

The Star

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SA's historic moment

THE NATIONAL Peace Accord, signed at the weekend by nearly 30 organisations and governmental institutions, is one of the most important agreements in South African history. Its scale and significance is clear when it is compared with the National Convention which led to the Act of Union in 1910.

The National Convention involved 30 white men; the National Peace Accord has drawn together scores of men and women of all races in an urgent quest for peace. Where the National Convention sought to reconcile and unify former enemies less than a decade after the Anglo-Boer War, the National Peace Accord is integrally linked to the search for a wider negotiated settlement between South Africans of all races.

If it is scuppered by violence and fails, the negotiating process will sink with it. That is why it is so imperative for all South Africans to support the accord. Politicians who are negligent or hostile to the peace process should know that they will be held to account by all South Africans.

As President de Klerk has noted, the accord is not perfect: it contains clauses which some signatories may dislike and it omits clauses which rivals may have preferred to include. On the whole, however, it is a carefully thought out, viable document which also has the backing of a wide range of influential church leaders.

Differences of opinion have already been voiced in public over the presence of Inkatha supporters outside the hotel where the accord was signed. Nelson Mandela of the ANC flatly contradicted Mr de Klerk's assurance that the police were impartial, proclaiming that the SAP favoured Inkatha. Mangosuthu Buthelezi, in turn, implicitly accused Mr Mandela of "nurturing the falsehood" that the police treated Inkatha differently. There is nothing in the accord, however, which prohibits frank expression of differences.

But, now that it has been signed, we expect all politicians to honour the clause which prohibits the carrying of weapons in public (and not merely in "unrest areas"). Possession of weapons, of any sort, is inimical to the accord and to the peace that South Africa desperately needs.

Mood of 'extreme enthusiasm'

The Star 16.9.91

Peace plan already on the move

By Peter Fabricius and
Esmare van der Merwe

Moves to establish the complex set of structures agreed to at the National Peace Convention are already under way.

All those who signed the historic accord in Johannesburg on Saturday believe it can work only if it is implemented without delay, and the first meeting of the National Peace Committee — the centrepiece of the peace plan — is expected to hold its first meeting on Friday.

The NPC replaces the preparatory committee that brokered Saturday's deal, and will comprise representatives of churches, business, the Government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party. The preparatory committee met immediately after the convention to discuss the next steps in the implementation of the accord.

"The mood is one of extreme enthusiasm among the signatories, and we are getting going today," one of the conveners said this morning.

"I fully expect that the work and enthusiasm that went into the weekend accord will be matched by efforts to implement it."

In spite of disagreements over sensitive areas of the accord, all major leaders



confident it marks a breakthrough — President de Klerk said last night it opened the way for a quick start to constitutional negotiations.

High on the NPC's list of priorities will be the "expedient and effective" establishment of the standing statutory Commission on Violence and Intimidation, the National Peace Secretariat, special criminal courts to try crimes of political violence, and mechanisms to monitor police conduct.

Confidence was expressed by participants in spite of unhappiness with the actions of IFP supporters outside the peace convention venue on Saturday.

Government sources said yesterday the presence of about 100 heavily armed IFP supporters at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg seriously jeopardised the National Peace Convention alliance.

They also cited IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's "grand-standing" as a matter of extreme annoyance to the Government.

Although President de Klerk publicly tried to put a brave face on it, sources said the Government was furious at the IFP's performance.

They said the gathering of the ranting IFP supporters at the hotel had embarrassed the Government. And Chief Buthelezi's "hard-to-get" approach in the run-up to the convention had tried the Government's patience.

"I think you can forget about a moderate alliance. What was moderate about that?" one source said.

Sources told The Star at the weekend that the accord was nearly wrecked during the last few days before the convention.

In all-night sessions, negotiators representing the Government, the IFP and the ANC clashed heavily on certain aspects of the accord.

And even an issue as seemingly trivial as Archbishop Desmond Tutu's scheduled chairmanship of one of the sessions required an NPC delegation to fly to Ulundi to consult Chief Buthelezi.

Issues that remain unresolved after the accord in-

Optimism over new peace plan

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clude those of "cultural" weapons, the role of the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and a code of conduct for the security forces.

The accord is, nonetheless, being widely regarded as the most important milestone on the road to lasting peace.

But its fragility was demonstrated minutes after its signing when Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela openly clashed over the presence of the IFP supporters outside the hotel.

Both Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk issued an invitation to the right-wing parties that did not attend the convention to become part of the process — or face marginalisation.

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'We won't be bulldozed to early poll'

The Government would not be bulldozed by the Conservative Party into holding an election before its present term of office ended, President de Klerk said yesterday.

He also indicated that the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), should be disbanded because it was not "in the spirit" of the Peace Accord.

Speaking on SABC-TV's Agenda programme last night, Mr de Klerk said the Government had a five-year term of office and hoped in that period to hold a referendum in terms of the existing constitution to approve the new negotiated constitution.

Concerning private and political armies, he indicated he had received "certain guarantees" days before the signing of the accord from the ANC regarding the future of MK.

In terms of the Peace Accord no private armies may be formed or continue to operate.

Mr de Klerk added it was "high time" that the ANC became a political party.

Questioned about the carrying of traditional weapons — especially at the Peace Accord signing ceremony — Mr de Klerk said the issue was a very emotional one, particularly for the Zulu nation. — Sapa.

Acts of violence subsiding — police

By Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Last week's wave of violence, which claimed more than 121 lives in five days, highlighted the need for the signing of Saturday's historical Peace Accord. Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said today.

Captain Kotze said the fact that the violence — which started suddenly last Sunday — appeared to have subsided in the past few days was "a most important development". The peace accord highlighted the need for grassroots involvement in peace initiatives.

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said her organisation did not want to dwell on the past, but hoped the accord would go a long way towards ensuring that events such as last week's violence did not occur again.

'Accord may end sanctions, action'

By Esmaré van der Merwe
Political Reporter

In the spirit of give-and-take engendered by Saturday's Peace Accord, ANC president Nelson Mandela signalled the ANC's willingness to compromise on two of its key bargaining chips: mass action and sanctions.

At an international media conference, Mr Mandela announced that the ANC would not resort to mass action campaigns if the accord worked, and would drop its insistence on the maintenance of sanctions once mutual trust had been established between the ANC and the Government on the creation of a non-racial unitary state with a one person, one vote system.

Mr Mandela was asked whether the accord's provision that no political party could seek to compel or force any person to withhold his or her labour meant the ANC would no longer embark on mass action.

"If the accord works well, there will be no question of any mass action. But if we (the signatories) fail to honour our obli-



gation and observe the terms of the Accord, and make no headway through persuasion, the only other power we (the ANC) can use is the power we have. Mass action is part of the power we will use if the power of negotiation and persuasion fails."

Support

Later Mr Mandela was asked whether the ANC would support the lifting of sanctions to comply with the Accord's provision that all political parties would facilitate the rapid removal of obstacles to development and economic growth.

He said the ANC had introduced sanctions to achieve the abolition of apartheid and the extension of the vote to all

South Africans.

Apartheid laws had been scrapped but inequality still existed. As long as discrimination remained in the State's provision of health care, education and housing, sanctions would remain.

"I don't have the vote because of the colour of my skin. There is no reason why we should call for the lifting of sanctions."

However, the ANC was prepared to consider calling for the lifting of sanctions once its suspicion had been removed about the Government's sincerity to eradicate apartheid and to build a non-racial unitary state with an equal vote.

"It is possible that on the basis of that alone we can consider the lifting of sanctions before our objectives have been reached. But unfortunately, in our discussions with the Government, we have found the road very bumpy."

He expressed optimism that the differences between the ANC and the Government could be resolved soon.

Government sources said several clauses in the accord implied opposition to sanctions, and a contradiction of the ANC's official policy.

'Stayaway for E Rand'

Kaizer Nyatumba
Political Staff

Friday's call for a two-day stayaway applied only to the East Rand and did not affect the rest of the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region, according to African National Congress PWV regional spokesman Bonnie Mamoepe.

On Monday-Tuesday stayaway, Mr Mamoepe said, applied only to the East Rand because that area was "the hardest hit by the violence".

In a joint statement on Friday, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (Cosatu), the ANC (PWV region) and the Civic Association of the Southern Transvaal said they were totally committed to the Peace Accord and that their action was strictly voluntary to support the peace initiative.

Mr Mamoepe today told The Star the three organisations had called for the stayaway in the East Rand and that the Mshenguville Crisis Committee had called for a march today to protest against violence in the area and to rebuild shacks destroyed during the violence.

He said it was because the stayaway was restricted to the East Rand that no consultations were held with other townships on the PWV.

Asked about the success of the stayaway in the East Rand, Mr Mamoepe said he had been busy correcting wrong impressions this morning that he did not have time to evaluate the response to the stayaway call.

He denied, however, that the PWV region of the ANC had in the past few months called a stayaway which had a poor response.

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Keep White SAP out of Black areas: Mentz

Citizen Reporter

THE Conservative Party spokesman on law and order, Mr Moolman Mentz, yesterday called for White policemen to be kept out of Black unrest areas.

Speaking at the CP's Transvaal Congress in Pretoria on Saturday, he said policemen should rather draw a cordon around unrest areas to prevent the violence from spilling over into White areas.

Mr Mentz said White policemen, of whom the majority were CP supporters, were no longer prepared to risk their lives in unrest areas.

They would rather serve in White areas to

prevent the murder, assault and rape of White senior citizens.

He said the government was not effective in combating crime, especially murder.

More than 49 out of every 100 000 people in South Africa stood a chance of being murdered while in the USA the corresponding figure was only nine out of every 100 000.

Concern was expressed by some of the delegates that a new government might try to disarm Whites.

Mr Mentz said he did not know of any such plans but if something like that was planned, the CP would resist it

with all the means at its disposal.

Concerning the terms of the Peace Accord and the way it affected the police, he said it was clear that the National Party was expressing a lack of confidence in the force; it was delivering the SAP to revolutionary powers.

He said the clause which would make the police accountable to the public instead of government was totally unacceptable. If the government wanted to distance itself from its responsibilities, an election should be called to allow the CP to take that responsibility.

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Impressarios hail ANC's reversal

SOUTH African show business impresarios and cultural and sporting figures have hailed the ANC's decision to reverse its hardline approach on contacts with the Commonwealth of Nations.

They called it a significant breakthrough for multilateral communications.

Mr Gora Kadodia, who was one of several South Africans to pioneer cultural ties with India, welcomed the move as a positive acknowledgment.

He is bringing to South Africa Aamir and Salman Khan, among a company of leading stage and screen artists, for the Chamakte Sitare concerts this month.

The president of the

1860 Indian Settlers' Association, Mr Krish Gokal, said he wished to express his association's gratitude to the ANC for easing the sanctions logjam.

He was also thankful to the ANC for facilitating, what he termed, a new era of sports and cultural contact that would launch South Africa into international participation in these arenas.

The ANC's decision was conveyed to the Commonwealth's Conference of Foreign Ministers meeting in New Delhi this week.

ANC executive member Mr Alfred Nzo was reported to have given the organisation's qualified sanction to sports and cultural events. — Sapa.

Natal's 'little Beirut' gives hope for peace

CUT INTO the hillside facing Mpumalanga's Unit One are rows of what might pass for oversized graves, serving as a reminder of why the township was once tagged "little Beirut". The sunken rectangles are graves of a sort, marking where homes once stood before 2,000 people died in the slaughter that engulfed the township of just 60,000. After the residents were murdered or burnt from their homes, the buildings were torn apart down to the last stone.

