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A. NEWS 11/09/91

Patriotic front members settle conference date

Vasantha Angamuthu
Daily News Reporter

A FINAL date was set last night for the much-postponed patriotic front conference.

After lengthy deliberations the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation have settled for October 25-27 for the conference, which will be held in Durban.

A statement by the joint preparatory committee, headed by PAC deputy

president Dikgang Moseneke, ANC national executive committee member Ibrahim Ismail Ibrahim and the Rev Joe Seoka from Azapo, described the meeting as cordial and frank.

"The meeting was cordial and frank and dealt with a wide range of issues, both substantive and preparatory, relating to the process leading to the transfer of power and democratisation of our country as well as the formation of the patriotic front."

Details of the agenda and which other organisations have been invited to participate in the conference have not been released.

A national preparatory committee will complete arrangements for the conference and a special committee of all three organisations has been formed to draft specialised working documents.

Mr Mark Shinnars, the PAC representative on the national preparatory committee, said that participants in the conference would be determined on the basis of minimum guiding principles, which included the acceptance of a constituent assembly.

Mr Shinnars said the acceptance of a constituent assembly was paramount to participation because this would ensure the broadest range of organisations of the "oppressed" were united by a common objective.

The final arrangements for the conference has ended what the Government has criticised as the liberations groups' attempts to stall the negotiation process.

Rebirth for ghostly St Petersburg

IN THIS hauntingly beautiful city of crumbling grandeur, it was a bitter-sweet fantasy. When I lived here as a student in 1976, Russian friends knew they would die, as they had been born, in Soviet communist Leningrad. Now, the name change has happened. It is an event as extraordinary in its way as the vanishing trick two years ago of the Berlin Wall.

The new name was approved by the Russian parliament on Friday. Officialdom has been quick to jump. At Moscow's Sheremetievo Airport, the flight indicator board declares "St Petersburg". The prim, grim stewardess also describes the destination as St Petersburg — and causes an excited buzz among

her passengers who are returning home.

"It's like being reborn," said one young woman near Kazan Cathedral, once a museum of atheism, and now reopened as a place of worship.

None of the thousands of name changes in the Soviet Union can ever be as resonant. For more than two centuries — since the city was built amid the marshes by Peter the Great — Russian writers have been obsessed with this ghostly city of palaces, bridges and canals.

Even in the Soviet era, its aura lived on. Poet Osip Mandelstam talked of the unthinkable: "We shall meet again in St Petersburg..."

Not everybody is happy about

STEVE CRAWSHAW returns to St Petersburg and finds that change is more than symbolic

the new-old name. Some argue that the name of Leningrad should be sacrosanct, because of the city's immense suffering during the 900-day siege which began 50 years ago this week — or because of Lenin himself.

Galina Malyanchikova, 51 years in the Communist Party, said: "Lenin is a man who was a thinker, who is famous in all the world. If Lenin hadn't died in 1924, things would have been as

he dreamt. What the devil is 'St Petersburg' for?"

Most, though, are pleased that the results of the referendum earlier this year are now taking effect.

"It restores our history to us," said Alexander Belyayaev, the leader of the city council, still known as Lensoviet. Many talked of "Pieter", an affectionate abbreviation, even in the Brezhnev days. In theory, the change is merely symbolic.

For those in St Petersburg, it seemed much more than that. It indicated that the city is no longer part of a one-party state.

St Petersburg has already earned its spurs. Anatoly Sobchak, mayor of the city, spearheaded the resistance to last

month's coup. The rebellion was, from the first day, stronger in Leningrad than in Moscow. Public rejection of the plotters was widespread, and anti-coup newspapers were printed, on official presses, from the start.

Crowds filled the huge palace square, at the top of Nevsky Prospect, to overflowing.

St Petersburg became Petrograd during World War 1 to Russianise the German-sounding name. In 1924, the former imperial capital was given the name of the leader of the Bolshevik revolution. That era is over. Difficult times lie ahead. But one brutal circle of history can be closed. — The Independent News Service. □

Kaunda defeat tipped to signal benefits for SA

THE LIKELY fall of President Kenneth Kaunda from power in next month's historic elections in Zambia will affect more than just the country's domestic politics. South Africa could benefit from it.

President Kaunda's likely successors, the Movement for Multiparty Democracy (MMD), will turn Dr Kaunda's foreign policy on its head, thus effectively unravelling the Frontline state's consensus on South Africa.

The likely removal of President Kaunda is understood to be causing concern among his friends, especially in Harare and Dar-es-Salaam. Recently Tanzanian President Ali Hassan Mwinyi sent an envoy to Lusaka to assure Dr Kaunda of Tanzania's support.

Although Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe has often had serious differences with President Kaunda on how to deal with South Africa, he is not enamoured of the likelihood of the Zambian leader's dismissal from power.

The MMD will be a much more difficult proposition. "An MMD government will cause chaos in the region," one political observer said.

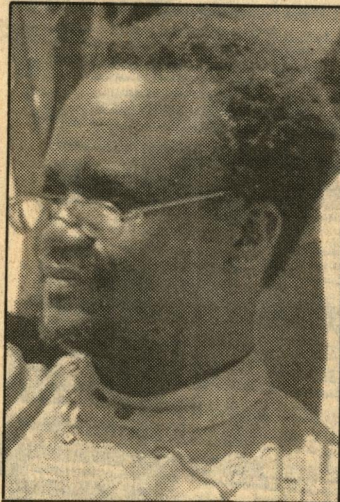
The election of an MMD government could sound a death knell to what have become known as the Frontline states. In President Kaunda, it will remove the one individual who has managed to keep this collection of leaders, with somewhat disparate interests and outlooks, as a relatively cohesive force with a common policy on South Africa.

Zambia, under Dr Kaunda, has made its opposition to the policies of the white-ruled south — first the Portuguese, then the Rhodesians and the South Africans — the cardinal plank of its foreign policy.

Most of the liberation movements fighting these governments were supported and accorded refuge in Zambia. Frelimo; Zimbabwe's Zapu; Swapo, now governing Namibia; and the ANC, which is at last packing its bags in Lusaka and heading for Johannesburg, have all benefited from this policy.

Dr Kaunda's antipathy towards his white neighbours has also affected Zambia's relations with important Western governments. Its relations with Britain and the US were adversely affected by what President Kaunda viewed as those countries' cosy ties with Pretoria. Prime ministers Brian Mulroney of

The likely fall from grace of President Kaunda will turn Zambian foreign policy on its head, reports BARNEY MTHOMBOTHI.



MMD leader Frederick Chiluba.

Canada and Australia's Bob Hawke are friends simply because their views on South Africa accord with the president's.

President Kaunda has presented this policy as something of a moral crusade for which the country was willing to pay any price. Many people within the MMD, however, feel Zambia has been made to carry an unfair burden in the liberation of the region. This has ruined its economy, and energies that could have been directed at development have gone to satisfying altruistic ventures.

MMD spokesmen have made it clear that the needs of ordinary Zambians will enjoy a priority over what they call liberation politics. Foreign policy under their tutelage would not depend on the "likes or dislikes of one or a few individuals", but on what is best for Zambia.

An MMD administration is expected to take a much friendlier attitude towards Pretoria. In its effort to revive the economy, the MMD is unlikely to readily support boycotts or sanctions on South Africa.

There are already indications that the MMD leadership will be quite happy to trade with and welcome investments from South Africa. Many of its leaders, including MMD deputy president Levy Mwanawasa, visited South Africa recently. Last week Dr Kaunda's government impounded a fleet of cars

bought from South Africa by the MMD for its election campaign.

Vernon Mwaanga, who is expected to be foreign minister in an MMD government and who recently visited South Africa, said recently: "We shall pursue a foreign policy which will take into account the important axiom that we have no permanent friends or permanent enemies, only permanent interests. Foreign policy will be given adequate attention, but not at the expense of domestic concerns."

Although President Kaunda has recently been showing signs of shifting his party's hardline policy against South Africa, even going to the extent of calling for the lifting of sanctions, the MMD is expected to quicken the pace towards an accommodation with South Africa. This could split the Frontline states.

One ANC official said in Lusaka recently that it was just as well the organisation was packing and leaving Zambia because the "vibes from the MMD are not very encouraging".

Although MMD president Frederick Chiluba is a trade unionist, it is the powerful business wing in the movement which is dictating economic and foreign policy, and this lobby wants contacts with South Africa re-established without delay.

