeping force will

bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss.

"As long as the South African Police and the South African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the (ruling) National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue."

He cited the conviction last week of five policemen for the murder of 11 mourners, including two children, at a funeral vigil in the Black township of Trust Feed near Hanover, Natal, in December 1988.

The policemen were found to have planned the massacre with two prominent members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The murders succeeded in turning Trust Feed against a pro-ANC residents' association, which was blamed for the attack, so that an IFP body could take its place.

Mr Mandela called it "the one instance which has been proved in court of a massive, nationwide network by elements within the security forces

to destabilise South Africa".

"The ultimate purpose is to intimidate the oppressed population into rejecting their organisation, the African National Congress," he said, comparing the slaughter of Blacks to the extermination of Jews in Nazi Germany.

The violence was also aimed at stalling progress towards elections to the constituent assembly the ANC wants to draft a new non-racial constitution.

"It is the regime and Inkatha, both of whom are afraid of the verdict that will be delivered by the people in free and fair elections, who say that elections must not take place because of the violence."

"But that is the very purpose of the violence, and we will not bow to intimidation."

International monitors would have a "vital role" to play in the six to nine month period the ANC envisages before elections to ensure that Pretoria did not act as player and referee, Mr Mandela said.

The monitors should at the very least be able to monitor the outcome of the elections, he said.

Mr Mandela revealed on April 9 he had contacted the OAU and the United Nations about an international monitoring force, such as the one sent into neighbouring Namibia in the run-up to its pre-independence elections in November 1989.

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim has also said the OAU summit in June will discuss a permanent conflict resolution mechanism, which may include an armed peacekeeping force.

The OAU Council of Ministers' meeting in Addis Ababa in February called for a special secretariat to be set up for "prevention, management and resolution of conflicts".

Despite encouragement for State President De Klerk on his visit earlier this month to Nigeria, which currently holds the OAU chairmanship, South Africa is not yet an OAU member. — Sapa-AFP.

TO PAGE 2

In times of dark pessimism, a heartening glimpse of rosier prospects

The STAR 29/4/92

Africa puts out welcome mats

X

ONE of the most heartening features of the changing South Africa is the eagerness with which we are discovering that we are part of the African continent and the readiness with which we are being received there.

From the earliest days of white settlement, when Jan van Riebeeck planted a bitter almond hedge to seal off his little community from the indigenous inhabitants of Africa, white South Africans have tried to isolate themselves from the continent and create their own little enclave of Europe here.

That is what apartheid was all about, Van Riebeeck's hedge institutionalised in a thousand laws to exclude the black people of Africa and preserve the illusion that South Africa was really a "white" country.

Now as the stubborn old hedge gives way to the irresistible pressures of change, South Africa is beginning to venture forth to discover the continent of which it is part but from which it has cut itself off for so long.

Three weeks ago President de Klerk was in Nigeria. It was the 13th African country he has visited since he became leader of the



Allister Sparks

National Party in February 1989.

His visits have included Kenya, Ivory Coast, Senegal, Zaire, Zambia, Mozambique and Madagascar. But Nigeria was the big one, Africa's most populous nation whose president, Ibrahim Babangida, is also chairman of the Organisation of African Unity. In a burst of enthusiasm, the ubiquitous Pik Botha spoke about South Africa possibly joining the OAU.

Airline routes are opening up and trade talks are taking place. Twenty African speakers are attending a conference in Johannesburg this week organised by the South African Foreign Trade Organisation.

I have just returned from Cairo where I was one of seven South Africans invited by the Egyptian government to discuss the future role of our country in the African continent. The Director of the Foreign Ministry's Institute of Diplomatic Studies, Dr Ihab Sorour, described it as "a first

step before the full recognition of South Africa by Egypt and the Arab countries".

Everywhere, the walls of isolation are tumbling down. Full recognition will not come just yet. As Egyptian Foreign Minister Amr Moussa explained, there will be no official contact, and certainly no question of South Africa joining the OAU, before an interim government is in place. But as this week's developments at Codesa indicate, that point may be only three or four months away.

There is a heady sense of expectation at what this new relationship may bring. To some extent, interests differ. For the South African Government the interest is primarily political. "The road back into the world runs through Africa," Pik Botha has often said, meaning that if the black states are prepared to accept a reformed South Africa's bona fides no-one else will gainsay them. Pretoria has therefore put a disproportionate amount of effort into scoring these diplomatic breakthroughs in Africa.

For Africa, the interest is primarily economic. This is a continent in crisis, and particularly since the collapse of communism

deprived them of the benefits of Cold War rivalry many African countries have started looking to South Africa as the regional superpower that could pull them out of the mire.

There is a deep fear that the developed world is losing interest in Africa and the Third World generally; that not only aid but investment capital is going to be channelled to the countries of Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union, and that the Third World is going to be become more marginalised than ever.

Faced with this prospect of being abandoned, many African countries see the changes taking place in South Africa as a fortuitously timed hope of salvation.

Their hopes may be unrealistically high. At the Cairo conference, and at others I have attended, the South Africans present have warned against expecting too much, pointing out that although our economy is much larger and better developed than any other on the continent it is nonetheless an economy in trouble because of the distortions of apartheid that will take years to fix.

They talked of the terrible hous-

ing shortage, the unemployment rate, and warned that South Africa was likely to remain inward-looking, preoccupied with its own domestic problems, for a long time. It was going to be an aid receiver rather than an aid giver.

But the Egyptians were not deterred. Dr Mahmoud Aziz, the country's most senior banker who heads the Bankers' Association of Egypt, told me he foresaw exciting possibilities for economic interaction with South Africa — especially in tourism and agri-industry — and planned to come here next year with a view to opening a branch of his own bank, the Commercial Industrial Bank of Egypt.

"Once we are established there I'm sure we will be able to create many opportunities," Dr Aziz said.

Dr Mona Makram, a politics professor and opposition Wafd Party MP, was emphatic that South Africa could not only be an engine of growth for all of Africa but a role model for democratisation.

"Egypt in the Arab world and South Africa in Africa can perform that task," she declared.

In each case, she said, Arab and African countries had used scape-

The Star

Established 1887

South Africa's largest daily newspaper

The bleeding Conservatives

WELL-KNOWN tensions in the Conservative Party have again visibly surfaced, but in the form of a gradual haemorrhaging rather than a clean fracture. This makes the future of the constitutionally minded right wing highly unpredictable.

It had been expected that when Koos van der Merwe left the CP, he would take with him a significant, coherent group of right-wing MPs. It was thought that these men, including Cehill Pienaar and perhaps Corne and Pieter Mulder, would recognise that the only possibility of playing a practical part in South Africa's transition lay in joining Codesa, and fighting for the best possible deal for Afrikaners.

Such a "Herstigte" Conservative Party, according to this reasoning, might well have attracted considerable support from whites who accepted the inevitability of negotiations, but would like tougher negotiators.

Now the situation is somewhat different. Koos van der Merwe, like Koos Botha before him, has been booted out unceremoniously, thereby forfeiting the dignity of a principled departure. Some insiders believe that Van der Merwe miscalculated; that he expected, in time, to be able to mount a palace coup and to inherit the CP intact. Instead, his enemy, Ferdi Hartzenberg, drew first.

This, of course, provides only temporary pleasure and satisfaction for the dwindling rump of CP diehards. The referendum was the writing on the wall. They have no plausible policy and they will continue to be left floundering in the wake of events beyond their control.

But the two Kooses? It seems highly unlikely that they will rejoin the NP. The question now is whether they can muster enough CP support to claim for themselves the seats at the negotiating table that they have wanted from the beginning.

Clean hands?

The Star: 29 April

THE ANC has acted with commendable swiftness to call its Bophutatswana representative, George Mathusa, to order for threatening large-scale necklacing to bring down the Mmabatho government. However, an even more serious issue for the ANC to deal with has emerged with police revelations that two of its members had been arrested wearing police jackets. If that is in fact the case — and the matter still has to be tested in court — then the ANC has as much explaining to do over township violence as the security forces.

Another police account to be tested concerns an ANC member arrested in Natal in connection with an arms cache. Allegedly membership cards of the Inkatha Freedom Party were found in the same office.

While the Government and IFP are often blamed for violence, there are periodic indications that the ANC itself is no angel. If the IFP cards were being used to implicate that party at scenes of attacks, and if the police jackets were meant to create a false impression of police attacking innocent people, then the ANC has the same blood on its hands as those it accuses.

Both the Natal and the Vaal cases must be brought quickly to court so that the truth can be established. Above all, the ANC needs to examine itself thoroughly to make sure its hands are clean.