Even on the vast scale of political killing in Natal, Mpumalanga stood out. Young ANC comrades murdered old women at the bus stops. Inkatha warriors burnt their opponents alive. Yet it is Mpumalanga that has become a model, and a test, for the national peace accord signed on Saturday by the ANC, Inkatha and the government in an attempt to end six years of carnage that has cost close on 11,000 lives. But in some quarters politics remains more important than lives.

An Inkatha warlord and an ANC insurance salesman brought a peace to Mpumalanga that has held for nine months without a death or a single shot fired over political rivalry. Far from encouraging the settlement, senior Inkatha officials are attempting to shatter the peace.

Inkatha warlord-turned-negotiator, Sipho Malaba, used to be at the forefront of the killing. Political affiliations in Mpumalanga

Chris McGreal finds a South African township where violence between the ANC and Inkatha has stopped, but old hatred still simmers

largely are along class lines, with poorer areas tending to back Inkatha. Mr Malaba kept ANC influence at bay in his stronghold — Unit One. But with death touching most families, including his own loss of three cousins and a nephew, he recognised the war-weariness. He had rejected ANC overtures but his attitude changed with the appointment of Meshack Radebe, the ANC chairman.

Mr Radebe not only pleaded peace but admitted responsibility for his side's actions. Within weeks he brought a halt to attacks on Inkatha supporters travelling to work and reopened schools. At Mpumalanga's high school young men who a year ago were feuding now mix easily. But some senior Inkatha officials did not like this conversion.

"There are divisions within Inkatha. Some [Inkatha] MPs are exploiting the situation. They got jealous. Some want to destroy it, or claim credit," Mr Malaba said.

These detractors are attempting to remove him from the peace negotiating committee. Mr Malaba is uncertain if they want to

unseat him because his popularity in the township has undercut their own power, or if they wish to destroy the settlement because violence has proven an effective obstacle to spreading ANC influence. But Mr Radebe warns that without Mr Malaba the peace accord will collapse.

"Before we think about Inkatha and the ANC we must just think about peace. But what is happening now, because Sipho is succeeding in maintaining the peace, now they're jealous of Sipho Malaba. They want to kick him out. But we won't talk to anyone but Malaba and his committee," Mr Radebe said.

The peace is not total. There are still deaths in Mpumalanga, but not that greatly upset the township after young men, including ANC supporters, spread the word late one night that an Inkatha attack was imminent. Residents did not hesitate to take to the hills. The attack did not materialise, and people returned to discover their homes looted.

Sipho Malaba said: "Criminals use violence as cover. People were sick of it but they were scared to stand up to them. But once we said it had to stop they started identifying the thieves."

"Fortunately, the only people still killing one another are the criminals. It's OK if they die. I don't care, man. The way they've been killing people, even Meshack is happy about it."

The Independent
16/9/91
London

PEACE RIFT OVER PRIVATE ARMIES

CITIZEN

16/09/91

By Tony Stirling

SERIOUS differences exist between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party on one of the crucial provisions in the Peace Accord — that relating to the question of private armies.

According to ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, a clause which states that "no private armies shall be allowed or

formed" does not mean that the ANC intends to disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

He said the ANC had no intention, now or in future, of disbanding MK.

The president of the IFP and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, questioned by The Citizen after Saturday's convention in Johannesburg at which the Accord was signed by the ANC, IFP, the Nat-

ional Party said the inclusion of the clause on private armies was "meaningless" if it did not apply to the MK.

Twenty-three organisations and political parties signed the accord at the Carlton Hotel convention, and a similar number of organisations pledged they would support it.

All parties represented in the tri-cameral Parliament signed the accord.

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Clash on private armies

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with the exception of the Conservative Party, which said it would not be a party to the accord or similar negotiations.

Both the ANC and its trade union arm, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, signed the accord with "serious reservations", but Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, "solemnly" committed the SACP to "the spirit and detail" of its terms.

Referring to the refusal of the ANC to disband MK, Mr Mandela told a Press conference that the matter was under discussion between the ANC and the government, and in a spirit of reconciliation attempts were being made to find an amicable solution.

State President De Klerk said he had referred to the fact that there should be a continuation with other agreements, over and above the accord.

In this regard, he had been referring to agreements such as the Pretoria Minute and other bilateral agreements, and there was already a basic agreement on certain actions with regard to weapons. Negotiations on this and other aspects were continuing.

Chief Buthelezi, who did not respond at the Press conference, spoke to The Citizen afterwards.

The final draft of the accord contained a small, but significant change in wording on the question of private armies.

The original clause said no private armies could be "formed", while the final draft said none could be "allowed or formed".

It is believed from delegates involved in the pre-conference negotiations that this change in wording, and that in which the clause relating to the carrying of weapons was changed from "dangerous weapons" to "weapons", kept the negotiations busy until the early hours of Friday morning, and in session again until about 1.30 pm on Friday, before consensus was reached.

Inkatha was the party said to be most insistent on a clause which it believes prohibits private armies to be formed, or existing ones to be maintained.

Further negotiations are also to be held on the question of the carrying of weapons, considered another critical area of the accord.

Mr De Klerk said the definition of weapons was still the subject of discussions, and that a proclamation would be issued after negotiations with all interested parties, in par-

ticular the ANC and the IFP.

One of the most important features of the weekend convention was the ANC's indication that it would be prepared to refrain from mass action for the present.

But it retained the right to revert to mass action if negotiations failed to address what Mr Mandela called problems.

As expected, the Pan Africanist Congress did not sign the accord.

The PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said the PAC could not be seen in any apartheid structure, and, therefore, could not sign the accord. But he committed the PAC to working for peace.

Azapo pledged support, while the other major Black trade union groupings, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) undertook to take the accord to its members for decision.

All the signatories and participants at the convention said the peace accord in itself would not end the violence and intimidation, and stressed the need to get the various monitoring mechanisms embodied in the accord working as quickly as possible.

The National Peace Committee, the major instrument for implementation, is expected to be formed this week.

16/09/91

BRIEFING

Hitches don't halt peace accord

Despite unnerving hitches, the National Peace Accord took off with a flourish at the weekend. However, some crucial issues remain. ESMARE VAN DER MERWE and PETER FABRICIUS report.

THE National Peace Accord was launched with much drama, fanfare and optimism at the National Peace Convention in Johannesburg on Saturday, but some crucial issues have still — after months of top-level negotiations — not been cleared up.

Among the issues still unresolved are the position of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the carrying of weapons, and a code of conduct for the South African Defence Force.

After a week of intense wrangling, the references to weapons in the accord were amended in a few significant ways on the eve of the convention.

Most important was that where the previous draft accord forbade the carrying of dangerous weapons at political gatherings, processions or meetings, the word "dangerous" was dropped from the version agreed to on Saturday.

And a new clause was inserted stating that the Government would issue proclamations to effect the ban.

Government and ANC sources said the effect of dropping the word "dangerous" was that all weapons — including the so-called cultural weapons so dear to the Inkatha Freedom Party — would be forbidden at political occasions.

However, IFP sources disagreed, and made it clear that the precise nature of the ban still had to be negotiated with the Government.

Said a senior ANC source: "As far as we are concerned, all weapons have now been banned. I'm not so sure whether Inkatha understands that, though."

The central question is whether or not "traditional" Zulu assegais should be allowed at political meetings.

However, ANC sources said its negotiators had wanted a definition — specifically outlawing all weapons, including knobkerries, to be included in the accord. This, the sources said, could not be achieved because the IFP refused.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi took a hard line on the issue in an impromptu press conference at the convention saying that assegais were not dangerous weapons but "traditional accoutrements" of the Zulus.

The defiant chief, asked



IFP parade ... Zulus songs and dances formed the background to words of peace spoken by a multitude of South African leaders on Saturday.

Picture: Tom Edley

whether he did not regard a spear as a dangerous weapon, lashed out at the reporter and said: "Only one percent of victims have been killed with spears. It is the AK-47 that kills people."

But a senior Government source close to the negotiations dismissed these remarks as rhetoric.

He suggested that the Government and the IFP had already reached a provisional understanding that spears should not be allowed at political gatherings.

The proclamation which the Government would issue would make, countrywide, the existing ban on assegais at political meetings in unrest areas.

Another last-minute change

in the accord was that the clause stating "no private armies should be formed", was expanded to "no private armies should be allowed or formed".

The change was made at the insistence of the IFP, which argued that the original accord excluded the ANC's military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

However, Government sources said the changes did not imply that MK would be outlawed, as it was a legal organisation. But it did mean that it could not be used as a private army.

ANC president Nelson Mandela made it clear at a press conference after the convention that MK would not be dissolved "now or in the future".

But he added that the position

of MK was being negotiated with the Government, and because good progress had been made, it had not been thought necessary to mention MK in the accord.

Mr Mandela appeared to be referring to the negotiations on the DF Malan agreement relating to MK arms caches and certain of its activities.

President de Klerk pointed out that a clause in the final draft of the accord stating that it did not affect bilateral discussions had been inserted so as not to overrule the DF Malan talks.

Another major omission from the accord is the code of conduct for the SADF, which is still being negotiated.

However, this is expected to

be similar to the code of conduct for the police — and the SADF is already covered by the general provisions on security force conduct in the accord.

An important addition to the accord is that all security force provisions and codes have been extended to the self-governing territories.

This will mean that the sometimes controversial KwaZulu police will fall under the control of the mechanisms in the accord.

Saturday's convention was dominated by IFP leader Chief Buthelezi in one way or another.

His very vocal reservations about the workability of the accord, his objection to Archbishop Desmond

Tutu chairing part of the convention, as well as the presence of thousands of armed Inkatha imps at the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg placed him at centre stage — where he no doubt wanted to be.

His every move was tracked by scores of local and international journalists and cameramen.

Several participants in the convention objected to the presence of the rowdy IFP supporters.

But members of the preparatory committee did nothing, fearing any objections might prompt Chief Buthelezi not to sign the accord.

So for several hours the IFP leader in effect held the convention to ransom.

But then President de Klerk and Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel personally appealed to Chief Buthelezi to tell the crowd to go home.

This he did — after rousing speeches by himself and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini — from the roof of the Carlton Hotel patio.

The general anxiety about whether the IFP would sign the accord prevailed throughout the day.

Indicative of the sensitivity around the IFP issue was an immediate objection by the party's delegation, during a speech by Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa (firmly in the ANC camp) to the use of the word Inkatha instead of the Inkatha

Freedom Party.

The day of drama illustrated one point clearly: despite the relatively low support for the IFP in opinion polls, Chief Buthelezi's unorthodox approach has elevated his party into the top echelon of politics.

But whether it will remain there if the accord succeeds and universal peace comes, remains to be seen.

Despite the IFP histrionics, the absence of the right wing and the refusal of the PAC, Azapo and several other minor parties to sign the accord, it none the less remains a potent instrument for peace.

Whatever the outcome of the outstanding negotiations, it will still provide an impressive structure of codes and mechanisms to curb violence:

- A code of conduct for political parties which commits them to seek peace, and obliges them to "publicly and repeatedly" condemn political violence and encourage political tolerance among followers.

- Provisions for security forces, obliging them to be accountable to society and to maintain a high standard of conduct than others; establishing a Police Board on which members of the public serve to regulate the police; creating a Police Reporter (previously named a Police Ombudsman) — not necessarily a policeman — to monitor investigations of police misconduct and obliging the police to co-operate with various independent structures to resolve disputes.