Mr Mwaanga has already issued what some have interpreted as a veiled warning to the Frontline state. "We shall not allow anybody," he said recently in a paper detailing MMD foreign policy agenda, "to choose any of our friends or enemies for us."

"We shall do our best to refrain from adverse and provocative comment on the internal affairs of other states, just as we expect them to do the same with regard to ourselves."

The MMD has, however, committed itself to honouring all existing bilateral agreements, such as the Tazara railway line, and will maintain its membership of the Preferential Trade Area and the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference. But it has warned that these institutions will have to meet the objectives for which they were established in order to earn continued support.

"With the ending of the Cold War and resolution of regional conflicts in southern Africa, our foreign policy will emphasise economic development and national reconstruction," Mr Mwaanga said. — The Star Africa Service. □•

AN ANSWER to the bleak question of whether South Africa's cycle of violence is still capable of being stopped — or whether it is already too far out of control — will begin to emerge after the signing of an unprecedented peace agreement this weekend.

The National Peace Accord will be the most concerted and determined effort made so far to end endemic political violence, and it represents the first truly unified assault on township killings to be made by major political groups.

It is expected that the Government, ANC, Inkatha and many other bodies will sign the accord at a summit in Johannesburg on Saturday.

Observers hope that the latest spasm of violence on the Reef will solidify rather than fracture support for the initiative, which is seen by many as a last chance for peace.

While it is accepted that previous peace agreements have had no appreciable effect on

township violence, it is believed that the multilateral nature of the new plan could herald a breakthrough.

The accord, thrashed out by the church and business-led National Peace Initiative (NPI), will create a rare set of permanent and independent mechanisms to enforce codes of conduct for the security forces and political parties, and to investigate breaches.

It will give wide powers to new institutions such as a police ombudsman, and a standing commission on violence and intimidation to probe misconduct by the police and political parties.

This is being viewed widely as a major step towards independent control of the security

forces, and as a device that could help to clear away remaining obstacles to a multi-party conference on constitutional negotiations.

Some 300 representatives of political and religious movements, trade unions and the TBVC states, as well as foreign embassies, have been invited to the summit.

The importance attached to the agreement by major political actors is evident in the fact that President de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will attend.

Notable omissions will be the Conservative Party, the Herstigte Nasionale Party and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

By mid-week the organisers of the summit were cautiously

Last chance for

STAR

11 SEPT. 1991

Some people are calling it the last chance for peace. **SHAUN JOHNSON** and **PETER FABRICIUS** look ahead towards the crucial signing at the weekend of the National Peace Accord.

optimistic that the PAC and Azapo would attend, but were not sure they would sign all the many clauses in the 32-page accord.

There was also some doubt that the three principal parties in the NPI would reach full and final agreement on measures to restrict the bearing of dangerous "cultural" weapons.

Latest drafts of the peace accord confirm that this particularly sensitive matter is "still

under discussion" and could still lead to disagreements.

But NPI sources were confident that all the main parties would sign the main provisions of the accord, perhaps leaving over areas of dispute for later resolution.

The origins of the peace accord lie in ANC calls for a top-level peace meeting, and Mr de Klerk's unevenly attended peace summit earlier this year.

At that summit, a facilitating

peace?

committee under Dr Louw Alberts of the Rustenburg Church Group was appointed. It grew into a wider initiative involving many influential businessmen who then pulled in the politicians.

Various committees and sub-committees of what eventually became the NPI then spent months in tough bargaining that produced a draft National Peace Accord two weeks ago.

The mechanisms proposed by the accord are remarkable in terms of the powers they give to parties and individuals outside the Government to exercise control over violence.

Chief among these will be a permanent, paid, multiparty National Peace Committee — with subordinate regional and

local committees — to enforce codes of conduct for the police and political parties to try to prevent political violence; and a police ombudsman — who need not be a member of the SAP — to investigate complaints against the police.

An illustration of the powers that will be wielded by the peace accord is a provision that the standing commission may, by warrant, "enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member, and seize and record".

Other important elements include:

- A code of conduct for the police which holds members accountable to society, not the Government, and stresses restraint on police handling of po-

litical unrest and violence.

- A code of conduct for political parties which forbids them from making any statements inciting violence or conducting any act which cause violence.

- The appointment of a police board, with equal representation for the force and members of the public, to advise on future policing policy.

- The setting up of special police units, headed by a general, to investigate allegations of misconduct by SAP members.

- The creation of a special unit, also headed by a general, to investigate political violence.

- The setting up of special criminal courts to deal solely with cases of political violence.

- The requirement that political parties refrain from violence and actively discourage members and supporters from carrying weapons to political meetings.

- A commitment by the Government to devote funds for the reconstruction and resettlement of communities ravaged by political violence. □

Hani warns Indians: Nat plan is just camouflage

By Ameen
Akhilwaya

ANC, SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Chris Hani has called on South Africans of Indian origin not to be fooled by another "diverse experiment and sweet talk" from the ruling National Party and its allies.

Addressing a function hosted by the Nural Islam Centre in Lenasia at the weekend, Mr Hani said the NP's latest constitutional proposals "camouflaged" white domination while giving the impression of non-racialism.

Mr Hani was co-speaker with Professor Ali Mazrui, the Kenyan-born academic now based in New York and noted for his acclaimed television series, *The Africans*.

Prof Mazrui told of the negative and positive aspects on Africa and the Third World in the wake of the collapse of communism and the East-West "cold war". He believed that after the disintegration of apartheid in South Africa, "a global apartheid is in the process of formation" in the "new world order".

Mr Hani said South Africans of Indian origin must not regard themselves as a minority. "You are South Africans. You have contributed to the development of this country like everyone else but refused to be treated like a minority."

"You are as South African as Mandela and Sisulu and you must never be defensive about your right to assert yourself. You must speak out boldly against the ANC if you believe it is not doing the right things. No one must blackmail you."

He said there were people who kept reminding South Africans of Indian origin about the Durban riots of 1949. "They want to leave you uncomfortable. The ANC says you have a duty to build this into a united country."

"Unity does not mean absorption or assimilation."

Referring to statements by NP members, Mr Hani asked: "Why must this country be called a Christian country? What about the Muslims, Hindus, Jews and others?"

Religious freedom

"Those who want to be Christian have a right to be so, those who want to be Muslims or Hindus also have a right to be so. We in the ANC enshrine freedom of religion and worship without any interference from the state."

He called on South Africans of Indian origin, whether they supported the ANC or not, to exchange ideas and views with it.

Mr Hani said Indian Congress leaders such as Yusuf Dadoo and Monty Naicker joined ANC leaders to lay the basis for non-racialism in South Africa. "Today, the architects of apartheid's inhuman treatment are shouting loudest about protection of minority rights. They turned this country into a vast prison, and many of your sons and daughters had to go into exile or were jailed."

"Just a couple of years ago, two young men (MK's Prakash Napier and Yusuf Akhalwaya) from this community were killed in a bomb explosion. Without apartheid, their lives would not have been lost. Let us not forget about the history of oppression and inhumanity."

Mr Hani said the NP had accepted negotiations because there was no way out. "But central to that is the co-option of the oppressed. They have to appear to the world to be champions of non-racialism. But camouflaged in their talk of non-racialism is white domination."

"Apartheid could only survive by dividing our people. We must not experiment with those who divided us, bullied and oppressed us and be fooled by their sweet talk."

"Today, they don't confess apartheid was a crime. They say it was a failed experiment."



Mr Chris Hani

16/1/11

SAP 'stood by as my friend was stabbed'

By Brian Sokutu

The police could have acted to save the life of Thandabantu Elbina Manyamalala, who was beaten and stabbed to death by alleged Inkatha supporters in Crossroads, Soweto, on Sunday afternoon, according to a family friend who was with Mr Manyamalala at the time.

The 49-year-old father from Mofolo Village was among the 53 people killed during weekend township violence.

Relating how Inkatha supporters killed Mr Manyamalala, Nolundi Sobethwa yesterday blamed the police for doing nothing to stop the attack.

"They watched the whole thing and could have done something if they wanted to," she said.

"It was about 4.30 pm when it all happened near Sizwe Stores, close to Mshenguville squatter camp. While driving we saw a group of armed Inkatha supporters approaching. Mr Manyamalala tried to turn the car after realising we would not be able to cross through the mob. He decided to park the car outside the road and drive through later," she said.

