

## NO MAJOR DECISIONS AT PLANNING CONFERENCE

No significant decisions were reached at the eagerly awaited Multi-Party Planning Conference (MPPC), originally planned for Feb 25-26, but which finally got underway on March 5-6. True to form, the politicians vacillated and left the decision of whether the new South Africa should be a highly centralised unitary state or a decentralised, federal/confederal one for the Multi-Party Conference (MPC), which is provisionally set for April 1.

An indication that the crucial decisions would be delayed came in the opening speech by the Democratic Party's Colin Eglin. In his capacity as first chairman, he said the aim of the conference was to plan the resumption of negotiations, not to hammer out constitutional matters or to decide on the details of the constitution-making process.

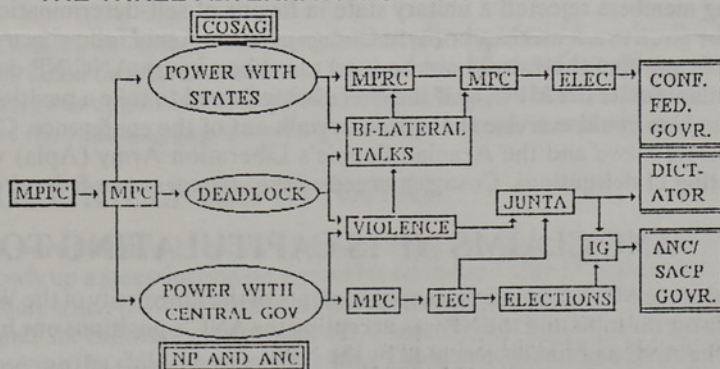
No progress was made on the central issue of who holds ultimate power, on what should become of agreements reached at Codesa or even who would chair the MPC. While conceding strong powers to the regions, the African National Congress insists that the central government has concurrent and overriding authority. It also insists it would not move away from its demand for a sovereign constituent assembly (CA) to draft a new constitution. After months of private talks, the ANC and the National Party had agreed to recognise past Codesa agreements, hold early elections and share power for five years while drafting a new constitution.

"Although there seems to be differing interpretations between the ANC and the NP on the issue of an interim government of national unity, they are, in fact, allies," noted *The Weekly Mail* (5/3/93). "The apparent dispute is mainly due to a difference in emphasis because of the different audiences the two major players are addressing. There is little doubt that the two 'big elephants' have in principle already agreed on the transition process towards democracy." However, they failed to get the conference to endorse their agreement!

Agreement was however reached that decisions at future meetings would be made on the basis of "sufficient consensus". The NP and ANC believe they have sufficient clout to force their views on the MPC if necessary. This view was echoed by the *Sunday Times* (7/3/93): "There was danger ... especially if the result permits the ANC roughly to override as important a regional player as the IFP (Inkatha Freedom Party), but we are reaching the point where a bad solution is better than no solution". However unless the agreement reached is acceptable not only to MPC delegates, but to the majority of reasonable men, the result will most certainly be disastrous!

The ANC and government want the Codesa agreements ratified leading to the holding of early elections for a government of national unity which will also serve as the CA. The Concerned South Africans Group (Cosag), on the other hand, insists the MPC must agree that the new South Africa should be structured on federal/confederal lines and should be followed by multi-party conferences in each of the regions (MPRC) to negotiate the functions, borders and powers of the national states. Each state would also decide which functions would be delegated upwards to the central coordinating body and downwards to local authorities. Thus the number of states, their functions, borders and powers would be negotiated by interested parties within each state. These agreements would then be endorsed at a subsequent MPC and legislated through the present South African parliament. There would therefore be no need for an interim government, an interim constitution or an elected CA. This would result in the "attainment of the freedom of our people in our fatherland under our own government," said Cosag's Tom Langley.

### THE THREE ALTERNATIVES FACING SOUTH AFRICA



Cosag rejects any plan to force a unitary state under a single central government on South Africa and opposes an elected CA. It prefers that broad guidelines be given to a technical committee of experts who would draw up a constitution. This would then be put to the people via a referendum, after which a general election would be held.

Apparently the main aim of the government and ANC at the conference was to keep everyone together. So they went out of their way to prevent a Cosag walkout and they achieved this goal. They therefore hailed the conference as a success. ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa could hardly contain his joy saying the conference had been an unqualified success which had lit a torch of hope and opened the way to resolve the conflict in the country. Government chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, said the main objective of the conference was to set a date for multi-party negotiations.



However their joy was reminiscent of the euphoria at the conclusion of Codesa 2 which, at least temporarily, masked its failure. Certainly no agreement was reached on the two main aims of the conference: what would become of the agreements reached at Codesa and how to take the next step towards writing the new constitution.