Seasonal stuff

IF PEOPLE are always talking about the weather, there certainly has been plenty of it to talk about of late in South Africa. First summer went right out of kilter — extreme heat, no rain. When the rains finally came, they were too little and too late. Yesterday came the first taste of winter. Again there were no half measures — it was more of a blast than a nip — but at least it arrived more or less on time. Any day now, the official season of squatter evictions will be ready to resume.

The Citizen 29/4/92

King for Codesa: IFP still unhappy

KING Goodwill Zwelithini of the Zulus and traditional leaders will be allowed in principle to participate in Codesa, management committee chairman, Mr

Previn Gordhan, announced yesterday.

The announcement was, however, branded meaningless by Inkatha Freedom Party chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose.

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TO PAGE 2

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FROM PAGE 1

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"But because of limited time, the Management Committee was not able to reach a decision on the form of participation. We hope finally to conclude the matter on May 4."

Asked whether the decision brought IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi closer to participation in Codesa, Dr Mdlalose replied: "No I don't think so. The agreement in principle doesn't mean much."

"What sort of participation will there be? We want full participation, not only half-measures."

Chief Buthelezi has

refused to participate in Codesa, demanding the Zulu king be accorded full participatory status.

Dr Mdlalose criticised the length of time it had taken for Codesa to reach a decision, especially in light of Codesa II, which was less than three weeks away.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee had considered a report compiled by a sub-committee and had decided:

- The Zulu king and other traditional leaders should have participation at Codesa. There should be, in principle, no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders.

- Participation should take the form of one delegation from each of the four provinces, consisting of 12 delegates and five advisers.

The administrations would be requested to facilitate with the bringing together of the traditional leaders, but not to prescribe as to who should form part of the delegations; and

- For Transvaal, the sub-committee agreed that there should be equal representatives from each region and that the delegates will decide on their advisers.

Two options on the form of participation tabled by the sub-committee were full participation like all other Codesa delegates, or "special" participation where there were specific issues relating to the king and traditional leaders.

Mr Gordhan said other options could be submitted to the Management Committee and these would also be considered. — Sapa.

The Citizen

Stoffel demands explanation for ANC 'policemen'

29/4/92

Political Correspondent

CAPE TOWN. — The ANC owed South Africa an explanation as to why its office-bearers were armed and posing as policemen. Dr Stoffel van der Merwe, National Party secretary-general, said yesterday.

"The ANC must tell the people of South Africa why their operatives were impersonating the police in this matter. The ANC owes the public an explanation."

The NP called on the ANC to investigate the matter and explain it fully.

The revelation that two senior ANC office-bearers, including a Mr Mazobuko, vice-chairman of the ANC in Evaton, had been caught red-handed by the police while posing

as policemen and heavily armed was "shocking".

"It calls into question the ANC's integrity. It also makes accusations against President De Klerk and the government regarding township violence look cynical indeed."

"It is evident that the actions of these ANC regional leaders in dressing in police uniforms and driving around Sebokeng in a vehicle made to look like a police vehicle, were illegal and unauthorised."

"These men were caught with a handgrenade and a 9 mm pistol."

"If their regional leaders are renegades, then it means that the ANC does not have control over its members and cannot be relied upon to fulfil its undertakings," said Dr Vander Merwe.

The Citizen 29/4/92

Inkatha branch leader shot dead at bus-stop.

Citizen Reporter

THE vice-chairman of the Inkatha Freedom Party in Eekanyezini, near Pietermaritzburg's Table Mountain area, Mr John Khanyile, was shot dead on Monday night.

Police confirmed yesterday Mr Khanyile had been murdered while waiting for transport at a bus-stop near Pietermaritzburg.

The head of the Inkatha Institute's violence study unit, Mr Kim Hodgson, said Mr Khanyile had long been a target of

attacks and threats on his life.

He said the murdered man's family had in the past informed his department of several threats made on his life.

"The death of Mr Khanyile brings to 205 the number of recorded IFP office bearers who had been assassinated in political violence," said Mr

Hodgson.

He added that there was no other party or organisation in the country which had borne the brunt of such "systematic and strategic assassination of its leadership".

Police are investigating Mr Khanyile's murder and no arrests have been made.

The Citizen 29/4/92

Police shoot suspect in Phola Park battle

Citizen Reporter

A MAN was wounded by police in a gun-battle at Phola Park, near Alberton, yesterday afternoon, and two policemen were wounded there on Monday night.

East Rand police spokesman, Capt Ida van Zweek, said members of the East Rand Murder and Robbery Unit and other specialised units had gone to Phola Park to investigate a spate of attacks on policemen in the area in the past few months.

As they were preparing to leave at about 2.30 pm they were fired on by a

number of AK-47 totting gunmen.

Police returned the fire and a man (23) was wounded in the shoulder before being arrested.

Nine people were taken in for questioning in connection with attacks on policemen. They will either be released after 48 hours or charged.

On Monday night, two policemen, Cons J C Stander and Const H J Malarjie, were wounded in separate incidents in Phola Park.

Witwatersrand police spokesman, W/O Andy Pieké, said both policemen were members of the SAP's Unit 19, on patrol

in the township.

At about 9.40 pm, Const Stander, noticed a bakkie, registration number PTB 903 T, which had been reported stolen in Alberton earlier.

While approaching the vehicle the occupants opened fire. Const Stander sustained flesh wounds to the back and the head. He is in a stable condition in hospital.

Shortly before midnight, shots were fired at another police patrol, wounding Const Malarjie in the head.

His condition is also stable.

No arrests were made in either incident.

B. Day 29/4/92

Reform begins to take shape

Accord fuels hope for new constitution X

THE members of a Codesa working group have unanimously agreed to let their principals decide on a plan for a directly elected interim government which will draw up a new constitution.

Working group 2, which is considering interim arrangements, proposed that Codesa decide on general constitutional principles and agree to an interim constitution which will provide for a constitution-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution providing for:

- ☐ An elected parliament which will draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature;
- ☐ The composition of and procedures to be followed by an interim executive;
- ☐ Justiciable civil and political rights during the transition;
- ☐ Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections;
- ☐ Elections for the national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, half the seats allocated through national lists and half through regional lists; and
- ☐ Decisions on all matters relating to the constitution to be taken by a "special majority". A two-thirds majority is envisaged.

Regional power forms an important part of the proposal, which states that decisions on matters relating to regional structures would require a special majority of the regional representative and a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

Codesa delegates across the political spectrum could hardly contain their enthusiasm yesterday, describing the plan as "the basis for a breakthrough".

TIM COHEN

One delegate said there were representatives present who were smiling for the first time since the referendum.

However, most delegates were at pains to point out that the proposal, although presented by a group representative of all the major players, was drawn up by these delegates in their personal capacities.

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a statement released by Codesa yesterday. However, Codesa sources said when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The unveiling of the document, which concerns the second stage of transitional government, follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage. Both outlines will be presented to delegates' principals this week and Codesa officials are holding their breath pending the outcome of these discussions.

If Codesa participants agree, the convention's second plenary session on May 15 and 16 will be in a position to endorse major agreements. "The critical hour has been reached," one Codesa official said.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders is still a stumbling block.

Codesa declared yesterday it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate. What has not been agreed, however, is the form of their participation.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose described the in-principle decision on traditional leaders as insignificant.

The Citizen 29/4/92

Explosives: 'AWB man' arrested

A MAN wearing the uniform of the Right-wing Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was arrested at a roadblock in Pretoria for illegal possession of explosives, a police liaison officer confirmed yesterday.

Lt-Col W J Vlotman said the 23-year-old man — believed to be from Brits, near Pretoria — was stopped at 4.30 pm on Monday on Van Der Hoff Road Extension, outside the industrial area of Hercules.

While searching the man's car, members of the internal stability unit came across a variety of commercial explosives in a white cloth bag which had been stowed under a seat.

Col Vlotman said the man was due to appear in court shortly. — Sapa.

The Citizen 29/4/92

ANC common factor in unrest: Mangope

MMABATHO. — Botswana President Lucas Mangope yesterday launched a blistering attack on the African National Congress, charging that it was becoming the common denominator in the countrywide violence.

"The ANC is becoming the common factor in all acts of violence and intimidation from the Cape to Messina, no matter how hard they deny their involvement."

"The double talk and use of its propaganda machinery to divert attention to others no longer works," he said in his opening address to the homeland's Parliament in Mmabatho.

Mr Mangope said at a meeting with ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on February 27 this year, he received the assurance that the ANC would desist from destabilising his homeland.