When the group drew closer, Miss Sobethwa asked Mr Man-

yamalala to start the car but it was too late as the alleged Inkatha supporters had already started to smash the car's windscreen.

"Without saying a word, they beat Mr Manyamalala severely with knobkerries on his forehead. I cried for help but they would not stop until he fell on me. Then one of them stabbed him to death with a long, sharp object," Miss Sobethwa said.

She alleges that she could see police sitting in nearby Caspurs.

Followed

"When I ran away to them they just looked at his body without saying a thing. They did nothing to arrest the group, which never even ran away."

The attack on Mr Manyamalala was also witnessed by Boy George Mashinini, a freelance photographer with The Star. He took the photograph of Miss Sobethwa next to the blood-spattered car.

Mashinini said he was covering the IFP rally in Dobsonville and followed the group of Inkatha supporters back to Mshenguville afterwards.

"I followed the IFP supporters to Mshenguville — there were about 1 000. About 30 minutes later Juda Ngwenya, a

Reuters photographer, pointed out a guy with a machine-gun.

"I looked and saw he was carrying an AK-47 under a blanket. Then we followed them to Mofolo Central. They got among the houses at about 6 pm — there were maybe 100 altogether. The guy with the AK started to shoot.

"Then Inkatha started to go into the homes to kill. Each and every person they saw on the street, they were hitting with pangas, sjamboks and spears. They were killing people in front of the police. The police were just standing and watching," he alleged.

Mr Mashinini said he then went into the streets and photographed alleged IFP supporters attacking a man and a woman in a car — subsequently identified as Mr Manyamalala and Miss Sobethwa.

Responding to allegations by Miss Sobethwa and Mr Mashinini, Soweto police spokesman Lieutenant Govinsamy Marimuthoo said: "I invite both complainants to our office and will make arrangement that they see the Soweto regional commissioner of police. It is only then that these allegations will be fully investigated."

● In a Page 1 caption on Monday, Miss Sobethwa was wrongly identified as Mr Manyamalala's wife.



Carnage . . . plainclothed policemen put a victim on a stretcher outside Nancefield hostel in Soweto yesterday. In the latest flare-up of political violence in Soweto 26 people have died since Sunday, and 53 have been injured.

Picture: Reuters

Peace accord legitimises ANC forces

STAR 11 SEPT. 1991
The unprovoked AK-47 attack on Inkatha supporters in Tokoza and the handgrenade attack on them in Mofolo stress the urgent need for the so-called self-defence units to be immediately disbanded and disarmed.

In this regard the draft National Peace Accord is weak and most unsatisfactory. Firstly, it legitimises self-defence units as defined by the ANC. Secondly, the provisions that such units must liaise with the police and not hinder them is a certain recipe for the type of political killing we have just witnessed. These units must fall under the direct control of the police. Units refusing such control must be disarmed and disbanded, by force if necessary.

Thirdly, the accord statement noting the right to bear licensed arms must be strengthened by the demand that all unlicensed arms and arms caches be surrendered.

The provisions making the

police responsible to unelected committees, containing representatives of the ANC and SA Communist Party, must be rejected. Unless the security forces are under the direct control of the legally constituted government, we will descend into the uncontrolled violence that has wracked Lebanon.

Finally, there are indications that the National Peace Committee, which drafted the accord, is making a distinction between the armed struggle and violence. The statement "no private armies shall be formed" is inadequate, for it is open to the interpretation that existing political armies may continue.

The chapter dealing with the code of conduct for political parties must be strengthened by insisting that such organisations disband existing "liberation forces" and surrender arms caches. It must also be made clear that liberation movements like the ANC and trade

unions like Cosatu fall within the definition of "political organisations".

Edward Cain

Arcadia

Patriotic Front to meet

By Kaizer Nyasumba
Political Staff

The Patriotic Front of liberation movements finally meets in Durban next month, it was announced yesterday.

A statement at a meeting attended by the Joint Preparatory Committee including the ANC's Ibrahim Ismail Ibrahim, Pan Africanist Congress deputy-president, Dikgang Mosenke and Reverend Joe Seoka of the Azanian People's Organisation, said the Patriotic Front meeting will be held on October 25 to 27.

Yesterday's meeting, according to the statement, was "cordial and frank."

A special committee made up of the three organisations will draft working documents for the conference.

The South African Communist Party, the New Unity Movement, the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, trade unions Nactu and Cosatu, and church bodies are expected to attend.

● The ANC yesterday denied this week's announcement that Winnie Mandela had been reinstated as head of its welfare department as she had never been removed from the job.

Senior ANC and SACP member Cheryl Carolus is the NWC member responsible for Health, Welfare and Human Resources, while Dr Ralph Mngijima, Mrs Mandela and Mr Mzwai Piliso remained heads of their respective departments.

16/11/11

RECENT developments in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have created a major crisis for Marxism and socialism worldwide. The right has attempted to portray the crisis as conclusive proof of the inherent incapacity of humanity to develop any social system more progressive than liberal capitalism.

If this tide is to be stemmed it is essential that Marxist socialists produce convincing analyses of what went wrong in Eastern Europe. It is imperative, too, that the left confronts the uncomfortable question: how much of the baby of socialist theory needs to be thrown out with the bath water of a critique of the theory's application in Eastern Europe?

The central pillars of the Soviet model were nationalisation and a hierarchical and centralised planning system. As an economic system, this model proved to be highly effective at a certain time in promoting quantitative growth. A heavy industrial base was rapidly constructed.

It also achieved impressive social goals — including the elimination of unemployment and the expansion of health, education and welfare services. However, it became increasingly apparent more recently that the system was chronically unable to guarantee either quality or efficiency.

Developing a comprehensive national plan was a complicated and time-consuming process. The bureaucratic planning process made modification difficult. Also, the highly centralised state planning process inevitably operated with less than full information — this hampered the formulation of effective plans. And the planning process emphasised quantity rather than quality. It was therefore inefficient in terms of promoting innovation.

Further, the system provided for little competition between enterprises. It provided little effective incentive for either workers or managers of enterprises to raise productivity. Enterprises were subject only to soft budget controls, with little penalty attached to failure.

Communist Party rethinks socialist economics for SA

SACP member **ROB DAVIES** examines policy options in the light of Eastern European experiences

B. DAV 11/09/91

And plans were formulated by officials from above with little or no involvement by workers.

What does all of this mean for a socialist project in SA? It means that we who defend a socialist vision of the future do not have any ready-made model to draw on. We have to approach other experiences as sources of lessons — both negative and positive. It also means we need to re-examine critically a number of theoretical propositions which have become part of the "conventional wisdom" of socialist theory.

Propositions which reduce socialisation to state ownership of the means of production are among these. Socialisation implies social processes in which working people assume powers of economic ownership — the powers to organise and control actual labour processes. Nationalisation is merely a transfer of legal property rights to the state.

A related notion is that state property is the "highest" form of collective property. In Africa such notions have influenced practices which have, in some cases disastrously, favoured the state sector (particularly state farms) to the detriment of other forms of collective production, for example co-operatives. A fundamental principle of democratic socialism is that collective forms of production

should establish their predominance by responding to the needs of working people more effectively than private capitalist alternatives.

A third proposition requiring re-examination is that which favours directive planning by the central state over any other form of planning. Planning will be indispensable in any programme of socialist construction. The challenge facing those championing democratic socialism in the light of Eastern European experience will be to devise a planning system that empowers working people — more than under capitalism — actively to participate in decision-making processes.

State bodies do not inevitably have to be the only agencies involved in planning. Organisations based on civil society — trade unions for example — can play a vital role.

Socialism does not require the abolition of market forces. Marxist theory has long maintained that commodity relations finally disappear only under communism. Rather than thinking of the (socialist) planning process as abolishing the market, many of the most important planning interventions might be

those which aim to influence market relations or empower working people within them. The state in any society is a major player in markets. So too, potentially, are organisations such as trade unions.

Where then does all this leave our understanding of socialism?

First, as formulated in the classics, we must see socialism as a transitional social form combining features of a future communist society and the capitalist society out of which it emerged.

Second, we need to see socialisation as a complex process in which workers collectively assume control over the means of production. It is a process in which working people are progressively empowered to assume these powers.

If we accept this, and the fact that the immediate post-apartheid period will be characterised by a national democratic struggle rather than socialist transformation, a more creative approach by socialists and communists to the national economic debate becomes possible.