Three important players, the Conservative Party, the Afrikaner Volksunie and the Pan-Africanist Congress, which did not attend Codesa, took part in the talks. An additional 11 organisations were given observer status. However Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) did not attend. Fifty foreign governments, international organisations and observer missions attended the MPPC including Angola, China, Lebanon, Russian Federation, Zimbabwe and the OAU. All but one of the 26 delegations accepted a resolution requiring them to "make an unqualified commitment to this process of negotiations". The Conservative Party abstained to keep open its options on future involvement in negotiations because it said the conference had not dealt adequately with certain stumbling blocks.

"The ANC, confident of victory, is trying its best to ensure that when it eventually comes to office, its power to restructure society will be more or less unfettered," is how the *Sunday Times* (7/3/93) summed up the conference. "The Inkatha Freedom Party, which fears nothing so much as an unfettered ANC government, is understandably determined to secure a measure of regional autonomy before the drafting of the constitution begins. The Nationalists are determined to have an important say in the transitional government, and the ANC has been persuaded by Mr Joe Slovo that it may be better, at this point, to join than to fight."

## THE NEXT STEPS IN NEGOTIATIONS

The MPPC appointed a ten-man agenda committee to finalise the date, venue, agenda and procedures (including chairmanship) for the MPC and identify participants. Its members are: Meyer (government), Ramaphosa (ANC), Slovo (SACP), Pravin Gordhan (Natal Indian Congress), Zam Titus (Transkei), Benny Alexander (Pan-Africanist Congress), Eglin (DP), Frank Mdlalose (KwaZulu), Joe Matthews (IFP) and Rowan Cronje (Bophuthatswana). **It will be noted that five members come from the Patriotic Front (three from the ANC/SACP alliance). Altogether seven favour a unitary state and only three a federal/confederal solution.**

At its first meeting on March 9, the committee proposed a four-tier negotiation forum. Thus:

- The tough negotiation will be done in the **Negotiating Council**, consisting of the chief negotiator and an adviser from each political party.
- The council will meet three to four times a week and be chaired by the negotiators in alphabetical order.
- A four-man technical committee will be appointed by the council to write up agreements and consider the criteria for including other political groups, the Codesa agreements and deadlock-breaking mechanisms.
- Agreements will be taken to the **Negotiation Forum**, consisting of three delegates and two advisers for each participant, which will meet fortnightly. It will be chaired by a rotating panel of seven people.
- **Plenary sessions**, consisting of leaders and nine delegates and with international chairmanship, will meet to formally endorse agreements.
- The current agenda committee will be converted into a **Planning Committee** which will draw up the agenda for the Negotiating Council.

The agenda committee (proposed Planning Committee) will present its recommendations to the 26-member facilitating committee (proposed Negotiating Council) on March 18 for ratification or amendment. This first meeting will also determine the usefulness of agreements reached at Codesa, how the negotiating forum will be structured and the role of the international community.

The Cosag members rejected a unitary state in favour of self-determination which would decide the amount of power to be given to a central authority, a Cosag spokesman said following a meeting on March 13. Cosag members were unanimous that they would not be used to rubber stamp ANC/NP decisions. **If they felt the ANC/NP were trying to manipulate the MPC, or if they were being forced to take a position they could not agree to in principle, Cosag members could exercise the option to walk out of the conference.** Cosag maintains that the dissolution of Umkhonto we Sizwe and the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) would assist the success of the MPC. Representing 11 delegations, Cosag emerged as the strongest pro-federal/confederal caucus at the MPPC.

## ANC CLAIMS NP IS CAPITULATING TO ITS DEMANDS

Just ahead of the MPPC, Ramaphosa told students of the University of the Western Cape that **the ANC was setting the agenda for the talks and the NP was accepting the ANC's positions one by one.** He listed the following positions taken by the ANC and finally accepted by the NP:

- An elected constituent assembly (CA) writing a new constitution;
- Giving the CA sovereign and unfettered powers to do so;
- An interim government of national unity to oversee the transition;
- Joint control over the security forces;
- An independent election commission and a new independent SABC board.

Ramaphosa also claimed that in bilateral discussions, **the NP dropped their demand that the president be elected by popular vote and agreed that he be elected by the CA.** It also stopped insisting on a rotating presidency of three to five people. In another concession, it agreed that the boundaries, functions and duties of regions be



decided by the CA instead of being predetermined. It also accepted that the CA would take decisions by a two-thirds majority instead of 75 percent on sensitive issues.

In addition, Ramaphosa accused the government of being "experienced in treachery and cheating" and that it had never stuck to agreements it had reached. The ANC still wanted the government to pass a law reincorporating the TBVC states, he said. **If the government did not comply, the ANC would simply mobilise and take to the streets again in unprecedented mass action.**

Earlier, on Feb 18, the ANC national executive committee (NEC) endorsed the concept of a government comprising all parties achieving a minimum of five percent of the seats for up to five years after an election. However minority parties would not have the power to paralyse the executive. It also endorsed participation in the MPPC and a Transitional Executive Council (TEC), with sub-councils for law and order and defence, to prepare for elections. The resultant Interim Government of National Unity (IGNU) would run the country until the adoption of a new constitution. The IGNU would then continue in the same form as a Government of National Unity and Reconstruction. The ANC's IGNU and the NP power-sharing proposals were structurally identical but the process of operation was different, according to the NEC. The ANC rejected the NP's proposals that all parties should have veto powers because this would "paralyse the effectiveness of government".