"This, obviously, was a most important and fundamental undertaking to create a better understanding and more normal and constructive relationship between us," he noted.

"(But) I regret to have to say that the understanding reached with Mr Mandela has not been given effect by the ANC. On the contrary, statements made by members of his national executive and actions by their structures and affiliates, initiated and orchestrated from across our borders, have totally negated his undertaking."

He said while this situation persisted, his government would take all necessary steps to defend their constitution and to implement the laws of the State.

"We have no wish to allow the disruption, the fear and the political killings and violence which have become the hallmark of so-called 'free' political activity in South Africa, to wash across our borders," Mr Mangope warned. — Sapa

The Citizen 29/4/92

ANC plan for mixed economy

THE ANC yesterday released draft guidelines for a post-apartheid economy which surprisingly backs off from wholesale nationalisation, and instead maps out a strategy for a mixed economy that seems to favour private enterprise.

The draft was released at the organisation's headquarters by its economic specialist Mr Tito Mboweni, who was at pains to point out that the document still had to receive the seal of approval at an African National Congress National Policy Conference in Johannesburg on May 28.

Noting that its main

aim was to create a strong economy, the document says the ANC measures should comprise two components — the opening

up of the economy to break economic barriers created by apartheid and

TO PAGE 2

ANC mixed economy plan

FROM PAGE 1

restructuring of the economy on the basis of new, comprehensive and sustainable policies for growth.

"We envisage a dynamic private sector, employing the skills and acumen of all South Africans, making a major contribution to the provision of good quality, attractive and competitively priced goods and services for all," says the document.

The draft continues that everyone should be protected against arbitrary and lawless interference with their property rights.

If it was in the public interest to take away property, it should be done in terms of the law and with just compensation.

The State would have primary responsibility for health care, education and basic social security. In addition, it should also be responsible for the country's infrastructure such as roads, telecommunications, power stations, transport and dams.

On the question of the immense economic concentration in few hands, the ANC said it was not against large firms as such.

"However, we will investigate the possibility of introducing anti-monopoly and mergers policies in accordance with international norms and practices to curb monopolies, continued domination of the economy by a minority within the White minority and promote

greater efficiency in the private sector."

The document continues that an ANC-dominated government would approach the national economy guided by the balance of evidence rather than according to any rigid ideological framework.

"Such flexibility means assessing the balance of evidence when deciding on the merit of:

- Increasing public sector economic activity through, for example, nationalisation (subject to compensation) or by means of purchasing a share-holding in companies through the market process; or

- Establishing new public corporations or joint ventures between the state and private sector; or

- Reducing the role of the private sector through privatisation.

On the question of the redistribution of wealth, the draft said this would be financed largely through a broadly based and progressive tax structure, the details of which would be worked out by a special fiscal commission.

Turning to mineral rights, the ANC said its mining policy should comprise the introduction of a new system of taxation, financing and leasing, with public ownership and joint ventures being considered where appropriate. — Sapa.

② The Citizen 29/4/92

OAU call on SA violence

FROM PAGE 1

"The ANC is asking for international support to end, or at least bring under control, the violence," Mr Mandela said.

"We are convinced that international monitoring and a role in securing a peace-keeping force will

bring under the spotlight all those in our country who are determined to plunge us into the abyss.

"As long as the South African Police and the South African Defence Force continue to be the private armed forces of the (ruling) National Party, so long will the slaughter of our people continue."

He cited the conviction last week of five policemen for the murder of 11 mourners, including two children, at a funeral vigil in the Black township of Trust Feed near Hanover, Natal, in December 1988.

The policemen were found to have planned the massacre with two prominent members of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party.

The murders succeeded in turning Trust Feed against a pro-ANC residents' association, which was blamed for the attack, so that an IFP body could take its place.

Mr Mandela called it "the one instance which has been proved in court of a massive, nationwide

to destabilise South Africa".

"The ultimate purpose is to intimidate the oppressed population into rejecting their organisation, the African National Congress," he said, comparing the slaughter of Blacks to the extermination of Jews in Nazi Germany.

The violence was also aimed at stalling progress towards elections to the constituent assembly the ANC wants to draft a new non-racial constitution.

"It is the regime and Inkatha, both of whom are afraid of the verdict that will be delivered by the people in free and fair elections, who say that elections must not take place because of the violence."

"But that is the very purpose of the violence, and we will not bow to intimidation."

International monitors would have a "vital role" to play in the six to nine month period the ANC envisages before elections to ensure that Pretoria did not act as player and referee.
Mandela said.

The monitors should at the very least be able to monitor the outcome of the elections, he said.

Mr Mandela revealed on April 9 he had contacted the OAU and the United Nations about an international monitoring force, such as the one sent into neighbouring Namibia in the run-up to its pre-independence elections in November 1989.

OAU Secretary-General Salim Ahmed Salim has also said the OAU summit in June will discuss a permanent conflict resolution mechanism, which may include an armed peacekeeping force.

The OAU Council of Ministers' meeting in Addis Ababa in February called for a special secretariat to be set up for "prevention, management and resolution of conflicts".

Despite encouragement for State President De Klerk on his visit earlier this month to Nigeria, which currently holds the OAU chairmanship, South Africa is not yet an OAU member. — Sapa-AFP.

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The Citizen 29/4/92

OAU wants **UN move on** **SA violence**

ARUSHA. — An Organisation of African Unity summit meeting yesterday called for international intervention to end violence in South Africa's Black townships.

"The (OAU) committee stressed the need to ensure active international involvement in stopping the killings in the Black community," OAU Chairman and Nigerian President Ibrahim Ba-

bangida announced.

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela, Pan African Congress leader Clarence Makwetu and heads of nine African nations were attending the OAU's eighth ad hoc committee meeting in Tanzania's northern town of Arusha to discuss ways of accelerating reforms in South Africa.

A statement at the close of the one-day summit said the OAU would request the United Nations Security Council's "attention and action" on a proposal for international intervention.

It added that the African body would send a monitoring team to South Africa to report on the escalating violence and try to help the negotiating process.

Mr Mandela had asked the OAU for an international force to end what he said was White government-inspired carnage in South Africa's Black townships.

TO PAGE 2

The Star

29/4/92

ANC appeals to Govt to negotiate on municipal rule

By Jo-Anne Collinge

The African National Congress reopened the battle on local government yesterday with a call to the Government to sign a "protocol agreement" in which it undertakes to scrap the Interim Measures on Local Government Act and to set up a national negotiations forum to create new temporary legislation.

The demand was made in the wake of a three-day conference on local government attended by various ANC structures, the South African National Civics Organisation (Sanco), the South African Municipal Workers Union, Cosatu and the South African Communist Party.

Thozamile Botha, head of the ANC department on local government, said the protocol agreement should be entered into with community and political organisations, including civic associations and trade unions.

It should also include Government guarantees that it would end all unilateral restructuring of government at local level, and that there would be no further retrenchments arising out of municipal restructuring.

About a month ago Minister of Planning, Provincial Affairs and

National Housing Leon Wessels indicated that financial sanctions might be used from early next year to induce local authorities to restructure in terms of the Act.

Mr Botha said the three-day meeting had concluded that "using the Act and other related apartheid legislation as a framework for local negotiation has enabled unrepresentative white and black local authorities to proceed with unilateral restructuring".

He charged that restructuring exercises held to be the essence of the new South Africa — such as in Kimberley and Port Elizabeth — raised serious concerns. He said 800 workers were to be retrenched in Port Elizabeth as a result of the process. In Kimberley the white authorities were proceeding with interim government elections in the face of ANC and civic opposition.

Mr Botha said the conference had proposed that while the national negotiating forum met to formulate acceptable legislation for interim local government, Codesa and the Government should move speedily to set up a multiparty commission on local government. This would implement the proposals of the national forum and "have certain executive functions which replace those currently held by the provincial administrations".

The Star 29/4/92

OAU urges intervention to end the violence in SA

Star Africa Service

ARUSHA — African leaders were told by the Nigerian president yesterday to regard the mandate given by whites of South Africa in last month's referendum as a warning to keep their eyes and ears open "so as not to be overtaken by history".

President Ibrahim Babangida, also chairman of the Organisation of African Unity, was speaking at the OAU meeting on South Africa, which ended with a proposal to call for international intervention to help stop violence in the Republic.

The Nigerian leader clashed with Tanzanian president Ali Hassan Mwinyi over the issue of maintaining sanctions.

Mr Babangida urged that sanctions be lifted gradually to encourage reform; Mr Mwinyi argued that sanctions should be maintained until apartheid had been fully dismantled.

