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Slovo speaks his mind over nationalisation in South Africa

Southern 12/08/7

THE South African Communist Party would not be prescriptive about nationalisation if it came to power.

By ISMAIL
LAGARDIEN
Political
Correspondent

It will work with trade unions and "management at enterprise level" to create a form of participation and control by actual producers.

These are the ideals of the SACP as expressed by the general secretary of the party, Mr Joe Slovo, contained in the book *Nationalisation: Beyond the Slogans*, written by Keith Coleman.

"The SACP has rejected the prescription of nationalisation as part of the programme of the

party. We did so because on balance it was a much abused and over-used cliché, which meant different things to different people.

Opted

"In old thinking it connoted the transfer of legal ownership from private hands to the state.

"We reject that as the kind of dispensation which results in the basic transformation in the interest of the people, on its

own.

"We opted instead for the process of socialisation which may or may not involve the transfer of legal ownership, in whole or in part, of enterprises during the post-transformation period," Slovo says in the book.

The SACP prefers the State to engage itself in the economy in a way which empowers it to give direction to it in the interest of the people whom the present system has failed to empower.

Through legislation or regulation it is possible for the State to control big corporations without actually owning them.

Law

"Obviously the State exercises regulations over the whole economy; and by law it can provide prescriptions interfering directly or indirectly with production — like this State has done.

"The problem I have is that we are always looking for one prescription — nationalisation or no nationalisation.

"There are mixed forms. Which is why nationalisation in itself is a counter-productive word. It means so many things at so many levels — some negative — so I prefer not to use the word at all," he writes.

MK calls for Hani, interim govt and interim army

THOHOYANDOU.

— The ANC's first military conference inside South Africa ended yesterday afternoon with a unanimous resolution calling on the ANC's national executive committee to retain Chris Hani as Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff, and no to a SA Communist Party request for him to work fulltime for the party.

The announcement was made at a Press conference at the University of Venda, Thohoyandou, in the far northern Transvaal, at the end of the three-day conference attended by about 500 MK delegates.

MK commander Joe Modise ruled out the SA Defence Force as an army committed to change, but said MK believed there were elements within the SADF who were, and

MK wanted to meet them.

Mr Modise said MK's role as a guerrilla army was no longer valid, and the first steps to change MK to a regular army had been taken.

He predicted it would take MK between two and four years to transform to a regular army.

At the Press conference, it was also revealed that MK would be recommending to the African National Congress NEC that an MK Supreme Council be formed to strengthen the ANC's armed wing.

The MK conference gave its "unqualified" support for the negotiations process.

"However, we note with anger and dismay the regime's double agenda

as recently evidenced by the revelations around the "Inkathagate" scandal and the involvement of the South African security forces in planning and executing acts of violence against our people and the liberation movement," the resolution on negotiations added.

It resolved to set up a commission "to explore and research the form and content of a future regular army".

Delegates reiterated the ANC's position on the need for an interim government "as a matter of urgency".

It proposed that the commission on a future regular army make proposals on the functioning of the various security forces within South Africa during the transitional phase to majority rule.

"MK calls for contact with all security forces and armies within South Africa committed to change to a democratic non-racial, non-sexist South Africa. In this regard we call upon an independent body to facilitate a conference of all these above-mentioned forces."

The conference criticised the government for its "refusal" to release hundreds — according to the ANC — of political prisoners.

"Key among them are Mthetheli Ncube, Euclid Nondula and Robert McBride," MK said.

An MK commander stressed to the media the decision to call for Mr Hani's retention as second-in-command in MK was not a snub to the SACP.

"Conference unanimously called upon the NEC of the ANC to retain comrade Chris Hani as chief of staff and deputy commander of Umkhonto we Sizwe," the resolution stated.

Mr Modise revealed in a confidential report to the conference that MK would soon embark on an unprecedented recruitment drive in South Africa, concentrating mainly on academically qualified men and women.