- A police code of conduct which includes a commitment to use minimum force.

- A standing Commission on Public Violence and Intimidation to investigate the causes of political violence and ways of curbing it.

- A National Peace Committee to administer the implementation of the peace accord and ensure compliance with the codes of conduct.

- A State-paid but independent National Peace Secretariat to co-ordinate Regional Dispute Resolution Committees and Local Dispute Resolution Committees.

- Special criminal courts to hear cases of political violence and unrest. As Mr Mandela said, the accord is not a magic wand, but it did offer "an historic opportunity for peace".

The ANC and NP need to govern together to develop consensus, writes Herman Gillion

Building blocks of democracy

THE best kept secret of the National Party's constitutional proposals is that they are suggestions for structuring an interim form of rule, not a final constitution. It is during this interim period, which should last to the end of this decade, that the conditions will have to be created for a workable democratic system in South Africa.

Behind the NP's political strategy lies the recognition of some fundamental realities. South Africa, as a developing society, lacks virtually all the requirements for democracy, which have been spelled out by authorities on the subject such as Samuel Huntington, Juan Linz, Larry Diamond and Seymour Martin Lipset.

There is no widely shared sense of national identity, more than half the adult population is functionally illiterate, the inequality of income between the richest 10 percent and poorest 50 percent of the population is among the highest in the world, and there are not two major parties of roughly equal strength who are committed to fighting each other institutionally.

To this one can add the lack of a civil society (free press, trade unions, churches and other voluntary organisations) which has a racially overlapping membership and enjoys a large measure of autonomy from the existing political parties.

But if it is true that no one — if a choice were available — would have suggested a fully fledged democracy for South Africa, it is also true that South Africa does not have the option of pursuing an undemocratic alternative.

The second reality is that we live in a unique phase in world history where there is a common commitment to democracy among all the states that count today. They will insist that any government in South Africa, whether it be NP or ANC controlled, be democratic if it wishes to tap the financial and technological resources of the US, Europe and Japan. And without that, no significant economic growth is possible.

The third reality is that in divided societies like ours only the power-sharing variant of democracy has worked. The NP has

based its proposals on this reality, but there is also another reality that it should face up to. This is that power-sharing is much more likely to succeed where it is the product of the political process, and specifically electoral outcomes, than where it is dictated by a constitutional formula (as the NP proposals do).

Critics who oppose the NP proposals because they are deemed to be a recipe for paralysis are not necessarily wrong. However, the question is whether a country as unripe for democracy as South Africa can risk a form of democracy which could polarise and radicalise the entire polity.

South Africa over the next seven to nine years needs to construct the genuine building blocks for a democracy. First of all, we need at least two parties strong enough to replace each other as the government of the day. A democracy functions well only if today's opposition could become tomorrow's government. As that wise scholar Ed Keenan has remarked: If the majority and the minority are perpetual, the government ceases to have a media-

tory function and becomes an instrument of perpetual oppression of the minority by the majority.

This is the reason why the NP and the ANC need to realise that it is in their own separate and joint interests to have a strong adversary. Both movements need to make themselves attractive to the widest possible range of voters. For the ANC this means breaking its link with the Communist Party; for the NP it entails dropping its insistence on neighbourhood committees and an extra vote for property owners and rent- and ratepayers. The NP needs to heed the warning of its new coloured members that these proposals will greatly reduce its electoral appeal to people who are not white.

South Africa secondly needs an uncontroversial method for ensuring that a large party is not simply left out of government, which can happen under the West German system which the ANC proposes. It is not advisable to have a constitutional formula dictating this, as the NP wants. The very first thing the All Party Conference needs to do is investigate the

Venezuelan example where a separate pact was successfully concluded by the major parties before the first democratic election. They agreed to share power for at least the next decade.

Thirdly, the NP and the ANC need to enter government together in order to develop consensus about policy. There exists a quaint belief among some political commentators such as Ken Owen of the Sunday Times that constitutional devices and the constraints of common law are sufficient to ensure the successful development of democracy. As Robert Dahl, one of the greatest living authorities on democracy has remarked, these constitutional rules are trivial when compared to non-constitutional rules and practices.

And the most important of these is a consensus about how to address the major problems confronting society. As Dahl puts it: With such a consensus, the disputes over policy alternatives are nearly always over a set of alternatives that have already been winnowed down to those within a broad area of basic agreement.

It is only in governing together that the NP and ANC develop such a policy consensus.

Finally, the interim pact should be used to devolve substantial power to the regions by doing this allow the needs of South Africa to shape. Although the ANC is happy about this, the evidence from other divided societies overwhelmingly (that the more decentralised a society, greater its ability to cope with ethnic heterogeneity. Spain and Belgium are among the most recent examples of this trend.

A democracy will only coalesce about in South Africa if it is allowed to grow into one. If the main building blocks can be put in place over the short to medium term, a surprisingly healthy and vigorous democracy could be constructed by the turn of the century. The alternative is a dreary one-party state from which nearly all would want to escape. □

Herman Gillion teaches politics at the University of Cape Town.

Practical suggestions for ending SA's road carnage

STAR 16 SEPTEMBER 1991

A number of practical suggestions on ending South Africa's road carnage came out of a meeting at which the Drive Alive Foundation was launched. JACQUELINE MYBURGH reports.

Drive
alive!



A POINTS demerit system, prosecution of moving violations, heavier penalties for drunken drivers. These are some of the issues that invariably come up for discussion under the subject of road safety, chiefly because they are the road safety issues that authorities seem reluctant to do anything about, according to those present at the launch of the Drive Alive Foundation last Thursday night.

About 60 people attended the public meeting, which produced a lot of fighting talk and several positive suggestions as to how the foundation could have a real effect on the country's road death toll.

Among the people attending the meeting were city councillors, junior city councillors, representatives of the motor car industry and the retail industry, and driver training experts.

The main aim of the foundation, the meeting agreed, was to be independent, answerable to no one, and an alternative to the Government-sponsored National Road Safety Council.

Some of the most practical suggestions made at the meeting included:

● Lobbying for the immediate

introduction of a points demerit system which has succeeded elsewhere in the world.

● The publicising of Britain's "wear white by night" campaign to ensure the safety of pedestrians.

● Senior citizens should be made to pass annual driving tests.

● Traffic offenders should be sentenced to community service in hospitals where they come into contact with victims of motor vehicle accidents.

● Bartenders should be held responsible for "overdosing" drunken drivers.

● Schoolchildren should be educated in road safety because they are tomorrow's drivers.

One speaker said it was easier to mould young people than change older ones.

● Authorities should acknowledge cyclists as road users and they should be offered some form of protection.

● Low alcohol beer should be sold in all bars.

● The high level brake light was recommended as a means of reducing the high incidence of rear accident collisions.

● Road safety education should be carried out on the roads where it could reach everyone.

Campaigns conducted solely in newspapers and on television were discriminatory.

● Alternative routes should be suggested to reduce pressure on the roads.

● Pedestrians should be educated in an attempt to reduce the death toll.

● The involvement of members of the public in the form of traffic officer reservists was also proposed.

● The public had to be shaken out of its customary state of apathy and encouraged to write to or speak to local councillors and Members of Parliament about the situation on our roads.

● The sentencing by courts had to be made more effective. It was suggested that the attorney-general's office be asked to provide sufficient evidence for the sentencing of offenders for moving violations.

● The total onslaught against smoking should be refocused on drinking and driving since one smoker did not have the potential to kill 20 other people.

● Traffic officers should be paid higher salaries so that they were not open to bribes and to motivate them in their role of law enforcement.

Helping hand offered for money crisis

STAR SEPTEMBER 1991

THE JOHANNESBURG City Council management committee took the bull by the horns in the chandelier-lit arena of the council chamber on Wednesday last week, spelling out its vision of a non-racial interim government for the central Witwatersrand metropolitan region.

The loudest applause for management committee chairman Ian Davidson came from Cyril Ramaphosa of the Soweto Civic Association (SCA), who saw in it as the first considered answer to repeated demands that an authority be set up with the resources and expertise to run and repair South Africa's biggest township: Soweto.

That the SCA differed with Johannesburg on details of the plan was of small account, insisted Mr Ramaphosa.

They agreed on fundamental principles, and Johannesburg had acted in the firm belief that structural change was the key to resolving the financial crisis in Soweto.

He welcomed Mr Davidson's observation that "any step forward requires a holistic approach".

This implies that all issues are linked and a workable, acceptable solution has to address all issues simultaneously.

Johannesburg's proposal has three main elements:

● The establishment of a metropolitan services corporation or board to provide certain trading services on a metropolitan basis, such as electricity and public transportation.

● The involvement of Johannes-



Ian Davidson... new vision.

burg, Randburg, Sandton and Roodepoort in Greater Soweto and Alexandra through these structures.

This would give the new body the credibility, power and financial clout of the Regional Services Council, Mr Davidson said. Without funds and legislative powers, the chamber remained a talk shop.

In practice, it would mean that the proposed interim metropolitan authority would take over all the powers, functions, resources, and obligations of the RSC, while the metropolitan chamber would become the decision-making assembly of the interim body.

The decision-making arrangements of the chamber would stay in place. The day-to-day RSC tasks could be executed by an interim executive.

Mr Davidson said: "We cannot allow structural change towards a new metropolitan and local government system for the region to proceed in a hap-

Drastic but historic steps were taken by Johannesburg last week in a plan to try to resolve the financial crisis in the region, report JO-ANNE COLLINGE and LOUISE BURGERS.



Cyril Ramaphosa... praise.

hazard or fragmented fashion. It must be a balanced package. And we must be prepared to accept the constitutional implications involved.

"However, the situation on the ground demands that we take a drastic step. Our region is vital to the economy of our country, and we cannot allow, nor afford, the collapse of local government and the services it provides."

Until Wednesday, various parties in the Central Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber were deadlocked on how to overcome Soweto's financial problems.

The township councils and the province believed that higher service tariffs and higher levels of payment by residents were an absolute priority and could not wait for structural change.

The civics, on the other hand, argued that unless apartheid municipal structures were demolished, it was futile to expect

residents to pay up — putting money into the hands of inefficient and bankrupt councils with no hope of seeing any improvement in living conditions.

But, said Mr Ramaphosa, the core of the Johannesburg proposal — stable provision and payment for services; better provision of services; streamlined regional decision-making; and restructuring into metropolitan and local bodies — offered the chamber "a beacon that we can all start working towards".

The other civic bodies in the chamber were obviously content to have the SCA speak for them. The other white municipalities — Randburg, Roodepoort and Sandton — were sympathetic, but made it clear that they were not about to be hustled into immediate support.

Perry Oertel of Sandton pointed out that they might repent at leisure if they bound themselves to the principles of the plan, then found there were

significant differences of interpretation.

Mr Davidson emphasised that his proposal was only an outline and there were many details which had to be studied. The plan had, however, been presented to a number of prominent people and organisations across the political spectrum, and reaction had been favourable.

Mr Davidson said communities had to accept equal responsibility for the collection and payment of rates and charges. Johannesburg would not subsidise people who were not prepared to pay for services.

"Consequently, any step involving structural change is contingent on adequately resolving issues such as the ending of boycotts, the setting of economic tariffs, and the normalisation of payments for services in Greater Soweto and Alexandra."