The OAU's Committee on South Africa proposed that the OAU ask the UN Security Council to take action to secure international intervention to help stop violence in South Africa.

It also proposed that the OAU send a monitoring team of its own to report on violence and try to help in negotiations.

Earlier, ANC president Nelson Mandela had requested that the OAU support an international force to end the violence.

● South Africa was poised to be fully integrated into the world as a country with democracy, harmony, growth and development surpassing all projections, former OAU chairman General Olusegun Obasanjo said yesterday.

He was giving the opening address at the SA Foreign Trade Organisation's two-day international conference on the new scenario for trade and investment in southern Africa.

A post-apartheid South Africa, he said, could compete favourably for capital and trade with the leading economies of the world, reports Thabo Leshilo of The Star's Political Staff.

General Obasanjo said the referendum had removed the last doubts about the sincerity of President de Klerk and lack of good faith of his Government to eradicate apartheid.

He identified the next important task facing South African leaders as the elimination of violence. This had to be followed by the establishment of an interim arrangement for bringing about full democracy.

The Star 29/4/92

Death call for killer captain

Own Correspondent

MARITZBURG — The four former SAP special constables convicted of the 1988 Trust Feed massacre will not face the death sentence, but the State has called for the ultimate penalty to be imposed on former SAP captain Brian Mitchell (34), who gave the orders for the massacre.

Indicating yesterday that he will not impose death on former special policemen Kehla Ngubane, Thabo Sikhosana, Durnisani Ndwalane and David Khambule, Mr Justice Andrew Wilson said they could consider themselves very lucky that all they faced was a long period of imprisonment.

That they acted under the orders, albeit unlawful orders, of a commissioned officer did make a difference, he said.

He also commented on the brief police training given to special constables, saying that to send people into the field with lethal weapons after only six weeks of training showed a sad lack of judgment.

Sentence will be passed at 10 am tomorrow.

Mitchell's advocate, Mr Etienne du Toit, SC, pleaded

with Mr Justice Wilson not to impose the death sentence on the former station commander.

Referring to strong emotions witnessed during the trial and to "emotional press reports", he said "judicial aloofness" would bring about the realisation that the destruction of an individual was not called for in this case, in spite of the brutality of the offence.

The political motive behind the killing was mitigating, as well as the fact that Mitchell was not naturally aggressive or wicked.

Mitchell, also, did not seek the death of women and children holding a funeral wake, he said.

Enemies

Mr du Toit was asked by the judge how it could be mitigating that Mitchell had gone to the "wrong" house and whether it was less heinous to kill "comrades" (UDF supporters), as Mitchell had intended, than to kill anyone else.

Mr du Toit responded that in Mitchell's perception the comrades were the enemies of the State, and that it would be morally less blameworthy than shooting women and children.

"He believed that the people in the house had to be

killed in the interests of the country, however distorted that belief may be when objectively viewed," Mr du Toit said.

Mr du Toit also submitted Mitchell did not play a major "physical" role in the attack.

The judge, however, said that in his view it was not mitigating that Mitchell had left the special policemen to "do the dirty work" and face the risks while he walked away.

"It was a cowardly act."

He regarded the fact that Mitchell was a policeman in charge of the special constables as aggravating.

Calling for the death sentence for Mitchell, State advocate Anthony Irons said that according to the court's findings, the violence in the Trust Feed area at that time was largely due to Mitchell's own doing.

It was also aggravating that he had abused his position of trust and the power and influence that went with it and misused people under his control.

After the attack he had simply walked away, returning only hours later.

His subsequent involvement in covering up the incident was an indication that he felt no remorse at that stage, although he was then aware of the identity of the victims, added Mr Irons.

The Star 29/4/92

Nationalisation only one option - ANC

By Shaun Johnson
Political Editor

The ANC is leaving its proposals for the economy — including the burning issue of nationalisation — wide open in the run-up to its vital national policy conference scheduled for the end of next month.

In a draft policy document released to the media in Johannesburg yesterday — dealing with 14 central policy issues — the section on the future economy highlights the role of private sector and market, and says possible nationalisation is not an "ideological" matter but will rather be considered on a case-by-case basis according to "the balance of evidence".

Any economic policy proposals must be viewed in the context of four overarching aims, according to the document. They are the elimination of poverty and extreme inequalities generated by apartheid; the achievement of high employment and participation; steady growth in goods and services; and the development of a prosperous regional economy.

The document foresees a primary role for the State in providing for the basic needs of the population — "as in most parts of the world" — and a "dynamic private sector".

The State should "respond to the needs of the economy in a

flexible way rather than acting according to any rigid ideological framework when deciding for or against various economic policy measures".

In this context nationalisation is cited as one of several options available on a flexible case-by-case basis. Others include the purchasing of shares in companies via the market, the establishment of new public corporations or joint ventures, and the reduction of the role of the State through privatisation.

Commits

The document commits the ANC to a disciplined and well-co-ordinated "fiscal, monetary and exchange-rate policy package" and says "redistributive expenditures will be financed largely through a broadly based and progressive tax structure which will also reflect the need to create incentives for investment and expansion".

Foreign investment would be promoted and appropriate guarantees be given to potential investors.

Regarding "anti-trust, anti-monopoly and mergers policy", the document argues that while the ANC is "not opposed to large firms as such, the concentration of economic power in the hands of a few conglomerates has been detrimental to balanced economic development in South Africa".

Yesterday's briefing at ANC headquarters, addressed by sec-

retary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, information head Dr Pallo Jordan and senior economists Tito Mboweni and Khetso Gordon, inevitably drew the most probing questions on the controversial issue of nationalisation.

Mr Mboweni stressed that the 46-page document, of which only four dealt with economic policy, was in no way a rigid blueprint, but rather the product of widespread consultation with ANC members around the country which would serve as a "draft set of guidelines among members as they prepare for the conference".

Pressed on whether the section on the economy represented a more flexible approach from the ANC in the face of widespread international hostility towards nationalisation and socialist economics, Mr Mboweni said the document had "been worked on".

The draft guidelines represented an "integrated, inter-linked" approach, he said, and he appealed to commentators not to "just dash off to the economic section" in isolation.

From May 28 to 31, some 770 ANC delegates will gather in Johannesburg to finally formalise ANC policy positions, held over since last July's national conference in Durban.

The decisions flowing from the meeting will be binding on ANC members, according to Mr Ramaphosa, "and conference will have to decide how these positions impact on the Freedom Charter".

The Star 29/4/92

Bid to improve safety on trains

By Carina le Grange

Railways authorities and the Ministry of Law and Order have undertaken to implement increased security measures to ensure the safety of train commuters, it was announced last night.

The undertaking marked the end of a seven-day sit-in by nine community leaders led by Father Smangalisio Mkhathshwa. The aim of the protesters was to highlight and effect a change to the lack of security on trains.

In a joint statement by the SA Rail Commuter Corporation (SARCC), Spoornet, representatives of political and community organisations and the Ministry of Law and Order, SARCC undertook not to allow armed commuters entry to stations and trains.

Witwatersrand police commissioner Major-General Gerrit Erasmus, as the representative of the Ministry of Law and Order, also gave a commitment that security personnel would urgently be redeployed in af-

fectured areas in an attempt to prevent attacks on trains.

Father Mkhathshwa said the speedy implementation of these measures were of the utmost urgency in view of the fact that Codesa 2 takes place next month — and experience had shown that important political events often triggered such attacks. He said he believed some steps had already been taken.

Only two areas of agreement were made public last night, but it was also announced that five working groups with representatives from all the parties involved had been established to monitor their implementation.

Father Mkhathshwa said: "The agreement is a step forward but I don't want to exaggerate the advance made."

He added that the train boycott planned for next week announced earlier by community organisations would still go ahead.

Father Mkhathshwa said the protesters represented the Church, the ANC, Cosatu, the SA Railway and Harbour Workers Union and the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal.

The STAR 29/4/92

Mandela clarifies anti-FW charge

ANC president Nelson Mandela has amplified a statement he made in an interview with the Sunday Star about President F W de Klerk and violence.

In the interview he said there were "certain facts which suggest that the Government is involved, De Klerk himself".

In a statement released yesterday, Mr Mandela said he did not intend to suggest that Mr de Klerk was directly involved in the violence against black people.

"The ANC considers that President de Klerk has a responsibility for the violence, through both commission and omission.

"Firstly, President de Klerk, aware that spears, knobkerries etc are weapons of death, issued a proclamation making it legal for Zulu-speaking people only to carry such dangerous weapons. Despite repeated discussions with him on the question, adequate measures to control the public carrying of weap-

ons have not been instituted.