At the Press conference yesterday, Mr Modise said MK expected to play a role in the transitional phase before a new South African constitution is implemented.

"During the interim government, we expect MK also to participate in securing our people in this country," he said.

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MK proposes formal truce in S Africa

THOHOYANDOU. —
The ANC's military wing
yesterday recommended
a formal cease-fire in
South Africa.

On the last day of
Umkhonto we Sizwe's
(MK) first conference in
South Africa, its commis-
sion on security forces re-
commended a formal
cease-fire and an internat-
ional supervising body
under the United Nations
and the Organisation of
African Unity to partici-
pate in a transitional
period.

A resolution on the re-
structuring of MK was
passed to the effect that
the ANC's national ex-
ecutive committee should
formulate policy and pro-
grammes on security and
defence in post-apartheid
SA.

Despite arguments by
delegates that it would be
a duplication, MK agreed
to establish a new body,
the MK Supreme Coun-
cil, consisting of 20 men
to oversee the work done
by "military headquar-
ters" and to be headed by
Mr Nelson Mandela. —
Sapa.

The Star 12 August 1991

MK calls for a new army for the new SA

By Patrick Laurence

THOHOYANDOU — The ANC's Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK), ended its national conference yesterday with a call to the "Pretoria regime" to match the ANC's suspension of the armed struggle by formally committing itself to a ceasefire.

In a communique issued at the end of its first legal meeting on South African soil, MK pressed for the establishment of an independent commission to examine how to form a new South African army and to control the various security forces, including the SADF and the SAP, during the transition to nonracialism.

Three further resolutions taken at the conference were:

- A unanimous call to the ANC executive to retain Chris Hani as MK's chief of staff. (The request came after speculation that Mr Hani would have to forfeit his military post if he took up a full-time position in the SA Communist Party.)

- An expression of grave concern over the refusal of "the regime" to free hundreds of MK combatants who were jailed after being captured, tried and convicted. (Robert McBride,

Mthethelf Neube and Euclid Nondula were named specifically. All three were originally sentenced to death for their role in guerilla actions that led to the death of civilians.)

- An endorsement of earlier ANC demands for sanctions to be kept in place until all political prisoners were released and all exiles allowed to return.

In addition, MK called for contact between "all security forces and armies within South Africa" committed to the establishment of a nonracial and democratic South Africa.

The resolution came after the conference was addressed on its opening day by Major-General Bantu Holomisa of Transkei and Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, both of whom favour the reincorporation of their territories into greater South Africa.

The presence of the two men at the conference — which was held at the University of Venda with the blessing of brigadier Ramushwana — signalled success for the ANC in its strategy of building a broad front of "progressive forces", including "homeland leaders", for the expected negotiations on how to restructure South Africa.

Another resolution called for the establishment of a social welfare department within MK.

It reflected concern — expressed at the conference and in the run-up to it — that MK cadres have not been cared for fully by the ANC since February 2.

Pending the inauguration of a new constitution and the establishment of a new South African defence force — composed of MK, guerilla fighters from rival liberation organisations, the "bantustan armies" and the existing SADF — MK would remain intact and "combat ready", the resolution said.

One of its functions in the interim period would be the "defence of the people", a reference to its role in the formation of "defence committees" to counter the activities of vigilante forces.

In a confidential address delivered at the weekend, MK commander Joe Modise disclosed that MK cadres were being given instruction in armies of friendly African countries.

"Tanzania and Uganda are currently training our officers," Mr Modise said.

In his earlier address, General Holomisa denied that MK cadres were being integrated into the Transkei Defence Force, although there was co-operation between his army and MK.

The Star 12 August 1991

The US aid package for SA will have important strings attached, says Hugh Robertson

Some very welcome sanctions

WHATEVER might be said against the United States Congress, it remains one of the most sensitive barometers of public opinion in the US and so when it takes a position on South Africa, it tends to reflect what most Americans feel and think.