The second part of Johannesburg's proposal dealt with the creation of a metropolitan services corporation to provide certain services.

The corporation could include Eskom and the Rand Water Board.

Greater Soweto and Alexandra would then have to request that the developed (white) councils take over their administration on a contract basis.

Any interim proposal would also have to address elements such as:

● Direct financial assistance by the Transvaal Provincial Administration and Government.

● The contributions of Eskom and the Rand Water Board.

The ANC and NP need to govern together to develop consensus, writes Herman Giliomee

Building blocks of democracy

STAR
16 SEPTEMBER 1991

THE best kept secret of the National Party's constitutional proposals is that they are suggestions for structuring an interim form of rule, not a final constitution. It is during this interim period, which could last to the end of this decade, that the conditions will have to be created for a workable democratic system in South Africa.

Behind the NP's political strategy lies the recognition of some fundamental realities. South Africa, as a developing society, lacks virtually all the requirements for a democracy, which have been spelled out by authorities on the subject such as Samuel Huntington, Juan Linz, Larry Diamond and Seymour Martin Lipset.

There is no widely shared sense of national identity, more than half the adult population is functionally illiterate, the inequality of income between the richest 10 percent and poorest 50 percent of the population is among the highest in the world, and there are not two major parties of roughly equal strength who are committed to fighting each other constitutionally.

To this one can add the lack of a civil society (free press, trade unions, churches and other voluntary organisations) which has a racially overlapping membership and enjoys a large measure of autonomy from the existing political parties.

But if it is true that no one — if a choice were available — would have suggested a fully fledged democracy for South Africa, it is also true that South Africa does not have the option of pursuing an undemocratic alternative.

The second reality is that we live in a unique phase in world history where there is a common commitment to democracy among all the states that count today. They will insist that any government in South Africa, whether it be NP or ANC controlled, be democratic if it wishes to tap the financial and technological resources of the US, Europe and Japan. And without that, no significant economic growth is possible.

The third reality is that in divided societies like ours only the power-sharing variant of democracy has worked. The NP has

based its proposals on that reality, but there is also another reality that it should face up to. This is that power-sharing is much more likely to succeed where it is the product of the political process, and specifically electoral outcomes, than where it is dictated by a constitutional formula (as the NP proposals do).

Critics who oppose the NP proposals because they are deemed to be a recipe for paralysis are not necessarily wrong. However, the question is whether a country as unripe for democracy as South Africa can risk a form of democracy which could polarise and radicalise the entire polity.

South Africa over the next seven to nine years needs to construct the genuine building blocks for a democracy. First of all we need at least two parties strong enough to replace each other as the government of the day. A democracy functions well only if today's opposition could become tomorrow's government. As that wise scholar Edi Kedourie has remarked: If the majority and the minority are perpetual, then government ceases to have a media-

tory function and becomes an instrument of perpetual oppression of the minority by the majority.

This is the reason why the NP and the ANC need to realise that it is in their own separate and joint interests to have a strong adversary. Both movements need to make themselves attractive to the widest possible range of voters. For the ANC this means breaking its link with the Communist Party; for the NP it entails dropping its insistence on neighbourhood, committees and an extra vote for property owners and rent- and ratepayers. The NP needs to heed the warning of its new coloured members that these proposals will greatly reduce its electoral appeal to people who are not white.

South Africa secondly needs an uncontroversial method for ensuring that a large party is not simply left out of government, which can happen under the West German system which the ANC proposes. It is not advisable to have a constitutional formula dictating this, as the NP wants. The very first thing the All Party Conference needs to do is investigate the

Venezuelan example where a separate pact was successfully concluded by the major parties before the first democratic election. They agreed to share power for at least the next decade.

Thirdly, the NP and the ANC need to enter government together in order to develop consensus about policy. There exists a quaint belief among some political commentators such as Ken Owen of the Sunday Times that constitutional devices and the constraints of common law are sufficient to ensure the successful development of democracy. As Robert Dahl, one of the greatest living authorities on democracy has remarked, these constitutional rules are trivial when compared to non-constitutional rules and practices.

And the most important of these is a consensus about how to address the major problems confronting society. As Dahl puts it: With such a consensus the disputes over policy alternatives are nearly always over a set of alternatives that have already been winnowed down to those within a broad area of basic agreement.

It is only in governing together that the NP and ANC may develop such a policy consensus.

Finally, the interim period should be used to devolve substantial power to the regions, and by doing this allow the federal units of South Africa to take shape. Although the ANC is unhappy about this, the evidence from other divided societies is overwhelmingly that the more decentralised a society, the greater its ability to cope with ethnic heterogeneity. Spain and Belgium are among the most recent examples of this trend.

A democracy will only come about in South Africa if it is allowed to grow into one. If the main building blocks can be put in place over the short to medium term, a surprisingly healthy and vigorous democracy could be constructed by the turn of the century. The alternative is a dreary one-party state from which nearly all countries now want to escape. □

Hermann Giliomee teaches politics at the University of Cape Town.

The Human Rights Commission focuses on what constitutes a political offence

Is defence of apartheid defensible?

STAR 16 SEPTEMBER 1991

THE HRC has long held the view that a political prisoner in the South African context is one who finds himself or herself in prison as a direct result of involvement in resistance to the system of apartheid.

This simple definition is not in conflict with the criteria agreed on by the ANC and the Government in Pretoria on August 6 1990 and would, for example, exclude anyone who acted in his own self-interest rather than promoting the cause of the demise of apartheid. It would not exclude, as the Pretoria Minute does not, the element of violence in any act of resistance. So the issue is clear, even if the Government has chosen to fudge it, and continues to act in an inconsistent manner.

Leaving that aside for the mo-

ment, we need to address a related but, in fact, totally separate issue. The issue is simply whether acts committed in support of, or in furtherance of, the system of apartheid should also be regarded as political offences, and their perpetrators be given the same consideration and treatment as anti-apartheid "offenders".

Here, again, the simple HRC definition is clear, since it is based on the universally held perception that apartheid is a crime against humanity and has indeed been declared as such. Acts in support of apartheid cannot be seen in the same light as those in resistance to apartheid.

Acts of support for apartheid take us into the realm not only of right-wing terrorism, so much in focus recently, but also of hit-

squad assassinations, security police torture and many other crimes committed in defence of apartheid power. To grant pardon or indemnity for such crimes falls outside the moral or even legal right of the existing Government, and for two reasons in particular.

The one is that this Government and its progenitors bear direct responsibility for creating the system that engineered or encouraged these crimes. The other is that this Government has thus far shown no sign of remorse, accepted no moral responsibility, for the devastating consequences of apartheid and the crimes committed in its name. "An experiment that has failed", is as far as it is prepared to go.

How then can it make judg-

ments on the culpability of individuals, who in a sense were also the victims of apartheid, witting or unwitting tools of a system rooted in apartheid power?

Such judgments can only fall to some future government which has no interest in maintaining apartheid power, or at the very least to an interim government which enjoys legitimacy independent of apartheid power — but there is now increasing urgency about the necessity to take decisions of this kind.

Lest the above remarks be misconstrued, the HRC hastens to say that it will be in the forefront of those who support a climate of reconciliation, a putting behind of the past in order to get on with the task of building a new and democratic South Africa. □

PEACE PACT BLOODSHED

JOHANNESBURG — Violence in black townships claimed 15 more victims only hours after government and anti-apartheid leaders signed a national peace pact.

The pact is a bid to stabilise South African politics and the build-up to reform.

It asks groups to investigate violent acts by police and citizens and marks the first agreement between the Government and the two main black movements — the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The agreement, called the National Peace Accord, is also seen as an

Killings as leaders squabble over rally

important test of whether the main political groups can work together.

Other accords have failed and leaders and delegates expressed doubts that the pact, signed on Saturday, would halt the clashes between the ANC and Inkatha.

At least 6000 people have been killed in the clashes in the past six years.

Underscoring fears of more violence, about 3000 armed Zulu supporters of Inkatha appeared outside the hotel where the pact was signed in a show of force.

They refused a request from police and soldiers to surrender their weapons, but there were no confrontations.

But President F.W. de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi squabbled during a televised news conference called to discuss the pact.

Asked if the rally had been authorised, Mr de Klerk said it posed no threat to anyone and police had no powers to take away their arms.

Mr Mandela strode to the lectern and inter-

jected: "I totally reject the position as stated by the state president.

"If the people outside were members of the ANC the police would have used force and if they had refused to move they would have used fire-arms."

Mr De Klerk then interrupted to say that his

security forces were impartial. Mr Mandela rejoined that he had had to stop his followers turning up to prevent trouble in the streets.

Mr Buthelezi then accused Mandela of a "falsehood" in charging police bias.

More than 135 people have died in a week of

clashes in Johannesburg townships, including 15 people killed in factional violence on Saturday night.

The violence threatened to derail the pact even before it was signed, but Mr de Klerk, Mr Mandela Mr Buthelezi committed themselves to the peace effort.

"The darkness of violence is making way for the lightness of peace," Mr de Klerk said as he signed the 33-page document.

"We dedicate ourselves to ending the spectre of terror in the lives of our people," Mr Mandela said.

Mr Buthelezi, who quoted the biblical account of creation when his turn came to sign, said: "God is creating a new order in South Africa. I believe that this peace accord is an instrument of God."

More than a dozen other political and labor organisations also signed, but some radical white and black leaders either boycotted the meeting or attended, refusing to sign.

— AP



● Mr Buthelezi ... "falsehood".



● Mr de Klerk ... impartial.



● Mr Mandela ... interjection.

WORLD NEWS

Timetable to end sanctions

FROM PAGE ONE

Senator Evans said he expected South Africa and Australia to negotiate a new air-services agreement soon to allow Qantas to resume direct flights to Johannesburg with reciprocal rights for South African Airlines. Qantas has not flown to South Africa since 1986.

South Africans wanting to travel to Australia will be able to arrange a visa within three or four days. Under the existing restrictions, they have to leave South Africa and apply for an Australian visa, which takes up to five weeks to be approved.

Senator Evans said Australia was considering sending an Australian trade delegation to South Africa to explore trade and investment opportunities. He said the first impact of the Commonwealth decision was likely to be a free flow of tourists and business people between the two countries.

The New Delhi meeting was attended by foreign ministers from Australia, Canada, Guyana, India, Malaysia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia and Zimbabwe.

Senator Evans swung his support strongly behind the push by Canada for the almost immediate partial lifting of sanctions. When he arrived last week, he said he was undecided about the position he would take because it was unclear whether some conditions set by the Commonwealth earlier this year for the lifting of the first phase of sanctions had been met.

After the meeting, Senator Evans said: "It is the case that there are some lingering doubts about political prisoners but there have been something over 1100 political prisoners released over the past few months. That is an overwhelming majority of people in that category."

The foreign ministers acknowledged in a communique that the South African Government had repealed the pillars of apartheid. But they said South Africa must urgently release those political prisoners remaining in jails.

The communique also expressed "grave concern" about right-wing terrorism designed to derail reform, and called on the Government to ensure "strict impartiality of security forces and to exert full control over the far right-wing elements."

The committee reiterated the Commonwealth's approval of ending South Africa's sports isolation on a sport-by-sport basis.

Senator Evans said the Commonwealth had decided to "modify or relax sanctions as changes occur."

The Commonwealth, he said, intended to focus its resources on keeping intact the financial sanctions that made it difficult for South Africa to receive international loan funds.