Instead of simply raising general visions of a future society free from exploitation, or putting forward unrealistic demands based on discredited views of socialism, we should be asking ourselves what elements of transformation beneficial

both to working people's immediate interests and to an eventual transition to a socialist society can be built now. I would suggest that there are at least the following:

First, all significant forces have been obliged to acknowledge the necessity for some redistribution and for the basic social needs of impoverished people to have priority in a new government's economic policy.

Second, there is general acceptance among substantial sections of broader society that we need an effective, though limited, state sector, and that various forms of community and popular ventures should be encouraged.

Third, the liberation alliance is committed to providing full rights to working people to organise. This is also a demand which capital, though less than enthusiastic, finds difficulty in directly opposing.

Fourth, there is widespread acceptance that democratic decision-making bodies should be established to deal with aspects of economic policy at various levels.

The organised working class needs to become more active in identifying priorities for programmes of redistribution; in defining the kind of state sector we want and why; and perhaps most importantly, in giving content to demands for a democratic industrial relations system and to the kinds of democratic consultative and decision-making bodies — at national, industrial and plant level — we want to create.

It is within our power to achieve these goals, and success should create more favourable conditions for the eventual transition to socialism.

The economic debate is now opening up. We have the possibility of intervening now in a way which places issues of central concern to the working class more firmly on the agenda. If we do not seize the opportunities now available, capital's concerns and worries will inevitably continue to dominate.

□ This is an edited version of an article appearing in the latest edition of *African Communist*, the journal of the SACP. Davies is a lecturer at the University of the Western Cape.

X
16/1/11
U-De Klerk ushaya phansi

Iwanga 11/09/97
ngonyawo ngesiphakamiso se-ANC

EBLOEMFONTEIN:-UMongameli F.W. de Klerk usichithile isiphakaamiso se-African National Congress sokuba kubekhona uhulumeni wesikhashana kuleli wathi ngeke uHulumeni wakhe awemukele uhulumeni wesikhashana.

UMnuz. de Klerk ukubeke kwacaca emhlangweni weqembu lamaNeshinale lapha ukuthi akazimisele ukuba uHulumeni wakhe ahlakazeke kalula nje. Uphinde wakugcizelela ukuthi ngeke akuvumela ukuba iqembu lamaNeshinale lisetshenziswe yi-ANC ukuba ifeze izidingo zayo ngenkani.

Uthe uHulumeni wakhe akaphikisani nokuthi kubekhona uhlelo oluthile olungenziwa lokuphatha isikhashana ngesikhathi kungakafikwa ezingxoxweni futhi lokhu uzimisele ukukufaka ngisho nasohleni lwezingxoxo ngeSouth Africa.

Uthe phezu kwalokho uyaphikisana nohulumeni ongakhiwe esizindenini somthethosisekelo.

Ekhuluma nezintatheli emuva kwalomhlangano weqembu lakhe, uMnuz. de Klerk uthe ucabanga ukuthi kusengenzeka ukuthi kubekhona ukuzwelana phakathi kwabo ne-ANC ukuba kube namalungiselelo enziwayo ukuba kumiswe uhulumeni wesikhashana ngesikhathi sekufinyelelwe esikhathini sezingxoxo.

Uthe inqubo yeqembu lakhe kumele ibonakale ngalokho eyikhona. Uthe akukona ukuthi leliqembu lifuna ukuba kugqilazeke abantu kodwa ukuthi lisebenza ngeqiniso nangokwethembeka.

16/1/11

Okushiwo owahlubuka ku-ANC ngowabulawa

EMTATA. - Omunye wamahlubuka e-African National Congress (ANC) futhi ongomunye wababeboshwe yilenghlangano, owafika kulelizwe ngo 1988 ephuma ekudingisweni, usenikeze isiqiniseko sokuveza obala labo ababulala uMnuz Siphophungulwa owadutshulwa eyobonana nezikhulu ze-ANC eMtata naye owayehlubuke kulenhlangano.

Ofisa ukuveza akwaziyo ngokubulawa kuMnuz Phungulwa, nguMnuz Nicholas Dyasop, oveze ukuthi uzimisele ukuya eTranskei azokhomba labo abathintekayo kulesisehlakalo okuthiwa senzeka elokishini iNgangelizwe.

UMnuz Dyasop kanye noMnuz Phungulwa babengabokuqala ukufika kulelizwe abangamahlubuka e-ANC abezwakalisa ukuyihlaba kakhulu lenhlangano kulandela ukubavalela kwayo ezinkanjini zase-Angola kanye naseLusaka.

UMnuz Dyasop ubuye wabeka umbandela wokuthi ngaphambi kokuba aye eTranskei ufuna ukuba anikezwe isiqiniseko ngamaphoyisa akulesisabelo sokuthi uzophepha futhi ufisa ukuba avunyelwe ukugadwa ngamaphoyisa ase-South Africa.

Oyisikhulu esiphethe abaseshi eTranskei uGen. L.R. Mankahla utshele abezindaba ukuthi usethole umbiko ngencwadi yocingo obumtshela ngesifiso sikaMnuz Dyasop sokunikeza ubufakazi ngaloludaba.

"Sizokwenza konke okusemandleni ethu ukumvikela uma kwenzeka efika kwelaseTranskei," kusho uGen Mankahla.

Kuthiwa uGen. Mankahla wenqabe waphepha ukuphawula ngeminye yemibandela ebekwe nguMnuz Dyasop naye okuthiwa wasinda ngokulambisa ngesikhathi kudutshulwa uMnuz Phungulwa.

- (Sapa)

ANC aims for eco-friendly industry

AN ANC government would subsidise firms which made their operations environmentally friendly and penalise those damaging the environment, according to a recent policy document.

Noting the high levels of harmful emissions by SA industry, the document said "various incentives will be explored to reward industrialists who develop environmentally sound technologies".

Conversely, "commensurate penalties need to be instituted" against industries which damaged the environment, according to the document drawn up by the ANC's department of economic planning.

The proposals, if implemented, would be

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in line with modern economic theory on controlling pollution in a free market economy, Sacob economist Ben van Rensburg said yesterday.

"The market is incapable of picking up the costs or benefits of externalities like pollution and environmental control. The government must therefore tax or reward firms in line with their actions on pollution," he said.

The document also proposed a zoning system for industries that damage the environment and pose risks to human health.

16/1/11

STAR 11/09/90

16/1/11
LETTERS

Peace accord legitimises ANC forces

The unprovoked AK-47 attack on Inkatha supporters in Tokoza and the handgrenade attack on them in Mofolo stress the urgent need for the so-called self-defence units to be immediately disbanded and disarmed.

In this regard the draft National Peace Accord is weak and most unsatisfactory. Firstly, it legitimises self-defence units as defined by the ANC. Secondly, the provisions that such units must liaise with the police and not hinder them is a certain recipe for the type of political killing we have just witnessed. These units must fall under the direct control of the police. Units refusing such control must be disarmed and disbanded, by force if necessary.

Thirdly, the accord statement noting the right to bear licensed arms must be strengthened by the demand that all unlicensed arms and arms caches be surrendered.

The provisions making the

police responsible to unelected committees, containing representatives of the ANC and SA Communist Party, must be rejected. Unless the security forces are under the direct control of the legally constituted government, we will descend into the uncontrolled violence that has wracked Lebanon.

Finally, there are indications that the National Peace Committee, which drafted the accord, is making a distinction between the armed struggle and violence. The statement "no private armies shall be formed" is inadequate, for it is open to the interpretation that existing political armies may continue.

The chapter dealing with the code of conduct for political parties must be strengthened by insisting that such organisations disband existing "liberation forces" and surrender arms caches. It must also be made clear that liberation movements like the ANC and trade

unions like Cosatu fall within the definition of "political organisations".

Edward Cain

Arcadia

□ □ □

Some of the provisions of the draft National Peace Accord, due to be signed on September 14, appear to be a major step in the direction of setting up the interim government long demanded by the ANC. Wide powers, including the control of the police, are placed in the hands of the signatories of the accord, which will almost certainly include the ANC and SA Communist Party.

The provision that makes the police "accountable to society" in effect removes the police from the control of the Government and makes them accountable to the National Peace Committee and numerous non-elected bodies.

As well as the National Peace

Committee, the accord sets up the Standing Commission on Violence and Intimidation, the National Peace Secretariat, the Police Board and the Police Ombudsman. There are also a host of regional and local "Dispute Resolution Committees". Members of these committees will be representatives of the signatories of the peace accord or people nominated by them.