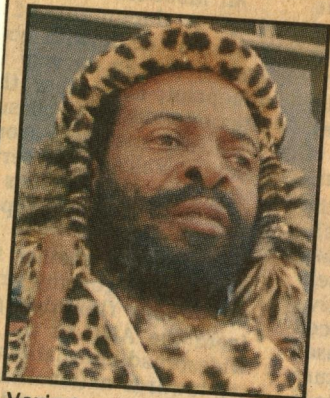
"Secondly, last May discussions were held with President de Klerk on the question of hostels, and agreement was reached to phase them out and make provision for both family and single-person accommodation. It was further agreed that, in the interim, the hostels be surrounded with barbed wire. There has been no action on either measure.

"Thirdly, in a number of areas adjacent to hos-

tels, residents have been forced out of their homes, leaving their possessions behind. Their homes have then been occupied by those responsible for the violence that forced them to flee. People have identified their homes, their possessions and the illegal occupants, but the authorities have failed to take any action."

●The quotation in question is contained in a verbatim transcript of an interview with Mr Mandela by Jon Quelane.

The Star 29/4/92
Warning on Zulu king



Vexing problem . . . participation of King Zwelithini.

By Esther Waugh
Political Reporter

An agreement has been reached in principle on the participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa — but, while a solution to this vexing problem seems tantalisingly close, Inkahta Freedom Party chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose warned yesterday that unless the Zulu king was given full participation, the agreement did not “mean much”.

This meant that unless

King Goodwill Zwelithini was given equal status to other Codesa delegates, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not take part in Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was frustrated at the lack of progress on the king's participation.

He said nothing less than full participation by the king would satisfy the IFP.

“The most important thing that has to occur is agreement on what sort of participation,” said Dr Mdlalose.

Management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan said the issue could be resolved at the next meeting of the committee on May 4.

In addition to participation by traditional leaders, the committee yesterday agreed that there should be no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other leaders.

They would take part in Codesa on the basis of four delegations — from each of the provinces — each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

Transvaal has been divided into six sub-regions, comprising the homelands and self-governing territories in the province, and each would send two representatives.

Three options on the form of their participation are still to be decided upon: full participation; limited participation on issues which affected them directly; and full participation but leaving traditional leaders, who remain above party politics, outside decision-making mechanisms.

A proposal for an elected constitution-making body-cum-legislature was yesterday placed before the working group dealing with constitutional principles.

The working document, which is still to be discussed with the leaders of the 19 participating groups, proposed that such a body be included in an interim constitution, drafted by Codesa.

The interim constitution would provide for the body — an elected single-chamber parliament — to be elected on the basis of propor-

SA poised for 'full world integration'

By Thabo Leshilo
Political Staff

South Africa was poised to be fully integrated into Africa and the world as a country with democracy, harmony, growth and development surpassing all projections, former OAU chairman and Nigerian president, General Olusegun Obasanjo, said in Johannesburg yesterday.

General Obasanjo was giving the opening address at the South African Foreign Trade Organisation's two-day international conference on the new scenario for trade and investment in southern Africa.

A post-apartheid SA, he said, could compete favourably for capital and trade with the leading economies of the world because of the country's efficient shipping, financial and insurance facilities.

He said the recent whites-only referendum had indicated that the fear of extinction that

had so characterised the Afrikaner's psyche and threatened to drive him into the laager was giving way to a genuine feeling of being South African — and African.

"It must be gratifying to South Africans that those who constructed apartheid are taking the lead in dismantling it," he added.

Now the chairman of the New York-based African Leadership Forum, General Obasanjo warned that a new society should not be predicated on anger, revenge and bitterness but on the basis of remorse, forgiveness and reconciliation.

Doubts

It was encouraging, he said, that African leaders who had spent more than a quarter of a century in apartheid jails were without bitterness or hatred.

"Their attitudes must help allay fears in some quarters and give hope for the future unity and harmony of South Africa," he said.

The referendum, he added, had removed the last doubts about the sincerity of President de Klerk and lack of good faith by his Government to eradicate apartheid.

It, however, did not remove the obstacles caused by violence to fostering peace and brotherhood.

"Co-operation, tolerance, confidence and trust cannot reign in a situation of violence, insecurity and intimidation — they are an antithesis to democracy," he said.

General Obasanjo identified the next important task facing South African leaders as the elimination of violence.

This had to be immediately followed by the establishment of a generally acceptable interim arrangement for bringing about full democracy in SA.

"It should not be an exercise in exclusion or non-participation, it should be an exercise in national consensus without any feeling of isolation, bitterness or disregard by any sector of the society," he said.

Warning on

Zulu king

● From Page 1

tional representation with half the seats allocated on a national list and the other half through regional lists.

It would also provide for:

- The composition and procedures of an interim executive.

- Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections.

- Decisions are to be taken by "special majority".

- Decisions on matters relating to regional structures and the distribution of power between central, regional and local levels of government to require a special majority of the regional representatives in the national assembly in addition to a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

- The new constitution should be drafted and adopted within a specified period of time.

Mr Gordhan said the proposal was an important advance.

The group had reached a serious impasse on whether a constitution-making body should be elected or appointed.

The Government had earlier proposed an elected two-chamber parliament to draft the constitution and run the country while the ANC had proposed an elected constituent assembly to act as a constitution-making body-cum-legislature.

The IFP had proposed that a new constitution be drafted by an appointed convention.

Reports on progress atCODESA since the first meeting of the five working groups on February 6 have to be finalised by next Thursday.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee yesterday considered the applications of 17 organisations wishing to take part in the talks, but its decision would only be announced today after the groups had been informed.

Talks on ANC pair 'posing as police'

By Mohen Govender

Civic Association of Southern Transvaal leaders will meet the Vaal Civic Association today to investigate the circumstances leading to the weekend arrest of a former CAST member — one of two senior ANC officials arrested in connection with a shooting in Sebokeng.

Police detained Satembiso Radebe, former CAST regional organiser, and Mandla Petrus Mazebruko, vice-chairman of the ANC's Evaton branch, on Saturday following a shooting on Friday in which one person died.

CAST publicity secretary Sandy Lebese said the organisation's executive committee would meet Sebokeng residents today to discuss

the shooting, before making a statement.

The National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday questioned the ANC's role in township violence in view of the arrests.

NP secretary-general Dr Stoffel van der Merwe said the men had been caught "red-handed by the police while heavily armed and posing as policemen".

This cast doubts over the ANC accusations about the role of President de Klerk and the Government in township violence, he said.

"If their regional leaders are renegades, then it means that the ANC does not have control over its members and cannot be relied upon to fulfil its undertakings. The NP calls on the ANC to investigate the matter and to

tell South Africans why their operatives were impersonating police. The ANC owes the public an explanation," said Dr van der Merwe.

IFP Transvaal Youth Brigade leader Themba Khoza said the arrests made a mockery of the so-called "third force" theory.

"The arrests have 'exposed the myth' that the ANC had nothing to gain from perpetrating acts of violence.

"Certain reactionaries within the ANC had formulated the 'third force conspiracy theory' as a strategic response to growing public concern about the organisation's own role in the violence," Mr Khoza said.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

De Beers to 'rationalise' in Kimberley

KIMBERLEY. — De Beers Consolidated Mines Limited has announced a long-term staff rationalisation programme at its Kimberley division, which comprises the Bultfontein, Dutoitspan and Wesselton mines.

About 350 people are likely to be affected.

The company said in a statement rationalisation was needed because of changes in mining methods and to reduce costs because of

the age of the mines. Management and employee representative bodies are discussing the matter.

De Beers' Kimberley mines general manager Mr Hans Gastrow earlier denied rumours that the mines would close.

He said it was likely they would continue to produce diamonds for the rest of the century.

A private diamond cutting factory in Kim-

berley closed its doors earlier this year and more than 200 workers were retrenched. — Sapa.

Benz is to trim 20 000 jobs

BONN. — Daimler-Benz, maker of the prestigious Mercedes cars, plans to trim 20 000 jobs over the next two years, a newspaper yesterday quoted Mercedes' chief as saying.

The cuts would be the first in Mercedes' history.

Mr Werner Niefer, president of the Mercedes-Benz subsidiary of the Daimler-Benz conglomerate, told Die Welt the cuts will be made through attrition and early retirements.

He said the cutbacks are part of a package

aimed at making Mercedes more competitive with Japanese carmakers whose cars are gaining in popularity in Germany.