Peace deal signed as leaders feud

By ROSS DUNN, Johannesburg, Sunday

A historic peace accord has been launched in South Africa in an atmosphere of continued bitterness as the nation's major political leaders publicly feuded over a key element shortly after signing the document.

The National Peace Accord was signed in an attempt to end the violence that has ravaged the country. It has bound 29 organisations to a code of democratic values and sets up mechanisms to monitor, mediate in and investigate violence.

But immediately it was signed, political leaders argued over the presence of 2000 Inkatha supporters, brandishing traditional weapons and some firearms, who surrounded the meeting at a luxury hotel in Johannesburg.

One of them was hacked to death after being set upon just outside the city's central police station. Police also reported another two deaths after the signing of the accord.

At a news conference after the signing ceremony, the South African President, Mr De Klerk, the African National Congress President, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the Inkatha leader, Chief Buthelezi, differed sharply in their reactions to the Inkatha followers who virtually laid siege to the hotel venue.

Mr Mandela said if the demonstrators had been ANC members police would have taken action to disperse them.

He said he found it strange that the police on Friday had raided the Phola Park squatter camp east of Johannesburg — known to be an ANC stronghold — and confiscated the same weapons displayed by Inkatha members in front of the hotel a day later.

Mr De Klerk rallied to support the police, saying they did not have any powers to deal with people carrying traditional weapons in the city because it was not an unrest area.

"The people outside the hotel at no stage presented a threat to anyone," he said.

Chief Buthelezi said the Inkatha followers were not there to cause trouble but to salute the Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, who was also present at the meeting.

"I reject that the Inkatha Freedom Party is being treated differently," he said.

When questioned about the issue of traditional weapons, an emotional Chief Buthelezi stood up and said he carried one, as he pointed with his ceremonial rod.

There were also signs that the ANC had clear problems with the



An armed Zulu in traditional dress demonstrates outside the hotel where the peace accord was signed.

accord. It has called on workers to stay away from work in protest at last week's township violence in which more than 100 people died. This is in breach of the agreement against such actions. Mr Mandela argued that it would adhere to a ban on stayaways when the peace accord worked, but would use such actions when it did not.

The ANC also looked embarrassed when it stood firm on the maintenance of sanctions despite a commitment in the accord to improve economic growth.

The fact that all sides still had problems with the accord was underlined by the tone of realism in speeches by Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela.

Mr De Klerk said: "The signing of this peace accord is but a single

step on the arduous road to peace that still lies ahead.

"But this first step represents an important breakthrough. It establishes a firm foundation on which we can continue building."

Mr Mandela said: "We are under no illusions that this accord is a magic one. Our signatures alone cannot light the path to peace."

He urged the international community not to support any organisation that did not sign the document.

The conference ended on a higher note when jubilant Inkatha and ANC supporters outside the hotel cheered as their respective leaders left the hotel.

"Peace, Peace," they shouted, waving signs with the same message, as Mr De Klerk, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthelezi were whisked away.

Inkatha, ANC flout pact rules

By KATHLEEN BARNES in Johannesburg and agencies

THE war in South Africa's townships intensified yesterday while leaders of the country's main political factions signed a historic peace accord from which they retreated even before the ink was dry.

Thirty-two people died in continuing violence in townships in the 24 hours before the signing of the National Peace Accord, which aimed to put an end to the violence.

While the President of South Africa, Mr De Klerk, the president of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, indulged in platitudes about peace inside the Carlton Hotel in Johannesburg, several hundred Inkatha supporters, armed with an arsenal of spears, metal bars, axes, machetes and even a few firearms, chanted and danced outside, terrorising downtown shoppers.

An eleven-hour agreement on Friday containing concessions from the ANC on private armies and from Inkatha on carrying weapons in public had saved the peace initiative from collapse.

But minutes after the agreement was signed, Mr Mandela said the ban on private armies did not apply to the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we

Sizwe (Spear of the Nation), and Chief Buthelezi said the ban on carrying weapons did not apply to "traditional weapons" such as those carried by his supporters outside the hotel.

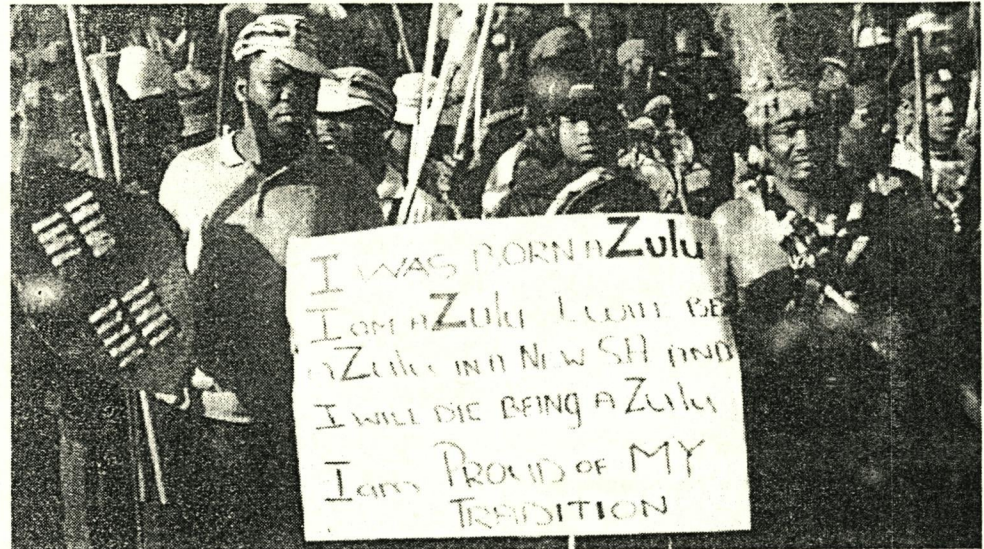
"We have no intention of disbanding Umkhonto we Sizwe, either now or in the future," Mr Mandela said after the signing of the agreement, which says in part: "No private armies shall be formed or allowed."

But while the peace accord was being tested, Commonwealth foreign ministers recommended lifting travel restrictions against South Africans as a first step in a program to phase out anti-apartheid sanctions.

The ministers, outlining some of the conditions for ending South Africa's isolation, said the removal of economic and financial sanctions depended on further moves by Pretoria towards a multi-racial democracy.

The foreign ministers of Australia, Canada, Guyana, Malaysia, Nigeria, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe and India participated in the two-day meeting.

They recommended lifting consular and visa restrictions against South Africans, ending the ban on cultural and scientific contacts, permitting South African tourism promotion and establishing air links.



Inkatha members rally in Johannesburg yesterday to call for an end to township violence — AFP picture

Death is nation's growth industry

JOHANNESBURG: Mr Herman Pieterse was having a bad day. The mortuary was getting full, an officer was complaining that some "kafir blood" had ruined his blue police shirt and still the bodies were coming in from the townships.

"We've got so many we're having to put them one on top of each other. They are piled high," sighed Mr Pieterse, a police commander whose district includes some of Johannesburg's worst areas of unrest. "It's a disgraceful way to treat the dead, but there's nothing I can do."

After 28 years on the force, Mr Pieterse was fed up dealing with the rising number of victims.

He is not the only one disgusted by the growing carnage.

With the death toll from factional violence surpassing 120 in one week, a swelling chorus of voices from grieving mothers to churchmen has called for a halt to the slaughter.

Violence, political or not, is a way of life in South Africa. In wealthy suburbs, white housewives are armed, while the idea of Saturday night fun for some of their teenage sons is to beat up, or even kill, a black.

Gun ownership among whites is higher than in the United States and guns are often used to settle arguments. Last week, a white man shot his friend dead after a

drinking bout and then was himself killed by police.

In the countryside, white farmers organised vigilante patrols after a series of murders of elderly couples by black robbers. Many farmers, in turn, think little of shooting any black trespasser or "troublemaker".

In the townships, black robbers shoot black shop owners and gangs of Sowetan youths break into orphanages to rape, or "jackroll" in township slang, young girls. There are estimated to be 1000 rapes a day in South Africa, the highest incidence in the world.

Death is one of South Africa's growth industries. In Soweto, 10 pirate funeral services have sprung up in the

last decade. At mortuaries, workers are bribed to point grieving relatives in the right direction.

Solving the problem of such callous disregard for human life will not be easy. Whatever the public positions of the President, Mr De Klerk, the leader of the African National Congress, Mr Nelson Mandela, and the head of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, their organisations are rivals for control of the new South Africa.

Certainly those charged with clearing up the mess are not optimistic. "Quite frankly, I am sort of terrified," said Mr Pieterse.

The Sunday Times

Ministers prepare four-step plan

Bans on S Africa *THE AGE* set to be 16.9.91 lifted

By LINDSAY MURDOCH,
New Delhi, Sunday

The Commonwealth will begin lifting sanctions against South Africa next month.

A four-step timetable was agreed by Commonwealth foreign ministers meeting in New Delhi at the weekend and is certain to be rubber-stamped at the Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting in Harare, Zimbabwe, on 16 October.

That is when the first step takes effect: the lifting of bans on air connections and cultural and scientific exchanges, and the removal of visa restrictions.

Step two will be the lifting of sanctions that prohibit trade and investment. This will take effect when the South African authorities approve an interim administration to share power with the blacks, probably in the next few months.

Step three, the lifting of sanctions preventing South Africa borrowing from world financial institutions such as the International Monetary Fund, will take effect once the black and white communities agree on the text of a democratic constitution.

Step four, the lifting of sanctions preventing arms trading, will be lifted only after a post-apartheid government is firmly established with full democratic controls and accountability.

The Australian Foreign Minister, Senator Evans, drafted the timetable. In conformity with step one, it is expected that next month Australia will re-establish air links with Johannesburg, remove restrictions on South Africans wanting to enter Australia, and end boycotts on cultural and scientific exchanges.

As an end to sanctions was orchestrated in New Delhi, a historic national peace accord was signed in Johannesburg. It binds 29 organisations to a code of democratic values and sets up proce-

dures to monitor, mediate in and investigate violence. But the accord was signed in an atmosphere of continuing bitterness, and the main political leaders today were publicly feuding over key elements of it.

The nine-member Commonwealth Foreign Ministers Committee on Southern Africa, which adopted the timetable, was formed seven years ago to direct the Commonwealth's sanctions policy.

The timetable rewards reform already approved by the South African Government but is designed to keep international pressure on it.

Senator Evans said he expected that the pace of change in South Africa "will rapidly accelerate", triggering the phased lifting of the sanctions.

The African National Congress told the Commonwealth foreign ministers that it opposed the partial lifting of sanctions, although it acknowledged the reforms already begun in South Africa. An ANC executive member, Mr Alfred Nzo, appealed to the committee to delay its decision to lift the people-to-people sanctions, which include air links.

Senator Evans later defended the Commonwealth timetable. "The ANC has been giving somewhat mixed signals on the relaxation of so-called people-to-people sanctions. We have had a number of indications that it will be able to live with the Commonwealth decision," Senator Evans said.

Several African states at first supported the ANC stand but their foreign ministers were persuaded during tough bargaining in New Delhi that the Commonwealth would look to be lagging behind developments if it did not recognise the significant change that has taken place in South Africa.

Continued: PAGE 7

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CITIZEN 16.9.9,

'De Klerk govt must go': Militant CP congress

THE clear message emanating from the Conservative Party's two-day Transvaal congress which ended on Saturday was that the De Klerk government must be destroyed.