In addition to the ANC and SACP, it is highly likely that the accord will be signed by Cosatu and a number of organisations aligned or favourable to them. These bodies will then have a built-in majority on all of these committees, and parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party with only one vote would find themselves at a permanent disadvantage.

Moreover, all committee members will be paid from taxpayers' funds. This means that national, regional and local party organisers will draw

State salaries which would greatly ease the financial load on their organisations while allowing them plenty of time for party work. It is also a clear violation of Para 6.1: "No public funds shall be used to promote the interests of any political party or political organisation."

These committees are being given very wide powers. They will be entitled "to enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member and seize any record or piece of evidence" (Para 6.6).

Whatever happened to the right of people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures? Surely such wide powers open the way for people with grudges, by means of suspicion and denunciation, to harass innocent citizens.

(Rev) Robbie Engelbrecht
Menlo Park

Waste, neglect in bureaucracy

I was amused and at the same time perplexed to read on the front page a small report headed "Census figures fall short" (The Star, August 29).

It is no wonder that the census figures fell short when the forms are not collected. I telephoned our local representative towards the end of April to inquire when she would be around to collect same and was informed that, "she had not been given the go-head to uplift". As soon as she was given the directive she would call on me.

That was the last I ever heard from her. The forms are still in my desk drawer. Wonder how many more census forms are cluttering dwellings in this town or else found there way into a "file 13"?

The waste, neglect and lack of efficiency in the South African bureaucracy never ceases to make me angry.

Vernon W Gourlay
Oberholzer

16/1/11

Let ANC take over and fire civil service

My father applied for a State pension over a year ago.

He was asked to supply information on any assets he held, with supporting documentation. This he did, and he was then asked for more information. Every time he went back to the department with what they required, he was asked for something more, which he found very disheartening.

Finally he was sent a note in Afrikaans, which nobody could make head or tail of.

When we phoned through to the department, they said that they wanted a copy of the will of my mother, who died over 10 years ago. Legally, it is not necessary to keep any document for more than six years. Besides which, my father's memory is not as good as it used to be, and he had even forgotten that she had made a will.

However, he tried to satisfy them and on April 6 he sent

them an affidavit by registered mail. They did not even have the common courtesy to reply to his letter.

After that we sent two more registered letters, which were also swallowed up by the silence of Pretoria.

When I phoned them they said they had lost his file, and they were putting it on "urgent search". It has now been on "urgent search" for more than six weeks.

It seems to me that this Government is incapable of running the country. I wish the ANC would take over soon, and that when they do they will fire the whole civil service. Unfortunately, it seems that they are not going to do so just yet, and by the time they do, the poor old man will probably have starved to death.

H J Chamberlain

Windsor East

The mothers of the nation call for peace . . . but

More blood flows

SOWETAN

11 SEPT. 1991

THE death toll in the violence that has gripped Reef townships during the past three days soared to 85 yesterday.

And women's organisations - the mothers and wives of the nation - yesterday added their voices to the pleas for peace.

Five commuters were killed when they were thrown from a moving train in Wadeville on the East Rand yesterday morning.

Ten other commuters were taken to hospital with injuries.

In another incident, three elderly women were

killed and one injured when gunmen ambushed a minibus in a dawn attack at Dube Station, Soweto, yesterday.

In Alexandra last night a sniper killed a man and seriously wounded three other people when he opened fire with an automatic rifle at a group of pedestrians.

The shooting occurred about 7pm near Nobuhle Hostel. The victims were taken to Alexandra Clinic, where one died. Two were transferred to Johannesburg Hospital and one to Tembisa Hospital.

As blood continued to flow, the publicity secretary of the African Women's Organisation, Ms Ellen

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INDEMNITY ON 20 COUNTS FOR TRIO

By Ilse de Lange

THE three former Pretoria Right-wing hunger strikers will face only five charges, including a charge of murder, after receiving indemnity on 20 charges, including 10 attempted murder charges.

This was confirmed yesterday by Mr. Wim Cornelius, the legal representative of Mr Henry Martin (49), Mr Adrian Maritz (43) and Dr Lood van Schalkwyk (53).

Mr Cornelius said the

men had received indemnity on ten charges of attempted murder, related to a bomb blast in Bloed Street, Pretoria, on August 11 last year, but will

TO PAGE 2

20-count indemnity

FROM PAGE 1

stand trial on two attempted murder charges resulting from the same explosion.

They also received indemnity on a charge of theft, relating to the disappearance of explosives at the Winkelhaak Gold Mine between July and September last year, as well as nine charges relating to the unlawful possession of detonators, handgrenades, teargas, a firearm and ammunition.

They will stand trial on October 28 in the Pretoria Supreme Court on a charge of murdering Durban computer consultant, Mr Nicolas James Elvin Cruise, who died in a parcel bomb explosion on October 2 last year.

Mr Cornelius said the

property in the two explosions.

At the time of the October 2 explosion, it was claimed that the computer company for whom Mr Cruise worked had links with the ANC.

Mr Cornelius said although the men had started to eat on Monday, there was still doubt at this stage if they would be ready to stand trial on October 28.

Dr Van Schalkwyk, who had been on a hunger strike for 49 days, and who also suffers from a heart condition, might be well enough to appear in court on the first day, but it was doubtful whether he would be able to attend the whole trial.

Depending on how the other two reacted on notification, they might be able to stand trial, but though the possibility of

damage to the vital organs could still not be excluded.

In the Pretoria Supreme Court, Mr Justice J J Strydom yesterday formally granted bail to Mr Maritz and Mr Martin. Dr Van Schalkwyk was granted bail earlier.

The State did not oppose the applications.

The main bail condition was that they must remain in the H F Verwoerd Hospital in Pretoria and subject themselves to medical treatment until discharged by the professor in charge of their treatment.

On payment of bail, the State will not be liable for any medical costs.

Mr Cornelius said the men had not yet paid bail, which would only be payable once they were "strong enough".

Other bail conditions

stipulated by the court were that the three men may not make any Press statements, or cause any statements to be made on their behalf, and that they do not communicate, interfere with or intimidate State witnesses.

After their discharge from hospital, they must furnish the investigating officer with their residential addresses, and any change of address must be reported within 24 hours.

Each must report on a daily basis to his nearest police station, and may not leave the magisterial district of Pretoria without the prior written consent of the investigating officer.

The trio must also surrender their passports and travel documents to the investigating officer, and may not apply for new documents.

The Citizen
11.9.91

THE CITIZEN COMMENT

Let's have peace

WE are shocked by the eruption of violence on the Reef.

At least 80 people have lost their lives in three days since three gunmen opened fire on Zulu hostel dwellers heading for a rally in Tokoza on Sunday, leaving 23 dead.

Both the ANC and Inkatha blame agents provocateurs for the bloodshed, suggesting that the violence was provoked to derail the peace process (the peace accord is due to be signed on Saturday at a National Peace Convention).

We are in no position to say who was responsible for initiating the killings.

What we do say is that we cannot have a return to the mindless violence in which 11 000 people have died since 1984.

We cannot have innocent people, whether Zulus or Xhosas, members of the Inkatha Freedom Party or the ANC, gunned down.

We cannot have a return to the state of terror that made township dwellers fear for their lives.

Fortunately, the leaders of the ANC and the IFP have not allowed the violence to derail the peace process.

ANC president Nelson Mandela says it is clear that the killers are not members of any political force.

"The suspicion is that this may be an attempt to derail the signing of the convention" (the peace accord), he says.

The ANC will definitely sign the accord.

IFP national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, says it is significant that the "orchestrated carnage" has taken place only days before the peace convention.

"The IFP will be at the convention. Our commitment to stopping the violence is absolute."

The danger is not that the peace accord will not be signed, but that it will not work if at grassroots level there is no acceptance of the need to end all violence.

Peace must come from the hearts of township dwellers, for no accord can succeed — even one as detailed as this one — if people feel they must vent their anger or hatred on people of other parties, tribes or factions.

We need to have an appreciation in the townships that fighting is futile, that it solves no problems.

We need to have an understanding that the future depends on goodwill, harmony, reconciliation and hope.

Let there be an end to the bloodshed before it destroys prospects of a decent and peaceful future for everyone.