Other planned measures include more efficient management of machine operation times, Die Welt said.

Mercedes, based in Stuttgart, employs about 180 000 people in Germany.

Mr Niefer said much of the job-culling will take place in the administrative area, where cuts can be made with a minimal impact on customers.

Mr Niefer's remarks appear to be a well-timed blast at the IG Metall, the metalworkers' union, with which German carmakers are in the midst of tough wage negotiations.

The German car industry and other businesses reliant on steel are expected to face warning strikes beginning today,

because of employers' refusal to meet union demands for nine percent wage hikes. The employers have offered 3,3 percent instead.

Western Germany is already in the throes of widespread strikes by public workers over wage disagreements. — Sapa-AP.

SA contribution to Africa to be immense: Min

LUSAKA. — South Africa would contribute immensely to southern Africa's economic development following the collapse of apartheid, SA Deputy Trade Minister Mr David Graaff said at a cocktail party here.

Trade between South Africa and Zambia would increase after the exchange of trade missions, he said.

South Africa, as the regional economic giant, would participate in all development endeavours to contribute to the over-

all economic development in Africa, Mr Graaff said.

"We shall use our expertise and know-how to take part in industrial and economic growth of the region," he added.

Appeal

Zambia's Deputy Minister of Commerce, Trade and Industry, Mr Dipak Patel, appealed to the South African Government to lift certain trade restrictions so that flexible trading patterns could prevail.

Mr Graaff is in Zambia to discuss trade issues with Zambian Government officials.

He returns to South Africa today. — Sapa.

Scientologists sue Time

NEW YORK. — The Church of Scientology filed a \$416 million (about R1,1 billion) libel suit against Time magazine on Monday, saying articles that appeared in the newsweekly were malicious and contained false information.

The suit names Time-Warner Inc, the maga-

zine's parent company, and the author of the articles, Mr Richard Behar.

The lawsuit charges Mr Behar was biased against the church and that his stories were filled with falsehoods, innuendo, and name-calling.

One piece allegedly contained "a series of false statements" that

sought to show that Scientology is not "an acceptable religion of the social mainstream", the suit said.

The lawsuit claims the church has suffered "grievous injury" and impaired its ability to gain supporters.

The suit seeks \$416 million in punitive damages and unspecified other general damages. — Sapa-Reuter.

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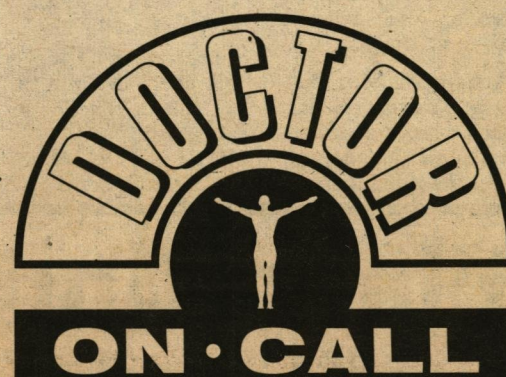
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Rev 220/C

Plan to tax Dutch rush-hour motorists

AMSTERDAM. — The Dutch Government plans to tax rush-hour motorists in a bid to cut traffic congestion, a Transport Ministry spokesman said yesterday.

Drivers would have to pay around five guilders (about R7,83) a day to drive in the morning rush hours if Parliament approves the tax which is due to come into operation in 1996, the Ministry said.

The tax would be charged in the busy western Randstad area covering Amsterdam, The Hague, Rotterdam and Utrecht.

The government estimates peak time traffic will drop by a third, with commuters switching to public transport and car pool schemes. The tax would also raise 400 to 500 million guilders (about R623 to R780 million) in revenue.

The levy could be paid by subscription or telephone. Video cameras would read car registration numbers during the taxable period, leading to fines for those who had not paid.

Parliament is due to vote on the plan next year.

The densely-populated Netherlands has major traffic problems. Figures from the Organisation of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) show the Dutch have five times more cars per square kilometre than the OECD average. — Sapa-Reuter.

Reform begins to take shape

Accord fuels hope for new constitution

THE members of a Codesa working group have unanimously agreed to let their principals decide on a plan for a directly elected interim government which will draw up a new constitution.

Working group 2, which is considering interim arrangements, proposed that Codesa decide on general constitutional principles and agree to an interim constitution which will provide for a constitution-making body.

The plan envisages an interim constitution providing for:

- ☐ An elected parliament which will draft a new constitution and act as an interim legislature;
- ☐ The composition of and procedures to be followed by an interim executive;
- ☐ Justiciable civil and political rights during the transition;
- ☐ Regional boundaries for the purposes of elections;
- ☐ Elections for the national assembly on the basis of proportional representation, half the seats allocated through national lists and half through regional lists; and
- ☐ Decisions on all matters relating to the constitution to be taken by a "special majority". A two-thirds majority is envisaged.

Regional power forms an important part of the proposal, which states that decisions on matters relating to regional structures would require a special majority of the regional representative and a special majority of all the delegates in the national assembly.

Codesa delegates across the political spectrum could hardly contain their enthusiasm yesterday, describing the plan as "the basis for a breakthrough".

TIM COHEN

One delegate said there were representatives present who were smiling for the first time since the referendum.

However, most delegates were at pains to point out that the proposal, although presented by a group representative of all the major players, was drawn up by these delegates in their personal capacities.

"There is no question of agreement on the proposal at this stage," said a statement released by Codesa yesterday. However, Codesa sources said when the plan was discussed yesterday, not a single delegate had substantial difficulties with it.

The unveiling of the document, which concerns the second stage of transitional government, follows the disclosure on Monday of a plan for the first stage. Both outlines will be presented to delegates' principals this week and Codesa officials are holding their breath pending the outcome of these discussions.

If Codesa participants agree, the convention's second plenary session on May 15 and 16 will be in a position to endorse major agreements. "The critical hour has been reached," one Codesa official said.

However, the issue of the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders is still a stumbling block.

Codesa declared yesterday it had been agreed in principle that the king and other traditional leaders would participate. What has not been agreed, however, is the form of their participation.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose described the in-principle decision on traditional leaders as insignificant.

Codesa's ideas for Zulu king 'meaningless'

JOHANNESBURG—The Zulu king and traditional leaders will be allowed in principle to participate in Codesa, management committee chairman Pravin Gordhan announced yesterday.

However, the announcement was branded "meaningless" by Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Frank Mdlalose — and whether the newcomers should have full participation or "special participation" has yet to be decided.

"The management committee has agreed, in principle, to the participation of the Zulu king and traditional leaders," Mr Gordhan said at a press conference yesterday.

"But because of limited time the management committee was not able to come to a decision on the form of participation."

Asked whether the decision brought IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi closer to par-

ticipation in Codesa, Dr Mdlalose replied: "No I don't think so."

"What sort of participation will there be? We want full participation, not only half measures."

Dr Buthelezi has refused to participate in Codesa, demanding the Zulu king be accorded full participatory status.

Dr Mdlalose criticised the length of time it had taken for Codesa to reach a decision, especially in light of Codesa II, which was less than three weeks away.

Mr Gordhan said the management committee had considered a report compiled by a sub-committee and had decided that the Zulu king, and other traditional leaders, should have participation at Codesa.

There should be, in principle, no difference between the participation of the Zulu king and other traditional leaders, he said. — (Sapa)

Codesa will fail, says CP man

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party was certain Codesa would collapse because the NP and the ANC view of a new South Africa was as different as "chalk and cheese".

CP President's Council member Clive Derby-Lewis said Codesa would collapse because it was dominated by "terrorists, communists and useful idiots". No national grouping would allow itself to be submerged under a Xhosa-led ANC government.

As the NP caved in to more ANC demands, those who voted Yes would have to accept what they got was not what they voted for.

Liberals were already complaining about various manifestations of the new SA. "I believe it will be liberals, not conservatives, who will disappoint Africans more, because they raised expectations which they can never fulfil."

Homeland talks 'no surprise'

JOHANNESBURG—The African National Congress said yesterday it was not surprised at the meeting held in Cape Town between the State President and three homeland leaders on Monday.

In a statement the ANC said that the issues President Lucas Mangope of Bophuthatswana, Brig Oupa Gqozo of Ciskei and Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi of KwaZulu found consensus on at the meeting were "precisely those areas that constituted a stumbling block to speedy progress in Codesa".

The statement added that all working groups in Codesa had found over the past weeks that consistent efforts had been made to slow down, if not halt, the process.