There was a distinct atmosphere of militancy at the congress. The public meeting on Friday night, attended by about 1 300, saw the people in an even more militant mood with frequent interjections of "traitors" and "to the firing squad".

Dr Andries Treurnicht's reference to the beginning of the third freedom struggle was met

with a standing ovation.

Two recurring themes of the congress — which handled 101 discussion points — were that the party had to force a general election before the government handed the country over to Black majority rule and that the Afrikaner nation had a right to its own fatherland.

The party's strategy for attaining this would be to take charge of every possible organisation, from local blood transfusion services and school boards to town councils and the SADF.

In other words, "the volk" has to be mobilised.

The tone for the congress was set at the outset by a huge banner, bearing the legend "The Third Struggle for Freedom Has Begun", strung across the front of the hall.

In his speech on Friday night, CP leader Dr Treurnicht said there would be even stronger resistance from the volk if the government surrendered to Black majority rule and that the State President was taunting the volk by repealing laws which protected Whites.

— Sapa.

Police Officer

Police Officer

Mandela calls for UN support

De Klerk says accord opens door to talks

THE historic national peace accord has set the stage for full-scale constitutional negotiations, says President F W de Klerk.

He said at the signing on Saturday that multiparty negotiations must be one of the follow-through activities of the accord.

"I sincerely believe that until we also start negotiating constructively about what the future might look like, it will be difficult to implement this accord," he said after committing government and the NP to the accord's conditions.

De Klerk said the signing was only one step on the arduous road ahead, but it was an important breakthrough and a firm foundation on which to continue building.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi agreed that compromises reached during the drafting of the accord boded well for future talks.

It is understood that many of the signatories view the national peace committee — the political organ overseeing the accord — as a platform for preliminary talks leading to full-blown negotiations, overseen by the multiparty conference.

The committee, made up of the signatories and with two chairmen, one from business and one from religious leaders, will convene for its first meeting this week — possibly on Thursday or Friday.

It is ideally placed as a forum for negotiations. The signatories, in the working groups and preparatory committee, have begun identifying areas to be negotiated during national constitutional talks.

De Klerk said that on the issue of combating violence, all parties were united —

BILLY PADDOCK

but on a host of other issues, such as an interim government, they differed widely "even with regard to points of departure".

"The challenge therefore is an awesome one ... because the followers must see their leaders talking peace, talking about the future, and finding ways and means of co-operating."

The national peace committee is empowered by the accord to negotiate with parties that have not signed — such as the PAC, Azapo and the CP — to try to persuade them to make a commitment. This is also seen as a move to ensure that preliminary talks include all key players.

Mandela increased pressure by calling on the UN General Assembly and the international community to add their weight to the process. He called on the UN to pass a resolution forbidding governments from supporting organisations that did not sign the accord or support it.

It is understood he was directing this specifically at the CP, which has been seeking foreign funding, but that he also wanted it to affect the PAC and Azapo. These two might sign after the patriotic front congress next month.

SA Communist Party secretary-general Joe Slovo echoed De Klerk's sentiments on getting constitutional negotiations going. On signing the accord, he said: "Without peace there can be no democracy, and it is equally true that without democracy peace remains under constant threat."

US ambassador William Swing hailed the accord as the best hope yet for ending

□ To Page 2

Accord

the violence and advancing SA's transitional process. "The unprecedented range of leaders and organisations taking part ... offers a compelling glimpse of what the new SA can be," Swing said yesterday.

Sapa reports that British Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd also welcomed the signing, saying the UK looked forward to "early substantive talks ... aimed at agreement on a new constitution".

The peace convention left three issues unresolved: the continued existence of Umkhonto we Sizwe, the carrying of so-called traditional weapons, and a code of conduct for the Defence Force.

A last-minute compromise between the ANC and Inkatha on Friday on two issues saved the accord. Inkatha agreed to drop the word "dangerous" before weapons, and broaden the clause to include all weapons. The ANC agreed to the inclusion "no private armies shall be allowed or formed".

De Klerk said government would be negotiating with and consulting the ANC and Inkatha in the next two weeks to formulate

a clear definition of what a weapon was, and he would then have this gazetted.

The clash between the three main signatories — especially Mandela and Buthelezi — at the media conference after the signing showed that the issue of weapons was a major obstacle. Mandela and Buthelezi said signing the accord did not erase their differences, but they were prepared to deal with these differences openly and constructively through negotiation.

Mandela said that despite the ban on private armies, the ANC would not disband MK. MK was the subject of discussions between the ANC and government, which was why the accord did not cover this.

With regard to the code of conduct, Defence Minister Roelf Meyer said he had submitted a draft at the beginning of the month to the ANC but there had been no time to finalise it before the signing. It would be negotiated and added as a codicil.

● See Page 3

● Comment: Page 8

B/Day 16.9.91

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National peace committee to hold meeting this week

THE peace committee formed in terms of the national peace accord is expected to meet on Thursday or Friday.

The process towards implementing the accord, signed on Saturday by 29 political parties, state and trade union organisations, would have to move into top gear in the next few weeks to give force to the parties' commitment, a source in the peace process said yesterday.

He said the signatories met late on Saturday to decide on the first meeting of the peace committee. This would happen later this week.

The committee would be made up of the signatories and two chairmen, one from the business sector and another from the religious groups. Sacob president John Hall would be the obvious choice of all parties as business chairman, he said. However, choosing the religious person could be a problem because of the ties various religious groups had with organisations.

This would be the first stage to setting up the committee, the political organ overseeing the accord.

Other structures that had to still be set up were the monitoring mecha-

BILLY PADDOCK

nisms of the national peace secretariat, comprised of at least four nominated members of the committee and a representative from the Justice Department. The secretariat will establish and co-ordinate regional and local dispute resolution committees.

The standing commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation, which has already been gazetted, would operate along with these two bodies at the national level.

All the other structures at regional and local level needed legal force to operate effectively. These were the special regional criminal courts and the regional dispute resolution committees. At the local level there would be justices of the peace and the dispute resolution committees.

The accord makes provision for additional justices of the peace to be appointed after consultation with parties to the accord and the local dispute resolution committees.

It is understood that the Justice Department will appoint additional justices of the peace in certain areas and also make provision for extra courts as special criminal courts.

CITIZEN 16.9.91

16 killed in mine clashes

SIXTEEN people were killed in fighting between employees of Gengold's Winkelhaak mine near Evander on Saturday.

Thirty-four were injured, one of whom died later in hospital.

The violence broke

out at 3 am on Saturday in the mine's No 2 hostel complex. "In an effort to prevent further violence the mine's security force used teargas to disperse the crowd," the statement said.

ion.

In further developments early yesterday, employees attacked security personnel who were searching for more weapons after confiscating a large number on Saturday.

"The security personnel were forced to fire rubber bullets to protect themselves.

"The situation at the mine is quiet but tense."

Gengold said indications were that the violence had its origins in tribal differences. An investigation was underway to get to the root of the problem. — Sapa.

Kidnapped driver

FROM PAGE 1

The robbers fired at the police, who turned round and gave chase. At this point, Mr Stephens jumped out of his car.

The robbers then

Five men were killed and nine injured in the early morning clashes at the No 2 hostel, and later in the day 10 more men were killed and 25 were injured at the No 1 hostel.

The death toll rose to 16 on Saturday night when an injured man died in hospital.

The other injured are in a satisfactory condition.

CITIZEN

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* Page 17

ERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Separate freedoms the answer

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are no longer safe in their own homes; motorists have to drive with locked doors; business owners have had to employ security firms to ensure normal trading while banks have become the national targets for the get-rich-quick brigades from the townships.

The reality in South Africa is that, despite claims to the contrary, Zulus are still Zulus, Xhosas are still Xhosas, while the Sotho and Swazi that have a landed basis remain true to their ethnic origin and identity as well.

The fact that the National Party has chosen to ignore this fact lies at the base of their inability to control the security situation in this country.

The lesson of the crumbling Soviet Union, which attempted to submerge ethnic and national identity, is lost upon these lackeys of American business interests.

Latvians will be Latvians, Estonians Estonians

and 70 years of the harshest repression has failed to persuade such people differently.

Does one really suppose that the ANC and the National Party, both of which claim to represent the non-existent "South African people", will succeed in their giant political fraud on such a false basis?

No peace in this country will be forthcoming before ethnic identity is recognised. The events in the townships are just another demonstration of ethnic reality as opposed to multi-racial theory.

European ideals of political proportional representation, working as they do in ethnically homogeneous societies, are no solution for this racially diverse land. Separate freedoms will in the end prove to be the only answer.

A CLARK

White River

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dia, Uganda, all points north and south to the Limpopo, so why not here?

The so-called "taxi wars" are merely one group of "entrepreneurs" versus another, which is merely a repetition of what happened in New York, London, Liverpool, where the favourite persuader was the open razor.

What our "kêrels" have to do is to catch some AK chaps in different areas, "scientifically" interrogate them and then build up a war map of revealed control.

In other words, simulate the AK network map. Sooner or later the "godfather" will be uncovered and our "kêrels" must not be surprised if they are led to seats of learning or even holy sepulchres as the Brits found in Cyprus.

The AK pirates are not working out these attacks by themselves — they are not clever enough. There is a mastermind with underground command lines of communication. Our "kêrels" have to find him, then there will be peace.

PENLAN

Pretoria

Will be glorious

MY dear Chicken Runner
(The Citizen, September 5):

I wholeheartedly sympathise with you: Being a graduate, though I do not know the field, surely the South African community was going to benefit from you?

South Africa, I assure you, is going to be a glorious country. I am not trying to say don't go. Go, but wherever you and your wife are, if South Africa becomes what you never thought it would be, you are free to come back and contribute to developing it.

I seriously sympathise with you because our (mine, yours and others) taxes are misused. We are taxed so highly as to finance our own murderers. The State is hiding behind a transparent shield that in South Africa we do not progress economically because of the ANC's sanctions.

It is true the ANC has called for sanctions, but the State should have used the funds which it is using to finance the hit-squads, cross-border raids, the Askaris etc to build more industries.

Now my dear fellow countryman, let us ask in one voice as taxpayers, "Where has our money gone to, F W de Klerk?" or no proper accountability, no tax, we are not prepared to finance our destabilisers.

We have heard of Inkathagate. We do not want to hear or see the Ciskeigate or Bophuthatswana/Bophuthatdalagate.

We have had enough of the "gates", F W de Klerk.

MSEBENZI THEMBA
NONTLANTANE
(ANC/MK)

Soweto

CITIZEN 16.9.91

givings over talks

members of the African National Party and Cosatu are members of the SACP.

The accord will gain partial control of the security forces — it is unnecessary to enlarge on the fact of how dangerous this is. For example, I have heard no mention of people's rights to be secure from unreasonable searches in their homes.

In fact, I believe that a standing commission will authorise a nominee to enter and inspect any place and seize any record or piece of evidence, merely on receipt of any request by a party or complaint.

This opens the way for anyone holding a grudge to use the Standing Commission to harass innocent citizens, with all the implications this involves.

Finally, how is the word "peace" interpreted by Communists?

According to Professor Roy Colby in "A Com-

munes-English Dictionary", "peace-loving is defined as: Favouring Soviet or Communist aims; advocating any of the Communist brands of peace; supporting Communism."

It is up to all of us living in South Africa to remember this.