Vast new powers for local govt mooted at summit

By Keith Abendroth

A NEW local government system — in which, it is believed, municipalities will receive vast and unprecedented new powers — was discussed widely yesterday at a multi-disciplinary summit conference of all parties involved in the field.

Directors-general, their deputies, senior municipal officebearers and delegates from the African National Congress and other bodies concerned in the negotiation process will continue their conference today in Pretoria.

Among yesterday's speakers, the author of the Thornhill Report, Dr Chris Thornhill, said that the first fully comprehensive investigation into local government in the country had now largely been completed.

Dr Thornhill, who is Deputy Director-General of Planning, provincial Affairs and National Housing, said that recommendations of the report could form the basis for discussion at the planned

central negotiating table at which a new constitution would evolve.

The details of the proposed system had not yet been worked out, but if they were accepted the details could be added, he said.

"The committee is convinced that a sound basis has been determined for a new democratic government system.

"By allowing communities to negotiate their own structures, acceptability and effectiveness can be guaranteed," said Dr Thornhill.

Among other speakers at the summit, the Transvaal Provincial MEC in charge of local government, Mr Olaus van Zyl, said that the third tier local government was in a sense the most important of the three tiers because it was the level closest to the ordinary people.

South Africa was on the eve of a new local government system, he said, and it was clear that party politics — which had become a feature of

local government since 1988 — would continue to play a major role in the new administration process.

But there must be a just and fair electoral system, to further democracy and ensure proper representation of interests. Techniques and controls could be built into a system to ensure that power was not abused and the rights of minorities and interests were protected.

And, warned Mr Van Zyl, the whole democratic process would be futile if "democracy is exercised only during elections" and there was no regular contact between the people involved.

"We are living in very exciting times, with tremendous opportunities and challenges in the field of local government.

"From a municipal political point of view, a just system is needed which will provide for input by everybody.

"And it must offer proper representation.

"It must be a system for residents by the residents. A system which gives value to its residents and is free of discrimination which makes possible good local government.

"And it must be one which strives for peace, progress and prosperity for all its residents," said Mr Van Zyl.

Zululand University's political and public administration scientist, Dr A M Ndlovu, said that there must be a firm commitment in the new system to affirmed equal opportunity action.

A commitment to affirmative action, he said, would generate positive recruitment and enable the disadvantaged to be primed and directed into fields of work previously closed to them.

They would be deliberately encouraged to apply for positions they could not previously go after, helped to meet employment requirements, provided with special training programmes to help improve skills and to be prepared for higher-category occupations.

"The disadvantaged must be brought into the mainstream of occupations at all levels as rapidly as possible," said Dr Ndlovu.

Acting Principal of Unisa, Prof G S Harley, said when opening the conference at the university that ways and means would have to be found of funding local authorities in the new system which appeared to be in the pipeline — a system in which more power would be decentralised to local authorities.

The Citizen 11-9-91

Returned exile arrested on charges from '84

DURBAN. — A recently returned ANC exile, Mr Siphon Daniel Sithole, was arrested yesterday morning at Durban's Louis Botha Airport on two outstanding warrants of arrest dating back to 1984.

SA Police liaison officer Major Coert Marais said Mr Sithole had not been indemnified for the two criminal charges. He faces a charge of theft of a firearm and one for at-

tempted murder.

Mr Sithole was being held at C R Swart police station and would appear in court "as soon as possible".

Arrested

The returnee was arrested at the airport where he was bidding farewell to Professor Angela Davis and Ms Charlene Mitchell — both American civil rights activists who visited Durban

over the weekend.

His arrest was condemned by ANC Southern Natal deputy chairman Mr Jeff Radebe who said it had "serious implications for returned exiles who have been granted indemnity as Sithole was in April 1991".

"In view of this, we reiterate our call for a general amnesty for all exiles." — Sapa.

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CITIZEN

FW told to block 'power monsters'

By Cathy Thompson

IF the State President wanted to prevent domination of the Whites in South Africa by the 31 million non-Whites, he had to stop "the power leaving his hands" and prevent the creation of "power monsters" in government, Dr Andries Treurnicht, the leader of the Conservative Party, said in Potchefstroom last night.

Speaking in the packed town hall to hundreds of supporters, Dr Treurnicht said the CP would not sign the up-coming peace accord because it "was already leading in the direction of an interim government", and would eventually result in the abdication of the government.

The CP also rejected the principle of a multi-party congress "which has

to lead to a constituent assembly" and would culminate in a unitary state and Black domination.

"We will not advocate something which will cause enduring animosity and hate in other races, but we recognise our rights and those of others."

"In the old apartheid system not all measures were necessarily essential, but inasmuch as they recognised the diversity of nations they were necessary. Maybe we tried to do too much for others and not enough for ourselves."

Dr Treurnicht called on conservatives to be "fair, just and Christian" in their treatment of non-Whites, adding that the Afrikaner's pride in his "volk" was not "based on contempt for others".

"We accept the unity of the human race, but we believe God, on his own initiative divided us on principle and not by coin-

cidence."

He accused the State President, Mr FW de Klerk, of conducting "revolution politics" by turning the existing order upside-down and said the CP brought "stability, a vision of the future and loyalty to basic principles".

"The CP was not a bunch of backward people in South Africa clinging to old ideas," but was in step with nationalist movements throughout the world.

"If Mr De Klerk loses a referendum or a general election, he must not go back to the drawing board — he must go home."

"If we (the CP) do not immediately have a victory, it does not mean the end of the existence of the 'volk' or its aspirations or idealism. One referendum or general election will not do that."

B/Day 11-9-91

Bid to scale up foreign investment

SA's leaders sought out by world business

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi are being invited to address the world's business and financial leaders at a conference early next year which is designed to trigger large-scale international investment in southern Africa.

The conference at Davos, Switzerland, will give the leaders the opportunity to meet the CEOs of the world's most influential business, financial and aid institutions.

It is intended to highlight southern Africa as a potentially lucrative investment region in competition with Eastern Europe and Latin America.

The organiser of the conference is the Swiss-based World Economic Forum, a non-profit organisation whose mission is to promote contact between its 700 member companies, which include the world's leading multinational corporations, and the world's political leaders.

The forum's Africa manager Frederic Sicre visited SA at the weekend to brief local political organisations and to set up a preliminary investment conference in Switzerland next month.

Although the attendance of the three leaders at the Davos conference is still being secured, representatives of government, the ANC and Inkatha will definitely attend the preliminary southern Africa investment conference in Geneva.

The October conference will be attended by Economic Co-Ordination and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, ANC international affairs head Thabo Mbeki, an Inkatha representative and De-

PATRICK BULGER

velopment Bank of Southern Africa chairman Simon Brand.

Other participants will be government ministers from southern African countries and Southern African Development Co-ordinating Conference chairman Simba Makhoni.

Sicre said Mandela would be briefed about the conference over the next few days and that negotiations were in progress to finalise the participation of De Klerk and Buthelezi.

The October conference will concentrate on southern Africa's investment potential in the light of political developments in SA and other southern African countries. Sicre said the conference would target business opportunities in southern Africa.

The meeting will focus on the new political order in SA, whether the southern African region can become a major world economic player, who will shape SA's future business environment, business strategies for kick-starting the SA economy and regional strategies for long-term growth.

It will be attended by about 150 senior executives from the US, Europe and Asia.

"Judging from the response we are having from the international community vis-à-vis this upcoming forum, we hope to be able to reinforce the co-ordination and co-operation schemes already drawn up for the regional context by establishing greater economic co-operation at the highest level," Sicre said.

LETTERS

The Citizen PO Box 7712
Johannesburg 2000

Self-defence units must be disbanded

THE unprovoked AK-47 attack on Inkatha supporters in Tokoza and the handgrenade attack on them in Mofolo stress the urgent need for the so-called self-defence units to be immediately disbanded and disarmed.

In this regard the draft National Peace Accord is weak and most unsatisfactory. Firstly, it legitimises self-defence units as defined by the ANC. Secondly, the provisions that such units must liaise with the police and not hinder them is a certain recipe for the type of political killing we have just witnessed. These units must fall under the direct control of the police. Units refusing such control must be disarmed and disbanded, using force if

necessary.

Thirdly, the accord statement noting the right to bear licenced arms must be strengthened by the demand that all unlicensed arms and arms caches be surrendered.

The provisions in the accord making the police responsible to unelected committees containing representatives of the ANC and SA Communist Party must be firmly rejected. Unless the security forces are under the direct control of the legally constituted government, South Africa will descend into the uncontrolled violence that wrecked Lebanon for so many years.