Congress as a whole took a position of passive indifference when President Bush lifted sanctions last month, and if any confirmation were needed that this reflected public sentiment on the issue, it came, surprisingly, from Randall Robinson, probably the most zealous of the many anti-apartheid activists at work in America.

At the end of a long denunciation of those in Congress who he claimed were responsible for letting Mr Bush get away with such a malevolent deed, he noted that their lack of concern for South Africa was part of a broad and deepening pattern.

It was indeed. But lest a roar of "hoor-hoors" should rise from the legions who oppose sanctions, an emerging paradox of huge importance to all South Africans needs to be aired.

It is that sanctions, or the threat of them, may yet prove to be the most potent guarantee of democratic government and a free enterprise economy which could be hoped for by those in the white minority who fear black majority rule.

Let me explain. A move is under way in Congress to create a multi-billion dollar aid programme for South Africa which would be big enough to finance an historic turning point in the country's development. The money would only become available once a new and freely elected government is in place.

The ANC, and Randall Robinson, have reservations about it — and perhaps with some reason. No

US Congress is going to finance a government in South Africa which plans the sort of radical social engineering so dear to the hearts of unrepentant Stalinists and Marxists (and, for that matter, advocates of apartheid).

And no US Congress is going to pour money down a drain of Marxist experimentation and nationalisation. Above all, it is unthinkable that a US Congress in the post-Cold War era would bankroll a government which abrogated the rule of law, tampered with the constitution, denied people their rights and generally misbehaved on the unimpeachable scale of successive apartheid regimes.

In short, the multi-billion-dollar aid programme, a Marshall Plan for South Africa, would have strings attached.

Neocolonialism, shout some in the ANC, "where is the liberator we have fought for?"

"American imperialism" shout

the US civil rights activists, "such strings are unacceptable."

But just as Fascism had a tough time of it after the collapse of the Third Reich and the end of World War 2, it would be naive of South African Marxists to expect an unchanged world after the collapse of the Soviet empire and the end of the Cold War. And perhaps this week's discussion on the US aid proposal is just what was needed to concentrate their minds on certain inevitabilities in the new South Africa.

One is that the country will not survive without huge foreign investment and foreign aid. Another is that in the new world order, such investment and aid can only come from the Western democracies and, as even the Soviet Union has discovered, this will entail conditions and obligations.

While a degree of state intervention in the economy almost certainly would be accepted as a

means of mending the mutilations of apartheid, there would be firm and unambiguous limits.

Transgression of those limits, moreover, could be dealt with by much the same pressures which the ANC and Randall Robinson were able to invoke against the South African regime in 1986 and it would be surprising if US conservatives — and perhaps even some liberals — did not try to build precisely such a mechanism into the aid package.

But we got back to the problem of indifference. At the best of times foreign aid is an unpopular cause in Congress.

The US has towering problems of its own and the Cold War financing of corrupt and incompetent Marxist dictatorships tried the benevolence of the American people to the limit.

If indifference over the future of South Africa persists, the chance of enough people in Congress supporting a really big aid package

would vastly diminish.

There is an ironic twist to the fact that the very indifference to sanction in the US Congress which gave comfort to many in South Africa may yet jeopardise an historic opportunity to secure democracy and free enterprise.

And there is a corresponding irony in the fact that by having to give an answer — soon — on the aid offer, the ANC will have to contemplate the prospect of running the country under many of the constraints which it has worked so hard to impose upon the present regime.

But if it has no plans to abrogate the rule of law, change the constitution unilaterally, deny people their rights or run the country as if Marxism were still a viable ideology, I should have nothing to fear and all in the country could band together to combat the insidious threat of indifference to our future. □

PAC, ANC, Azapo and Nats somehow agree

THE Government and the black liberation movements are making more of the same noises - they just resonate differently.

There was a time when the only thing on which there was unanimity was that South Africa needed a new constitution.

Over the past two weeks, all the main actors in the unfolding political drama have reached confluence on another issue, and that is there has to be some kind of "transitional arrangements" - a very ambiguous, if not generic term.