GEORGE GRIFFINS

Sandton

Appalled

I WAS appalled by what I read in your leader column of today, Let show go on; September 9. I had no idea that the ANC dictated which cultural entertainment should be allowed to be shown or performed in South Africa.

It seems that in sports and cultural entertainment the ANC is, in fact, the controlling body for South Africa.

What a dreadful state of affairs when the government of a country is so weak that it permits the office of a terrorist organisation to usurp its authority.

CONCERNED

Maritzburg

Call lacks credibility

THE Anglican Church's appeal for the disarming of private citizens in the new constitution lacks both spiritual and secular credibility.

I urge Bishop Peter Lee to read St Luke, Chapter 22 verse 36, where Jesus commanded his disciples: "He that hath no sword, let him sell his garment, and buy one".

Statistics pertaining to the increased crime rate indicate that South Africa's murder rate is five times higher than the rate in the United States, where the constitution allows citizens to own and bear arms.

The criminals seldom commit crimes with properly registered firearms, since it is not in the nature of criminals to respect laws or constitutional values.

Should the new constitution result in the disarming of private citizens, only criminals will possess firearms and will continue to terrorise law-abiding citizens who are unable to defend themselves. Is this just, in either the spiritual or secular context?

RLM

Randburg

6

16.9.91

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Peace Accord

I do not believe that the National Peace Accord heralds the birth of the new South Africa.

I do not believe, either, that it is a magic wand that will ensure peace.

It is a start on the road to a new South Africa, it is a start on the road to peace, and if its terms are observed in both spirit and letter, it will prove to be a most remarkable document.

However, it must be made to work.

Its ideals must be enshrined in the hearts of everyone.

In order to ensure democratic political activity, signatories committed themselves to uphold fundamental principles, including freedom of conscience and belief, freedom of speech and expression, freedom of association, peaceful assembly, freedom of movement, and the right to participate freely in peaceful political activity.

The accord noted the need for a non-partisan process of reconstruction and socio-economic development aimed at addressing the causes of violent conflict.

The signatories committed themselves to facilitating the rapid removal of political, legislative and administrative obstacles to development and economic growth.

It might seem churlish to criticise some aspects of the accord, like a Code of Conduct for Political Parties and Organisations, but political parties, within the limits of the law, and under our robust system, must not be constrained.

For political parties being prohibited from asking to force anyone to join a political organisation or resign from any post or office, to boycott any occasion or commercial activity, to withhold his or her labour, or fail to perform a lawful obligation, there seems an immediate contravention of this code in the calling by the ANC, Cosatu and other organisations of a two-day stayaway today and tomorrow when, we can be sure, intimidation will be a big factor.

Much of the accord deals with restraints on the security forces, with the police being "accountable to society in rendering their policing services", whereas they should be accountable to the government and to the law.

There is also a Code of Conduct for the police, which we believe is unnecessary, since the police have their own regulations dealing with their conduct.

However, the main thrust of the accord is on the prevention of public violence.

There will be a commission, probably headed by a judge, to investigate and expose violence.

There will be a National Peace Secretariat, and Regional and Local Dispute Resolution Committees, as well as justices of the peace. Special criminal courts will be set up to deal specifically with unrest-related cases, cases of public violence and cases involving intimidation.

We are sorry that organisations like the Pan Africanist Congress and Azapo, on the Black side, did not sign — and that the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and other Right-wing White organisations opposed the accord.

The preservation of peace cannot only be the concern of the three major parties to the accord — the government, the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

It is also a pity that Chief Buthelezi, the IFP president, cast doubts on the accord two days before it was signed — and that thousands of Zulus staged a demonstration outside the accord venue while armed with traditional weapons.

This is not conducive to creating an atmosphere in which the accord will work.

We also feel that the ANC's refusal to disband Umkhonto we Sizwe or to hand over its arms caches will cast a cloud over peace prospects, since no organisation should have a private army.

These reservations notwithstanding, we welcome the accord and hope that it will reduce the violence and, when other outstanding problems are overcome, bring peace to this sorely divided land.

South's
by a human rights
planned by racial violence
convicted themselves, or

ember 1991

THE CITIZEN

Health Ministers: End SA travel sanctions

democracy, said the Ministers on Saturday, outlining conditions for ending South Africa's isolation.

"Now there is a programme for the first time for the removal of sanctions," said Canada's Mrs Barbara McDougall, chairing the meeting of nine Foreign Ministers

from former British colonial nations.

At the end of a two-day meeting, the ministers recommended lifting consular and visa restrictions against South Africans, ending the ban on cultural and scientific contacts, permitting South African tourist promotion and establishing air links.

The recommendations will be taken up at a summit meeting of the 48-nation Commonwealth in Zimbabwe next month.

"We regard the financial sanctions as the ones with the most bite. We are still holding off on those until we see more momentum," said Mrs McDougall at a news conference.

"I believe an important and delicate balance has been struck between maintaining the pressure on the SA Government and rewarding it for repealing key laws of apartheid," she said. "That is the right blend of signals to be sent."

The Ministers pegged a relaxation of financial sanctions, including loans from international funds, to an agreement on the text of a new constitution.

They also made a resumption of trade and investment conditional on the adoption of a mechanism enabling "all parties to participate fully and effectively in negotiations".

The arms embargo

should not be lifted until the last traces of apartheid had disappeared and a new government was in place, said the concluding statement.

Mrs McDougall said she expected the summit meeting to endorse the recommendations, but events were moving so swiftly that the heads of government might amend the pace.

The Foreign Ministers' committee said its programme was in recognition of South Africa's actions since it last met in February. Since then, South Africa has advanced reforms and allowed political exiles to return. —Sapa-AP.

esarios ANC's versal

1860 Indian Settlers' Association, Mr Krish Gokal, said he wished to express his association's gratitude to the ANC for eas-

Monday 16 September 1991

THE CITIZEN

CP warns govt on change in SA constitution

By Fred de Lange

THE Conservative Party on Saturday warned the government that any constitutional change in South Africa — including an interim government — would lead to the CP stopping all democratic processes and would be seen as an act of aggression.

The deputy leader of the CP, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg made it clear on the last day of the CP Congress in Pretoria, that if necessary, Conservative Whites would turn to violence to obtain their aims.

He said there was no doubt at this stage that democratically, by way of an election, the CP would take power but if such measures were denied to Whites, they would have to use other means to gain power.

The president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, was also warned that any constitution negotiated without the support of the majority of Whites, would not be accepted.

Dr Hartzenberg said

Mr Mandela should understand that Whites in South Africa would not be as ineffective as the Renamo resistance movement in Mozambique.

"You will not see a Renamo situation. You will have to contend with the full might of Whites. We will cause much more trouble," he said.

The CP was prepared to talk about land but if the ANC wanted to take it, a war would break out.

Dr Hartzenberg made

it clear that the CP would not change its policy at this stage, nor would it take part in negotiations or draw the borders of a volkstaat.

Several speakers called on the CP executive to reformulate its policy to include a volkstaat and to take part in negotiations.

Dr Hartzenberg said once the CP had taken power in South Africa, it would start negotiations with the other 12 nations inside the country to draw the borders of different states.

It was, however, not prepared to take part in negotiations at this stage because to do so would be to admit that other peoples had rights on White land.

The National Party, he said, was working frantically to get the CP to the negotiation table because it knew that negotiations would fail without the CP and its majority support amongst Whites.

By not taking part in negotiations, the CP was also delaying the whole process which increased the chances of an election.

"The NP's plan is to get us to the negotiation table because if it manages that, it would make us powerless. As alternative the NP wants to break us by getting us to change our policy.

"De Klerk chose the road of blood, we choose the road of democracy," Dr Hartzenberg said.

CP members called on to take over SADF

Citizen Reporter

CONSERVATIVE Party supporters were on Saturday called upon to infiltrate and take over the South African Defence Force in order to make it available to Right-wingers should the need to fight present itself.

The CP spokesman on defence, Mr Koos van der Merwe, said parents should help their children to enter the SADF and see to it that they get the necessary promotions.

"By taking over the SADF we will be able to see it when the time comes to fight," he said.

Mr Van der Merwe also criticised the new Minister of Defence, Mr Roelf Meyer, and said his appointment was a clear indication that the govern-

ment was acceding to ANC demands to scale down the SADF.

He said Mr Meyer was a junior Minister and he expected the next demand from the ANC to be the removal of the Chief of the SADF, General Kat Liebenberg, and the Commissioner of Police, General Johan van der Merwe.

Turning to events at Ventersdorp, Mr Van der Merwe said President F W de Klerk had had 32 Ratel infantry vehicles available with a combined firing capacity of 20 000 rounds a minute.

It was clear that, if necessary, Mr De Klerk would have been prepared to unleash this power on Right-wingers which could have left

hundreds, if not thousands, dead and wounded within one minute.

Several other speakers also called on the CP to take action against NP-supporting defence force officers.

One speaker suggested that these officers should not be addressed by their ranks and CP supporters in the SADF should refuse to obey their instructions.

Another speaker suggested that steps be taken to compile a database of all defence force and police officers who supported the government or who gave orders to shoot at Whites, and that action be taken against such officers as soon as the CP came to power.

THE CITIZEN

Monday 16 September 1991

Townships quiet

in Oosthuizen and Sapa

in the townships of Sapa and other Black townships on the Reef. At least 200 people were injured in related incidents last Sunday.

West Rand police officer, Major Bruce, said that by Sunday afternoon the townships had been relatively quiet.

On Saturday afternoon, he believed to be an IFP supporter, was

and hacked by a group of unknown men in West Rand. John Vorster was about 3 pm.

IFP supporters were on foot

the signing of the National Peace

by leader, IFP

Mangosuthu

ANC president Nelson Mandela and President De Klerk in Johannesburg.

Maj Bruce said the attack appeared to be the only violent incident arising from the arrival of about 2 000 armed IFP supporters at the Johannesburg hotel where the Peace Accord was signed.

Maj Bruce said the man was stabbed and hacked to death while another two IFP supporters and a woman were wounded. The three injured were admitted to the Hillbrow Hospital.

Police liaison officer for Soweto, Colonel Jac de Vries, said the last unrest-related incident in the township occurred on Saturday afternoon.

A man, Mr Dick Monyele (age and address unknown), claimed that he and two other people were thrown off a moving train by IFP supporters at about 5.15 pm.

Mr Monyele was slightly injured and admitted to the Baragwanath Hospital. The other two people were not injured in the incident.

Also on Saturday afternoon, two men sustained serious injuries when they

were thrown off a train travelling from Johannesburg to the West Rand.

The incident occurred between the Hamburg and Florida stations.

One victim was identified as Mr William Segede. He was taken to the Leratong Hospital for treatment.

The second victim had not yet been identified. He was taken to the Ontdekkers Hospital.

Maj Bruce said at 8.30 pm on Saturday, unknown people tossed a handgrenade into a house in Daveyton. It made a hole in the roof and broke

windows. Five men were injured and taken to hospital.

At 6.30 pm in Alexandra, shots were fired from the township's old man's hostel at two men as they walked past the premises. The men were wounded and taken to Tembisa Hospital near Kempton Park. One was certified dead on arrival and the second man was admitted, said Maj Bruce.

Police found the body of a man with back wounds at 1.00 am yesterday at Tokoza, near Germiston. The body was badly mutilated.

UK welcomes peace accord

THE British Foreign Secretary, Mr Douglas Hurd, has welcomed the signing on Saturday of the National Peace Accord.