According to the statement, these efforts were trying to ensure that Codesa II was transformed into a mere talking shop, rather than being the vehicle through which substantive decisions were taken. — (Sapa)

The STAR
29/4/92

goating techniques to evade the issue of democracy and human rights in their own societies.

"Apartheid in South Africa united all of Africa and gave them an excuse to ignore their own malpractices. The Palestinian argument has had the same effect in the Arab world," Dr Makram said.

Now South Africa was breaking that pattern, which could make it a catalyst for political change.

Dr Makram described South Africa's desire to join the OAU as "most laudable", saying it would make the country part of Africa and force Pretoria "to espouse the problems of Africa".

South Africa's closer ties with the developed world meant it could act as Africa's interlocutor with the West in trying to get some of its crippling debts written off and generally helping to open it up as a viable market for South African exports.

In times of dark pessimism, when the relentless civil violence and news of police connivance and cover-ups seem to cloud our future prospects, it does good to break out of here and glimpse some of the rosier prospects that await us when we are through this morbid interregnum. □

THE STAR 29 APRIL 1992

Tuks' new rector warns of

threat

Pretoria Correspondent

Two of the African National Congress's elder statesmen — national chairman Oliver Tambo and deputy president Walter Sisulu — attended the investiture of Pretoria University's new rector and vice-chancellor this week.

Mr Tambo is chancellor of Fort Hare University and Mr Sisulu chancellor-elect of the University of Venda.

Speaking during his investiture, the new rector and vice-chancellor, Professor Flip Smit, said too much emphasis on career-oriented education could lead to the destruction of the university system in South Africa.

Universities should return to their primary task of educating students in basic scientific principles, Professor Smit said.

"Universities should not ignore manpower needs, but there is overwhelming international scientific evidence that excessive emphasis on

educating according to the so-called projected manpower needs in a fast-changing technological world is a dangerous game.

"Financial expediency and meddling by politicians are two other dangers to the survival of the university system," the professor warned.

"And if the universities in South Africa are damaged, then the whole education system, which is already vulnerable and shows so many backlogs, will sustain immeasurable damage."

However, autonomy should be practised with great responsibility and self-discipline, bearing in mind the responsibilities of the university towards the taxpayer, the community it serves and its students, he said.

Universities should take care not to become restricted by narrow cultural aspirations, but should remain true to their universal character.

Universities could and should become more cost-effective so as to enable them to accommodate more students.

Bill of Rights key to future constitution

KATE OWEN: Deneys Reitz

THE international community has given concrete shape, albeit in many different ways, to the idea that every individual has fundamental rights that must be respected by the state.

The protection of the individual's rights has become a universal demand and is recognised even where no enactments, conventions or treaties exist under positive law.

It has become part of the modern international legal consciousness and of the contemporary law of nations.

SA, on the other hand, although its heritage of Roman Dutch Law provides a benign framework for the protection of human rights, at the moment has no Bill of Rights nor is it a signatory to the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

Moreover, in the apartheid years, statutory enactments effectively ousted the courts' ability to protect individual human rights, notably in the areas of personal liberty and freedom of speech and of association.

There has been a marked difference in the approach of SA courts to the administration of justice with regard to common law questions and to statutory prescriptions.

Where Acts are concerned, the courts have consistently applied the principles of parliamentary sovereignty and have generally acquiesced where an Act infringes one or more of the recognised human rights.

On the other hand, as far as common law questions are concerned, SA courts have been consistently resourceful and creative. They have taken the best principles from the works of old writers and adapted

them to the needs of the time.

It has now been generally recognised by most players in the negotiation process that a Bill of Rights is an essential element in the Constitution for a new SA.

The ANC has produced a draft Bill of Rights which, it is fair to say, relies heavily on the 1955 Freedom Charter.

It gives considerable attention to social, economic and educational rights (the so-called second and third generation rights). Not surprisingly it is these articles that generate the most controversy.

Investigate

The present government requested the SA Law Commission in April 1986 to investigate and make recommendations on the definition and protection of group rights in the context of the SA constitutional set-up and the possible extension of the existing protection of individual rights, as well as the role of the courts.

Since the initial working paper was produced in 1989, the government has, in the face of criticism, moved away from the concept of group rights towards the protection of individual rights only.

It is expected, nevertheless, that the National Party will take a stand against the recognition of second and third generation rights.

In the meantime, our common law is steadily being freed from the statutory shackles of apartheid legislation; in 1990 the Reservation of Separate Amenities Act was the first major pillar of apartheid to fall; the notorious 1913 Black Land Act, the Popu-

lation Registration Act and the Group Areas Act were all repealed in 1991 and provisions allowing for detention without trial were severely curtailed. In addition, positive legislation has been passed such as the Upgrading of Land Tenure Rights Act and the Less Formal Townships Development Act.

Apart from the existing constitution, with its restricted franchise, the major pieces of legislation inimical to human rights which remain are the Self Governing Territories Act, the Education and Training Act and the Black Local Authorities Act.

Although the legislation reserving 87% of the land for 13% of the people has been repealed by the Abolition Act, the question of land is still very much on the agenda as many people feel the repeal of the Land Acts in itself cannot deracialise land ownership.

On the one hand, there are claims for restoration of land to communities and individuals who were forcibly removed from land they had long occupied, or who were expropriated in terms of apartheid legislation (such as the erstwhile freehold owners in Alexandra, the victims of a vain attempt to reserve Alexandra for single-sex hostels).

In these cases there is an easily appreciated moral right on the part of the claimants, the claims are limited and very often the land is still held by the State.

On the other hand, there is a call for re-distribution of land to redress the historic imbalances of apartheid.

This issue is clearly more difficult to resolve as there

is an almost unlimited class of claimants, the claims conflict with existing rights of ownership which were, as far as the present owners are concerned, legitimately obtained, and, of course, the key question is how far the clock should be turned back. A line must be drawn somewhere to avoid an infinite regression.

The government has recently set up an Advisory Commission on Land Allocation to hear claims to land and to advise the State President. It is chaired by a retired Judge, Mr JTH van Reenen and includes the following commissioners: Prof N J J Olivier, Prof RE van der Ross, Mr M J Kotze, Dr DC Krogh, Prof H Ngubane, and Bishop T W Ntongana. After initial hesitations, and dissatisfaction over the process by which the commissioners were appointed, many communities which were forcibly removed have now decided to put their cases for the restoration of their land to the commission in the hope of getting it back.

Negotiations

In Alexandra, many of the ex-owners whose land was expropriated (often after the property had been in the same family for up to three generations), stayed on as tenants on their original properties. They have recently been involved in negotiations with the Transvaal Provincial Administration and the Alexandra City Council and other interested parties in an attempt to recover their old properties. Crucial to the outcome of these negotiations is a solution for the many statutory tenants, and the shack-dwellers who are crowded onto the old erven with no claim in law to be there.

Bleak future

DAILY NEWS 29.4.92

for the SACP

COMMUNISTS' DOMINANT ROLE IN ANC TO FADE, SAYS ACADEMIC

THE dominant position of communists within the African National Congress is likely to wane in the years ahead, predicts Stephen Ellis, director of the Centre of African Studies at the University of Leiden, and co-author of a new book, *Comrades Against Apartheid*.

Dr Ellis reckons that the South African Communist Party was able to assume an increasingly strong hold over the ANC during years of armed struggle because it provided vital links to the ANC's main military backers — the Soviet Union and East European communist states.

During the nearly 30 years of armed struggle — from the formation of the guerilla army, Umkhonto we Sizwe in mid-1961 to the decision to suspend the armed struggle in August 1990 — the SACP made MK its personal kingdom, Dr Ellis says.

Thus, he reasons, as the armed struggle and MK recede into history, the ANC will, in all probability, recover its independence and the SACP will slip back into the more modest role it played in the political arena before Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd banned the ANC in 1960.

Dr Ellis, who recently visited South Africa, adds a proviso to his prediction: the SACP can theoretically salvage its position if it advances a new ideology to galvanise the ANC/SACP alliance in the same way as the commitment to "armed struggle" did.

Dr Ellis, however, does not think the SACP will succeed, in part because the SACP's new acceptance of multiparty democracy has deprived it of its revolutionary zeal and blurred the distinction between it and bourgeois parties advocating social democracy.

Nationalisation will not fulfil the mobilising role of armed struggle, he says, noting that there is growing resistance to nationalisation in the ANC and that even the SACP is not in favour of across-the-board State ownership.

Dr Ellis, whose book traces the relationship between the SACP and the ANC in exile, predicts that the ANC and the SACP will revert to the positions they occupied in the 1930s and 40s, when the larger, more moderate ANC was often at loggerheads with the smaller, more radical SACP.