Finally, there are indications that the National Peace Committee, which

drafted the accord, is making a distinction between the armed struggle and violence. The statement "no private armies shall be formed" is inadequate, for it is open to the interpretation that existing political armies are allowed to continue.

The chapter dealing with the code of conduct for political parties must be strengthened by insisting that such organisations disband existing "liberation forces" and surrender arms caches. It must also be made clear that liberation movements like the ANC and trade unions like Cosatu fall within the definition of "political organisations".

EDWARD CAIN

Pretoria

Peace accord is badly flawed

EVERYBODY in his same senses would like to see an end to the dreadful, mindless violence in our country — this is the concern of all South Africans irrespective of the political and other organisations to which they may belong.

However, having said this, a study of a recent careful analysis of the National Peace Accord draft reveals a number of flaws which indicate that the accord "is an extremely dangerous, one-sided document with a clear bias in favour of the revolutionary alliance of the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, and the Congress of South African Trade Unions, to the detriment of other parties."

Extracts from this analysis illustrate the urgent need drastically to amend or eliminate sections of the accord.

Furthermore the general public are entitled to full information on the

accord and the opportunity to comment thereon before it is signed.

The failure, thus far, to do so is self-defeating, for unless it is understood and accepted by the general public, it is doomed to failure.

To attempt to do all this before Saturday is obviously impossible, and it is a dangerous fallacy to believe that any accord, however flawed, is better than nothing.

The objective of the accord is surely to help bring a speedy end to violence, and must not be seen as means to get negotiations on a new constitution under way.

The accord appears to concentrate on political violence and does little to combat the appalling rise in crimes of violence, including murder, rape and armed robberies which are now a daily occurrence.

Anything which further emasculates our police and other security forces

is hardly likely to be supported by the general public, who are equally concerned with this uncontrolled rise in violent crime.

We find it difficult to understand why the Official Opposition has not commented on the analysis of the National Peace Accord draft, a copy of which was sent to them last Friday.

Thousands of people who see serious flaws in the accord are surely entitled to expect some guidance and constructive criticism thereon from the Official Opposition.

Failure to make any contribution is reminiscent of the behaviour of a petulant child who takes away his ball when his team appears to be losing the game, and does nobody any good.

JR LAMBSON

Chairman

University Freedom of Speech Association

Sandton

No smoke without fire

WHERE there is smoke there is fire. In spite of Stoffel van der Merwe's denials, we must accept that an interim government is inevitable. The plan to bring Mandela and Buthelezi into the Cabinet will in all probability precipitate civil war in South Africa.

If the De Klerk government goes ahead with this plan, they must at least admit that they are acting without a mandate.

Nowhere in any policy document published by them prior to the last general election did they mention the fact that the position of head of state might be shared among an ex-convict, a Zulu nationalist and the leader of the NP.

In spite of all the warning signals (Ventersdorp, Umlazi, Parys, etc) the Ministers in De Klerk's Cabinet are forging ahead with their plans to capitulate and hand the country to the Black Marxists.

They must understand one thing clearly — their own people are about to take up arms against them.

W J GROBLER

Randburg

Bringing in interim govt?

SOME of the provisions of the draft National Peace Accord, due to be signed on Saturday, reduce the powers of the State and appear to be a major step in the direction of setting up the interim government long demanded by the ANC.

Wide powers, including the control of the police, are placed in the hands of the signatories of the accord, which will almost certainly include the ANC and SA Communist Party.

The provision that makes the police "accountable to society" in effect removes the police from the control of the government and makes them accountable to the National Peace Committee and the numerous non-elected bodies created by the accord.

In addition to the National Peace Committee, the accord sets up the Standing Commission on Violence and Interim

administration, the National Peace Secretariat, the Police Board and the Police Ombudsman.

In addition to these, there are a host of regional and local "dispute resolution committees". Members of these committees will be representatives of the signatories of the Peace Accord or people nominated by them.

In addition to the ANC and SACP, it is highly likely that the accord will be signed by Cosatu and a number of organisations aligned or favourable to them. Should this happen, these bodies will have a built-in majority on all of these committees, and parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party, with only one vote, would find themselves at a permanent disadvantage.

Moreover, all committee members will be paid from tax-payers funds. This means that national, regional and local party

organisers will draw State salaries, which would greatly ease the financial load on their organisations while allowing them plenty of time for party work.

It is also a clear violation of Para 6.1: "No public funds shall be used to promote the interests of any political party or political organisation."

These committees are being given very wide powers, such as closely monitoring the activities of the police. In addition, upon receipt of any request or complaint, they are entitled "to enter and inspect any place and interrogate any security force member and seize any record or piece of evidence" (Para 6.6).

Whatever happened to the right of people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects against unreasonable searches and seizures! Surely such wide powers open the way for people

with grudges, by means of suspicion and denunciation, to harass innocent citizens in a way reminiscent of the worst excesses of the French Revolution!

REV ROBBIE ENGELBRECHT
(President, United Christian Action)

Pretoria

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B/Day

11.9.91

ANC aims to promote eco-friendly industry

AN ANC government would subsidise firms that made their operations environmentally friendly and penalise those damaging the environment, according to a recent policy document.

Noting the high levels of harmful emissions by SA industry, the document said: "Various incentives will be explored to reward industrialists who develop environmentally sound technologies".

Conversely, "commen-

DARIUS SANAI

surate penalties need to be instituted" against industries which damage the environment, according to the document, which was drawn up by the ANC's department of economic planning.

The proposals, if implemented, would be in line with modern economic theory on controlling pollution in a free-market economy, Sacob economist Ben van

Rensburg said yesterday.

"The market is incapable of picking up the costs or benefits of externalities like pollution and environmental control. The government must therefore tax or reward firms in line with their actions on pollution," he said.

The document also proposed a zoning system for industries that damage the environment and pose risks to human health.

If it was cheaper for a factory to dispose of waste in a river than to control its effluent, the factory's products became cheaper than they should be, because the factory was not picking up the external costs of treating the effects of the pollution, Van Rensburg said.

On conservation, the ANC document proposed achieving a balance between preserving wildlife and meeting the needs of rural populations.

"Wildlife utilisation on a sustainable basis represents a significant and viable land-use option," it said.

Standing firm

THE most important lesson of the hunger strike by three men awaiting trial on charges of murder and attempted murder is that there is no need for decent South Africans to feel intimidated by the racist right wing. Neo-Nazis promised a furious backlash were the hunger strikers to be permitted to die, and the more faint-hearted were tempted to give in to this threat. Nelson Mandela, citing a humanitarian motive but also wanting the hunger strikers to be available to give evidence on alleged state involvement in political murder, called for the men to be granted indemnity in what would be a clear contravention of what remains of our due process of law.

In the event, the trio lacked the

stomach to carry out their threat to fast to the death unless they were indemnified. They will stand trial, and they have also indicated their willingness to testify before the standing commission on violence on the issues of concern not only to the ANC but to the rest of us.

President F W de Klerk and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee are to be commended for their resolute stance against substantial pressures from those on the right, left and centre — the AWB and its friends, the ANC and the DP — for whom principle became a saleable commodity. It is ironic that it was the former party of apartheid which realised that appeasement this time would be an invitation to future right-wing excesses.

B/Dan 11.9.91

BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, September 11 1991

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Patriotic front meeting set for next month

TIM COHEN

ANC, PAC and Azapo leaders yesterday agreed a conference to launch a patriotic front would definitely go ahead in Durban on October 25 to 27.

The meeting of the patriotic front's national working committee was led by the presidents of the three organisations and was "cordial and frank", a joint statement said.

Participants said afterwards that discussion was continuing about which organisations would be invited to the conference.

There was therefore no final decision on parties such as the DP, the Labour Party and homeland political parties.

It was agreed that the conference would take decisions by consensus, mainly

because the aim of the conference was to establish joint minimum demands.