The ANC has said it wanted the ruling National Party "to hand over power to an interim government".

The PAC too, wants an interim government, but has warned that if an interim government meant becoming part of the existing government structures - under the bedrock of latter-day apartheid - the Constitution Act of 1983, which specifically excludes black people from central government - it was not interested.

Observer

Azapo has said that it preferred as a "transitional arrangement," an independent and impartial observer in the form of either the United Nations, the Organisation for African Unity, or the Non-Aligned Movement, to oversee one person one vote elections to a constituent assembly.

The ANC has asked for some form of control of the security forces during constitutional negotiations, while the PAC and Azapo have said that the security forces had to be confined to barracks.

The ANC wants an all-party conference to achieve this.

Same noises but it sounds differently

By ISMAIL LAGARDIEN
Political Correspondent

The PAC and Azapo are vehemently opposed to contact with Government, but the chances are that when talks start both will be on board - or face the possibility of being marginalised.

Both have expressed what they are against and what they prefer, but neither have indicated exactly how they intended getting to any given moment in the ensuing drama.

All of which brings us to the Government, which has repeatedly stressed the need for some kind of joint decision-making, and President FW de Klerk's address to the nation on July 30 when he said that the creation of a "transitional arrangement" was a matter of greater urgency.

On July 30 De Klerk said: "Today I wish to commit myself once again to transitional arrangements which will ensure, in a constitutionally accountable manner, that the Government is unable to misuse its position of power to the detriment of its discussion partners in the negotiating process."

"I have an open mind on alternative methods. However, any steps in this connections have to result from negotiation. As far as I am concerned, they may be the first item on the agenda (of multi-party talks before constitutional negotiations can begin)."

Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until the Government gets up off its seat and quits.

De Klerk's July 30 statement falls in line with indications from the ANC that it saw the route to a settlement through engaging the Government in a series of talks, starting with an all party conference where an interim structure would be created.

The PAC on the other hand early last week said that it would not accept an executive role under the present constitution.

However, by the end of last week, at a briefing in Pretoria on Friday, the Minister of Constitutional Development, Dr Gerrit Viljoen produced a sop for the PAC - the present constitution can be amended, he said.

Viljoen was explicit; the Government did not like "tinkering" with the constitution, but accepted that if it would aid the negotiation process and for effective power sharing, it can be done.

"We realise that the objection to that point of view from the other side

is that this would lead to no real power, no real influence, and that it would amount to co-option. Therefore we are prepared to look at alternatives.

"But whatever the results, it must be the result of negotiations at a multi-party conference and the agreements achieved there and the rules of the game in which we (negotiating partners) should agree beforehand with respect to the multi-party conference.

Constitution

"We have been averse to tinkering on an ad hoc interim basis with the constitution, but if an agreed solution can be found which is acceptable to both sides, which involves constitutional changes, that is a matter which will have to be favourably considered. In other words we are not dogmatic about it we think it is unwise to move towards fragmentary changes of the constitution.

"But if an acceptable transitional arrangement involving constitutional arrangements is negotiated, then obviously that approach will have to be adjusted," Viljoen said.

How does Azapo fit into the scheme of things?

Azapo's immediate agenda appears to be not to get involved in any talks until Government

has repeatedly said that it was not prepared to do.

Parliamentary political parties, like the Democratic Party, should simply walk out of Parliament, Azapo's publicity secretary, Mr Strini Moodley, said late last week.

There are four basic positions regarding a "transitional arrangement".

The Government has said that it wanted to discuss the "transitional arrangement" at an all party or multi-party conference.

The ANC has signalled that it was it too was ready to go to a multi-party conference - but calls is an all-party conference.

The PAC has said that it wanted a "transitional arrangement" and has so far only been able to say why it wasn't possible - the PAC has not said how it envisaged reaching its destination.