Joe Slovo, chairman of the SACP and a former chief of staff of MK, challenges a central tenet of Dr Ellis's thesis: that the SACP acquired power within "and over" the ANC because it provided the links to resources from the Soviet Union and its allies.

Mr Slovo points to the Namibian guerilla movement, Swapo, arguing that it did not have an alliance with a local communist party and yet it was able to win Soviet backing for its war against colonial rule in Namibia.

Thus, he reasons, the ANC was not intrinsically dependent on the SACP for an entree to the communist world.

But he does not expect that these differences will lead to a separation in the immediate future.

The SACP is destined to fade into relative insignificance, if not wither away, forecasts Africa specialist, Stephen Ellis. But veteran communist, Joe Slovo disagrees strongly, reports **PATRICK LAURENCE**

As the veteran communist sees it, South Africa is divided into two broad camps today: an ANC-led camp, of which the SACP is an important part, and a rival camp led by the ruling National Party.

There are no differences between the ANC and the SACP on the immediate political agenda: the final elimination of apartheid, the drawing up of a new constitution, the election of a constituent assembly, and the establishment of a non-racial democracy.

Mr Slovo expects that the ANC and SACP will contest constituent assembly elections on a common platform and with a common list of candidates.

He acknowledges the possibility of divergence on socio-economic issues further down the line, arguing that these deep-rooted issues — which have been largely subordinated to the fight against "race tyranny" — will force the ANC to ask itself: quo vadis?

Dr Ellis argues that the SACP over-emphasised the military struggle during the 1980s and that, by failing to develop the political struggle inside South Africa to its full potential, unnecessarily prolonged the life of the apartheid State.

Mr Slovo, who visited Vietnam in 1978 with the then ANC president, Oliver Tambo, to learn about guerilla war at first hand, disagrees.

The strategy deployed after the visit did not, Mr

Slovo maintains, aim at overthrowing the apartheid State in a frontal military attack: rather it was conceived as a multifaceted assault, of which the political struggle inside South Africa was an important component.

29-4-92

Coalition will break the current stalemate, says HSRC

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: The current stalemate between political rivals in South Africa will be broken by the creation of a coalition government by 1995, according to new forecasts by the Human Sciences Research Council.

HSRC general manager Professor Lawrence Schlemmer predicted yesterday that the most likely scenario to unfold was what he termed the establishment of a "big party cartel" to provide a compromise over divisions at political negotiations.

He was addressing a conference held at the Council for Scientific and Industrial Research in Pretoria called to examine the outlook for South Africa in its transition phase.

"Because of the rapid pace of transformation at the moment, South Africa's future is in a speed wobble," he said. "But there are patterns emerging that show the major players can still find solutions to the current stalemate."

Surveys indicated that no single political party would win an absolute majority if snap elections were held.

The African National Congress and SA Communist Party would win 45 percent of the vote; the National Party and Democratic Party 32 percent; Inkatha Free Party 12 percent; Conservative Party five percent and others six percent.

Despite all the political rhetoric by party leaders, none of the main parties could achieve its individual objectives without some form of co-operation. Neither the ANC, nor the NP, nor the IFP enjoyed the image of sufficient widespread legitimacy to govern alone in the foreseeable future.

Polls showed that the rank-and-file supporters of all the main parties favoured a period of power-sharing, at least in the transition phase.

Professor Schlemmer said there were also "strong pressures" from overseas to achieve a moderate political settlement.

Nationwide surveys showed that over 50 percent of supporters of all main parties favoured a coalition and said no single party should govern alone.

IFP demands equal status for king in Codesa agreement

Daily News Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG: An agreement has been reached in principle on the participation by the Zulu king and other traditional leaders in Codesa — but while a solution to this vexing problem seems tantalisingly close, Inkatha Freedom Party chairman Frank Mdlalose learned that unless the Zulu king was given full participation the agreement did not "mean much".

This means that unless King Goodwill Zwelithini was given equal status to other Codesa delegates, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi would not participate in Codesa 2 on May 15 and 16.

Dr Mdlalose said the IFP was "frustrated" at the lack of progress on the king's participation.

He said nothing less than full participation by the king would satisfy the IFP.

Management committee chairman

Pravin Gordhan said the issue could be resolved at the next meeting of the committee on May 4.

In addition to participation by traditional leaders, the committee yesterday agreed that there should be no difference between the participation of the Zulu King and other leaders.

They would take part in Codesa on the basis of four delegations — from each of the provinces — each comprising 12 delegates and five advisers.

Transvaal has been divided into six sub-regions, comprising the homelands and self-governing territories in the Transvaal, and each would be allowed two representatives.

Three options on the form of their participation are still to be decided on: full participation; limited participation on issues that affected them directly; and full participation but leaving traditional leaders, who remain above party politics, outside decision-making mechanisms.

Qwash! Sound of Soweto

Teenagers'

1992

backyard

gun factory

is no game

ABBEY MAKOE

Weekend Argus Correspondent

QWASH! — that's the new kind of gun being manufactured in the backyards of Killarney and Meadowlands Zone 1, Soweto, by teenage boys as young as 15.

In a two-hour interview, the boys, commanders of the local defence unit, described how they used the guns against police and hostel dwellers in the strife-torn area.

Since February, when a township woman was killed in a hand-grenade attack, allegedly by hostel dwellers, parts of Killarney and Meadowlands near the hostel have become known as "No Man's Land".

The teenagers say three groups are fighting for control of this area. They are the boys themselves, hostel dwellers and the police.

The boys, some dressed in khaki army jackets, say they have taken up arms to protect their parents and living space.

None of the boys would say who had invented the guns, but all seemed to know how to make them.

They call the guns Qwash after the sound the wooden firearms make when the bullet goes off. Any kind of a bullet can be used without difficulty, they say.

The gun is made of wood and covered in black insulation tape.

Thick wire, about 15cm long, is placed inside the wood. The wire, connected to a small rubber string, is used as a trigger.

There is also a spring at the rear end. It is connected to a short nail.

To shoot, one hand is used to pull the rubber backwards. The rubber is let loose in the air and with the help of the spring, the wire forcefully propels a bullet out of the barrel.

According to the boys, the speed at which a shot is fired matches that of guns manufactured legally.

They would not disclose the source of their bullets. "We have connections," said 16-year-old Tsholofelo, who does not attend school.

Other weapons the boys use in their overnight patrols are knives, iron bars and pangas.

"Our problem is that we don't have enough weapons to launch a full-scale attack on the hostel," they said.

It is 8pm on Wednesday. A defence unit session entailing military-style planning begins in a large, electrified shack.

A woman in her 50s knits quietly in the far corner. A litre of cooldrink is placed on the table in my honour.

"My broer," said Kpile, who is aged 15 and in Standard 2. "I no longer walk around in Killarney during the day. Old women hate me and I fear they may point me out to the police."

The boy looked younger than his claimed 15 years. Asked why anyone would put the police on to him, he said:

"We caught a hostel dweller. There were arguments about whether he should be killed or handed to the police. I got angry at the women wasting time, took out my knife and stabbed him to death.

"The women think I did something wrong. You see, we're trying to protect the community with our lives. Hostel dwellers waste no time when they've captured one of us. I didn't have to waste time ..."

It's 10pm. There is a sound of a gunfire less than 3km from the headquarters.

Lesley takes out his Qwash. Tsholofelo becomes wild and wants to go outside where another group is patrolling.

Lesley slaps Tsholofelo in the face. Half the room supports Lesley. Commotion erupts.

"If you don't respect each other, how can you win any battle outside," asks the knitting woman. "Stop it," she says, and the hubbub subsides.

The boys' first target will be the hostel dwellers, then the police.

The SAP patrol vehicles are known by their sound. In Meadowlands, the police cars are dubbed "Iron Fist". In Killarney — the "A-Team".

At 11pm, sporadic gunfire continues from nearby. The boys plan to help comrades in Bakwena Street, known as a barrier line. It is about 100 metres from the hostel.

We move outside and the boys take up positions in the narrow streets. They move towards the hostel, communicating by whistling.

Everyone is a leader. It's yet another day of do or die. I'm urged to come along amid the shooting.

Gunfire can be heard all through the night. At 5am the group is relieved by a new shift.

Elderly people on their way to work commend the "good job" the boys are doing.

Not so the police. They do not tolerate anyone taking the law into their own hands, says Captain Joseph Ngobeni, Soweto police liaison officer.

"We don't cause the violence; we quell it," he said.



□ **BATTLE ZONES:** A township group armed with makeshift weapons makes its feelings known.