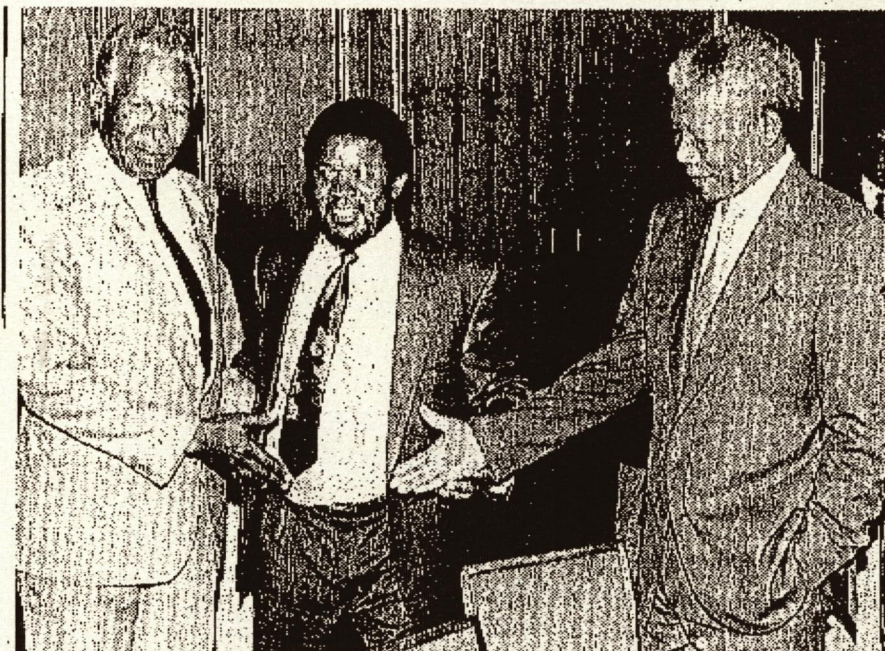
However, it was proposed that the three main political groups would have 24 delegates each, the two main union groupings (Cosatu and Nactu) 20 each and other political groups six each.

PAC spokesman Barney Desai described the meet-

ing as "very positive" and said everything would now proceed according to plan.

Azapo representative Steven Peter said guiding principles to decide who would be invited were discussed yesterday.

Among the principles suggested were that the organisations involved should have a history of non-collaboration, should represent "the oppressed" and support the concept of a constituent assembly.



PAC president Clarence Makwethu, Azapo president Pankaj Ghosh and ANC president Nelson Mandela at a meeting yesterday at which details of a patriotic front were discussed.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

ANC, Inkatha pledge to attend peace talks

By ROSS DUNN,
Johannesburg, Tuesday

The African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party in South Africa have vowed to press ahead with this week's peace summit despite the 92 deaths in township violence since Sunday.

The latest deaths occurred in Soweto this morning when three women standing near a railway station were gunned down by the occupants of a passing mini-bus.

Another 10 people were killed overnight in attacks. At least three people were fatally stabbed on commuter trains that bring black people to Johannesburg from townships. Six people were stabbed and wounded as they got off a train from Soweto.

The ANC and Inkatha agree that the killings meant there was more reason to sign the peace accord.

Inkatha was conciliatory in the face of the unprovoked shooting of 18 of its supporters in Tokoza township on Sunday.

The party's national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said "it is significant that this latest, and deliberately orchestrated carnage, has escalated

only days before the national peace convention on Saturday".

"The Inkatha Freedom Party will be at the convention. What has happened is all the more reason for the peace process to work and be made to work. Our commitment to stopping the violence is absolute."

These sentiments were echoed by the ANC president, Mr Nelson Mandela, who said if all those who sign the peace accord acted honestly and adhered to it, violence should be controlled.

"We are going to the convention ... to ensure that we sign that document. If every party honestly adheres to the obligations which are set out in that convention, then we should be able to control the violence, but only if everybody carries out his obligations, seriously and honestly."

Mr Mandela rejected Government optimism that an all-party conference to begin constitutional negotiations could begin as early as next month.

He said the Government had still not done enough to stop township violence and this stood in the way of such a conference.

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The Age
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Citizen 11.9.91

'Pattern of attacks' on IFP

Citizen Reporter

THE massacre of Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) members in Tokoza and Soweto at the weekend was an attempt to dissuade the party from signing Saturday's peace accord, IFP national chairman, Dr Frank Mdlalose, said yesterday.

"We are going (to the peace conference) and we shall sign," Dr Mdlalose said at a Press conference in Johannesburg.

The IFP did not know who was behind the attacks and it was not accusing the ANC.

"What we do know is that certain people seem to be trying to pressurise us not to sign the peace accord."

A pattern of orchestrated attacks against IFP supporters had emerged in recent weeks, he said.

During last month, 50 IFP members had been murdered in Natal. Seven IFP leaders had been assassinated and there had been attempts on the lives of 15 other leaders.

Twenty-four IFP members had been slaughtered in Tokoza and about 30 in Mofolo, Soweto, at the weekend.

"The IFP is appalled at the senseless massacre of its members in Tokoza and Soweto."

The attacks had been initiated against IFP members and he "would not be surprised" if IFP supporters had retaliated after the massacre.

Dr Mdlalose said the attacks gave the IFP all

the more reason to attend the weekend peace conference and it was fully committed to the peace process.

"We call on all business leaders and religious leaders to condemn the violence taking place, to condemn the butchering of IFP members.

"We must all stand together in stamping out political intolerance and ongoing violence."

He appealed for calm and asked all those hurt by the weekend violence not to retaliate.

Mr Themba Khoza, the IFP Youth Brigade leader, said IFP supporters had been returning from a rally in Soweto when they were attacked.

Several handgrenades had been hurled at them. People were screaming

and he saw people falling down.

"It was a chaotic situation. I don't know how I escaped."

Mrs Gertrude Mzizi, IFP women's Brigade secretary in Tokoza, said while travelling behind a group of about 500 hostel dwellers in Khumalo Street, she had noticed a man, dressed in black, jumping over a fence.

He was carrying an AK-47 rifle and suddenly blew a whistle. Three more gunmen, who had been hiding behind dustbins, also opened fire on the crowd.

Mrs Mzizi said she did not know who was responsible for the attacks, but the house from where the attack had been launched, belonged to an ANC supporter.

The Star

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Picking up the peace

AFTER the briefest of respites, township mass murder is back with us — and as the death toll rises so does the risk to the peace process. The Tokoza killings could not have come at a worse time: we are only days away from the long-awaited signing of a national peace convention and the renewed bloodshed raises the possibility that the delegates will assemble in accusatory and acrimonious mood.

The timing of the attack inevitably raises serious questions about its perpetrators. The Tokoza massacre was possibly the work of right-wing agents provocateurs, certain that it would lead to reprisals and another spasm of violence. Equally, maverick ANC elements might have been responsible, or it could have been a localised revenge attack. Whichever is the case, the result is to prolong the carnage and thereby put brakes on the negotiation process.

The fact that enemies of a peaceful settlement are about and are prepared to go to such lengths, places a heavy responsibility on political leaders to see to it that the spoilers do not succeed in their aims. It is welcome news indeed that both the ANC and Inkatha yesterday recommitted themselves to signing the peace accord.

The first task, of course, is that of the police — the killers must be caught. But against the broader background, it is distressing to note that the Commission of Inquiry regarding the Prevention of Public Violence and Intimidation has not yet been established, nearly five months after President de Klerk proposed it as an antidote to the spiralling violence. It is perhaps understandable that the Government should want to link the commission to the National Peace Initiative — thus ensuring that it is properly canvassed — but this should not be allowed to develop into an excuse for foot-dragging.

The lesson of Tokoza, like other bloodied townships before it, is that with every week that is allowed to pass without a unified assault on violence, more people are likely to die horrible deaths. The peace accord must be signed this weekend and the violence commission must get to work immediately thereafter.

NP proposals 'not from Law Commission'

THE South African Law Commission yesterday expressed concern that large numbers of members of the public were under the incorrect impression the National Party's recent constitutional proposals emanated from the commission.

Law Commission chairman Mr Justice HJO van Heerden said in a statement issued in Pretoria: "It has come to the attention of the South African Law Commission that many members of the

public are under the wrong impression that the present constitutional proposals of the National Party emanate from the Law Commission.

—"It must be noted that the Law Commission's report on constitutional options and alternatives — although practically completed, has not been made available or disclosed to any outsider — including the government and the National Party."

Mr Justice Van Heerden further said it must be

emphasised the Law Commission was requested by President F W de Klerk in March last year, only to identify and evaluate constitutional options and alternatives, and not to make or work out specific constitutional proposals or to assist any political party.

"The Law Commission hopes ... its report on constitutional options and alternatives will be available for general information by December this

year," he added. — Sape

The CITIZEN

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