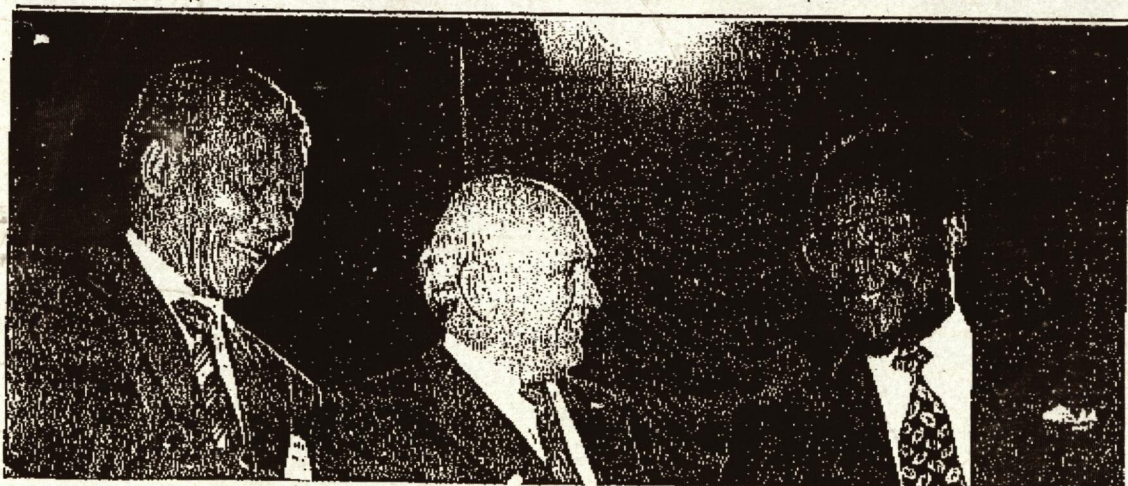
"The accord should provide the basis for much needed measures to

curb the violence which has caused great misery to many innocent people," he said in a statement issued by the Foreign and Commonwealth office in London.

"We hope that all will now work closely together to ensure that the code of conduct and other

which it would not be

WE WERE FORCED INTO POLL



THE government would not be bulldozed by the Conservative Party into holding an election before its present term of office ended, State President De Klerk said last night.

He also indicated that the African National Congress' military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), should be disbanded because it was not "in the spirit" of the National Peace Accord,

signed in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Speaking on SABC's television programme, Agenda, Mr De Klerk said the government had a five-year-term of office and hoped in that period to hold a referendum in terms of the existing constitution to approve the new negotiated constitution.

But, he added, if this was not possible there would be a general election — and this would

also be done in terms of the existing constitution.

He said the Conservative Party's call for an election only two years after the last general election was senseless.

He questioned the CP's logic of calling for an election while not being in favour of a referendum to approve a new constitution. He asked why, if the Right-wing party was confident of winning an elec-

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(1)

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(2)

FW: No election

FROM PAGE 1

tion, it was afraid of a referendum.

Concerning the provisions of the peace accord relating to private and political armies, Mr De Klerk indicated he had received "certain guarantees" days before the signing of the accord from the African National Congress regarding the future of MK.

In terms of the peace accord, no private armies may be formed or continue to operate. Mr De Klerk, however, declined to divulge details of the undertakings given to him by the ANC.

But, he stressed, the existence of MK was not in the spirit of the peace accord and the issue had become one of top priority.

It was "high time" the ANC became a political party.

Questioned about the carrying of traditional weapons — especially at the peace accord signing ceremony — Mr De Klerk said the issue was a

very emotional one, particularly for the Zulu nation.

A committee of academics had even investigated the cultural aspect of carrying weapons by the Zulus, he said.

However, he dismissed the notion that the display of weapons on Saturday was in defiance of the spirit of the accord, as the peace accord specifically banned the carrying of weapons at politically-related activities.

While the peace accord was binding on all its signatories, he said, laws banning private armies or weapons being carried at political events could only be proclaimed after consultation with the parties involved on matters in dispute.

Questioned on the impartiality of the National Party and government, Mr de Klerk denied there was any collaboration between the government and other political parties.

However, the National Party was closer to the Inkatha Freedom Party

than the ANC on such issues as power sharing and a market driven economy.

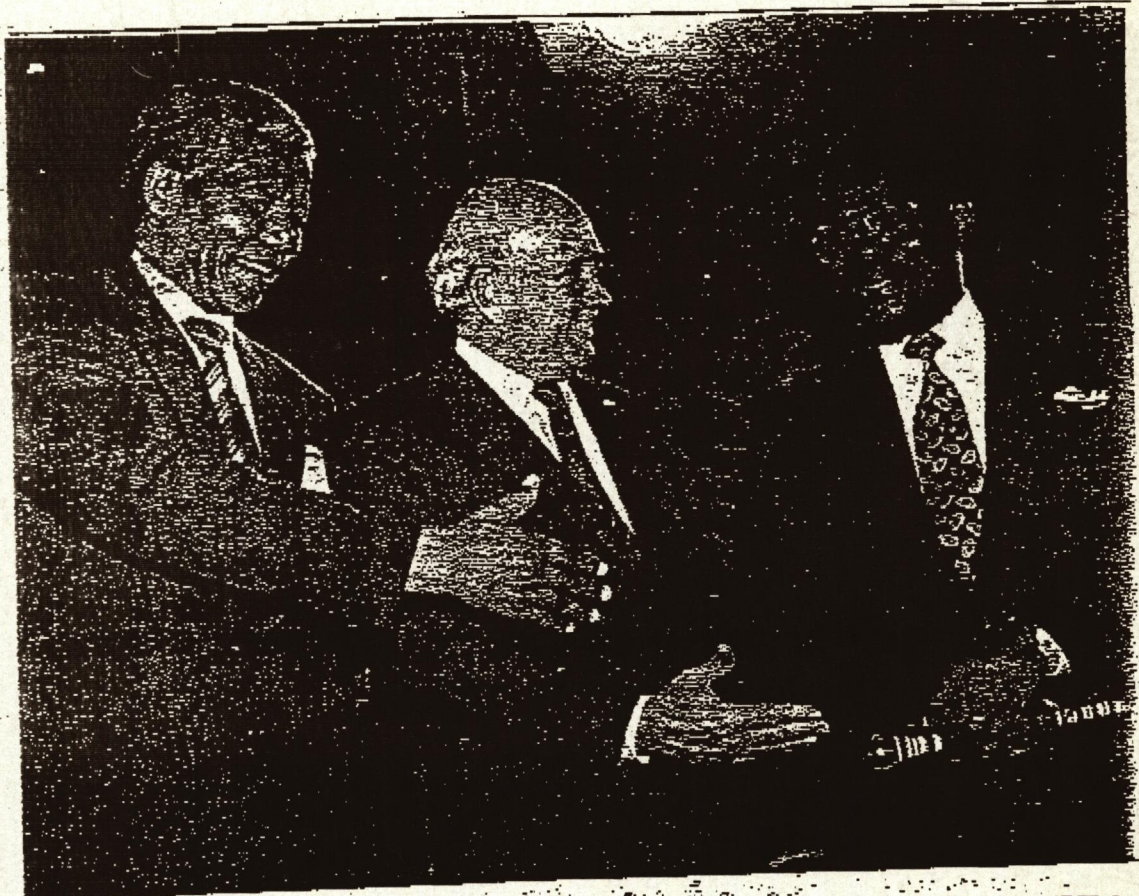
He also denied there was any substantive evidence of a third force orchestrated by government forces, and invited anyone with such proof to come forward and give evidence.

A standing committee had been initiated to investigate the existence of a third force. — Sapa.

Transkei will abide by pact

EAST LONDON. — Although the Transkei did not sign the church and business-brokered peace accord on Saturday, the homeland would abide by its guidelines, Transkei's military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

He had already endorsed his government's support for peace initiatives despite the Transkei Government's serious reservations about the accord. — Sapa.



State President DE KLERK and African National Congress president NELSON MANDELA offer to shake hands with Inkatha Freedom Party president, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, on Saturday, when the National Peace Accord was signed. • Picture by John Parkin, Associated Press.

Peace rift over private armies

By Tony Stirling
SERIOUS differences exist between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party on one of the crucial provisions in the Peace Accord — that relating to the question of private armies.

According to ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, a clause which states that "no private armies shall be allowed or formed" does not mean that the ANC intends to disband its military wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK). He said the ANC had

no intention, now or in future of disbanding MK.

The president of the IFP and Chief Minister of KwaZulu, Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi, questioned by The Citizen after Saturday's convention in Johannesburg at which the Accord was signed by the ANC, IFP and the National Party, said the inclusion of the clause on private armies was "meaningless" if it did not apply to MK.

Twenty-three organisations and political parties signed the accord at the Carlton Hotel conven-

TO PAGE 2

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16.9.91

(1)

Clash on private armies

FROM PAGE 1

tion, and a similar number of organisations pledged they would support it.

All parties represented in the tri-cameral Parliament signed the accord, with the exception of the Conservative Party, which said it would not be a party to the accord or similar negotiations.

Both the ANC and its trade union arm, the Congress of South African Trade Unions, signed the accord with "serious reservations", but Mr Joe Slovo, general secretary of the South African Communist Party, "solemnly" committed the SACP to "the spirit and detail" of its terms.

Referring to the refusal of the ANC to disband MK, Mr Mandela told a Press conference that the matter was under discussion between the ANC and the government, and in a spirit of reconciliation attempts were being made to find an amicable solution.

State President De Klerk said he had referred to the fact that there should be a continuation with other agreements, over and above the accord.

In this regard, he had been referring to agreements such as the Pretoria Minute and other bilateral agreements, and there

was already a basic agreement on certain actions with regard to weapons. Negotiations on this and other aspects were continuing.

Chief Buthelezi, who did not respond at the Press conference, spoke to The Citizen afterwards.

The final draft of the accord contained a small, but significant change in wording on the question of private armies.

The original clause said no private armies could be "formed", while the final draft said none could be "allowed or formed".

It is believed from delegates involved in the pre-conference negotiations that this change in wording, and that in which the clause relating to the carrying of weapons was changed from "dangerous weapons" to "weapons", kept the negotiations busy until the early hours of Friday morning, and in session again until about 1.30 pm on Friday, before consensus was reached.

Inkatha was the party said to be most insistent on a clause which it believes prohibits private armies to be formed, or existing ones to be maintained.

Further negotiations are also to be held on the question of the carrying of weapons, considered another critical area of the accord.

Mr De Klerk said the definition of weapons was still the subject of discussions, and that a proc-

lamation would be issued after negotiations with all interested parties, in particular the ANC and the IFP.

One of the most important features of the weekend convention was the ANC's indication that it would be prepared to refrain from mass action for the present.

But it retained the right to revert to mass action if negotiations failed to address what Mr Mandela called problems.

As expected, the Pan Africanist Congress did not sign the accord.

The PAC president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, said the PAC could not be seen in any apartheid structure, and, therefore, could not sign the accord. But he committed the PAC to working for peace.

Azapo pledged support, while the other major Black trade union groupings, the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) undertook to take the accord to its members for decision.

All the signatories and participants at the convention said the peace accord in itself would not end the violence and intimidation, and stressed the need to get the various monitoring mechanisms embodied in the accord working as quickly as possible.

The National Peace Committee, the major instrument for implementation, is expected to be formed this week.

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CITIZEN 16.9.91

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