Suggestion

Azapo has said that it wanted a "transitional arrangement" and has made a suggestion as to how it thought this could be achieved.

And then there is Inkatha...

It can be safely assumed that Inkatha will accept anything Government suggests.

In the words of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela: "Talking to Inkatha is like talking to the Government."

FW not 'top of the pops', says ANC

12/08/91
Mercury Reporter

IF THE Government was so confident that State President de Klerk was 'top of the pops' then it should stop the violence in the country and stop funding and giving military support to Inkatha.

This was said by Miss Gill Marcus, spokesman for the ANC.

Miss Marcus was commenting on a telephone survey conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council, which found that 39% of those interviewed would choose Mr de Klerk to lead the country, 21,7% ANC president Nelson Mandela and only 2,4% Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht.

She said the survey stated that it was not representative of black people and therefore it was misleading for the survey to say Mr de Klerk led Mr Mandela.

"Instead of having all these polls, let's have an interim government and a constitu-

ent assembly based on one man, one vote. We are not hesitant," Miss Marcus said.

The CP has branded the survey a "transparent attempt to counter the flagging support of the National Party and the lack of credibility of its leaders".

The CP spokesman on national education, Mr Andrew Gerber, MP for Brits, said in a statement that the HSRC had shown itself to be part of a propaganda machine designed to support the NP and its leaders.

"The use of taxpayers' money by such an untrustworthy organisation needs to be seriously questioned," he said.

Dr Zach de Beer, leader of the Democratic Party, said that, looking at the number of respondents in the various racial categories, it was clear that the HSRC findings could not be taken as any sort of

worthwhile indication of the real situation.

"The number of black respondents is considerably less than half the total number, whereas black people make up more than two-thirds of the total population," he said.

"This factor alone invalidates the report, particularly as regards the relative popularity of President de Klerk and Mr Mandela."

Dr de Beer said he suspected that the sample was unbalanced in favour of urban populations of people with telephones.

"The effect of these technical shortcomings is obviously to favour those individuals and organisations whose support is primarily white against others."

"As regards the DP specifically, I am at a loss to account for the fact that this result gives us about one-fifth of the support that other similar polls have done."

Inkatha 'unwilling to seek peace'

12/08/91
Mercury Reporter

THE northern Natal branch of the ANC has accused the leadership of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Empangeni area of being unwilling to establish joint peace structures to contain violence in the region.

The accusation comes in the wake of violence at Esikhawini, south of Empangeni, last week, in which one person died and several were injured.

In a statement, the branch denied allegations that the ANC youth at Dlamvuzo High School had instigated the violence by attacking IFP youth.

"We are convinced that some of the leadership of the IFP are not working towards political co-existence with the ANC in this region," the statement said.

It said the ANC was strongly committed to establishing permanent peace committees at regional and community levels to resolve disputes and had established committees at all its branches.

However, although the northern Natal branch had consistently urged Inkatha to do the same, they were "either unwilling or failing to work towards the establishment of these joint structures", the statement added.

Cadres call for ceasefire

16/1/11

Soweto 12/08/91

X THE ANC's military wing yesterday recommended a formal ceasefire.

On the last day of Umkhonto we Sizwe's first conference in South Africa, held at the University of Venda in Thohoyandou, its commission on security forces recommended a formal ceasefire supervised by the United Nations and the Organisation of African Unity.

The conference yester-

day adopted four resolutions from commissions dealing with the restructuring and welfare of MK, negotiations and the armed struggle.

Policy

The conference resolved to recommend that the ANC National Executive Committee formulate policy and programmes on security and defence in a post-apartheid South Africa.

The welfare commission, presented by ANC

department of social welfare head Mrs Winnie Mandela, recommended that the ANC establish a treasury department for MK which should be autonomous.

Despite argument that it would be a duplication, the MK agreed to establish a 20-person Supreme Council to oversee military headquarters.

The council will be chaired by ANC president and army commander-in-chief Mr Nelson Mandela.

- Sapa.