According to the ANC, the president would be elected by a simple majority of the constituent assembly and he would appoint representatives of minority parties. It rejected the government's proposals for a rotating chairmanship of the cabinet and that the cabinet acts on consensus.

The SACP's central committee endorsed the ANC's transitional package on Feb 22 although it warned that an IGNU fell short of "full majority rule". It insisted that the president be accountable to the constituent assembly and to the majority party, thus giving it ultimate control. It also called for the unity of all democratic forces.

## DESPITE APLA'S VIOLENCE, GOVERNMENT TALKS TO PAC

A government delegation, including the Commissioner of Police, Gen Johan van der Merwe, and Gen Jan Erasmus of Defence headquarters, held talks with the PAC and Apla in Gaborone on March 2. Law and Order Minister, Hernus Kriel, denied that the talks contradicted government statements that it would not negotiate with the PAC on constitutional matters until progress had been made towards suspending the armed struggle. He said the talks took place in the same context as discussions between the ANC and government before the suspension of the ANC's armed activities. **However many people were aghast that such a meeting could take place so soon after Apla attacks in the Eastern Cape and the Free State (see Roca Report nos 48 and 49).**

The government proposed an immediate moratorium on armed action, but the PAC refused to unilaterally suspend its armed struggle. At a press conference following the talks with the government, PAC's secretary for foreign affairs, Gora Ebrahim, **made it clear that the PAC had full control over Apla** saying this was proved by the presence of three Apla commanders at the meeting. Earlier Willie Sereti, PAC's secretary for political affairs and delegation leader, said: **"Apla is a component structure of the PAC and is subject to us".**

Despite the government's failure to persuade the PAC to put a moratorium on its armed struggle, it insisted on attending the MPPC. The government agreed, but **unless the PAC "puts a moratorium on any further armed activities, we can't accept them participating in the constitutional negotiation process,"** Meyer said on March 3. The government would maintain this position at the MPPC, he added.

On March 4, the day before the MPPC began, an Apla spokesman claimed that Apla had been involved in three recent attacks in which a policeman was killed on March 3 and two soldiers wounded. **Despite these attacks, the PAC secretary general, Benny Alexander, was appointed to the 10-man planning committee which is to prepare for the MPC, demonstrating once more the widening gap between government rhetoric and action!**

## MORE KILLINGS IN NATAL

**Six school children, aged from 10 to 20, were killed** on March 2 when the vehicle in which 23 pupils were travelling to school was ambushed as it moved slowly up a steep incline on a gravel road in the Table Mountain area of Natal. Five to seven attackers sprayed the vehicle with AK-47 bullets from both sides of the road and 24 spent cartridges were found at the scene. The driver and six children were wounded. Three of the dead were sons of Bernard Mkhize, the local IFP chairman, in whose van the children were travelling. **Three members of the ANC's Maqongqo branch were arrested and charged with the murders on March 8.** The lawyer defending them has represented ANC members in court on several occasions. Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi attended the funeral on March 13 and the coffins were draped with IFP flags. Mandela did not attend the funeral for "security reasons".

Four men and six women were killed in a similar ambush in the area on March 5, in what some saw as a revenge attack. Three men were charged with these murders on March 8. Another four people were killed when a bus carrying ANC supporters was ambushed on March 8. A number of observers, including Archbishop Tutu, saw the killings, especially of the children, as an attempt to disrupt the MPPC. **The ANC used the attacks to call for an international peace-keeping force and multi-party command of the police and army to ensure peace in the area.**



## MASS ACTION DISRUPTS EDUCATION

There are clear indications that South Africa is in for more mass action, this time organised by workers' organisations rather than political ones. Education and health sectors are the most likely to be affected.

"Our organisation has declared 1993 the year of getting rid of the hated examination fees in all schools," Moses Maseko, president of the ANC-aligned Congress of South African Students (Cosas) said on March 1 at a conference to organise a programme of action. The meeting was attended by Cosas, the Pan Africanist Students Organisation, the Azanian Students Movement, the SA National Civic Organisation, the ANC, PAC and Cosatu. Parents would be involved and DET buildings and city streets occupied until the demands were met, Maseko said.

The conference followed two weeks of violence and confusion in schools around the country. Three teachers were seriously injured at Soshanguve when they were stoned and assaulted by students on Feb 24. Passing cars were also stoned and the school was closed after being vandalised. The Mamelodi campus of Vista university, as well as three teacher training colleges in Natal were closed while many Soweto students were too afraid to attend classes.

Police had evidence that **Soweto school children had been sent out of the country for military training and that certain organisations planned to disrupt schools**, a police spokesman said on Feb 19. Plans had been laid last year to attack and disarm policemen to acquire firearms. He was speaking following attacks on vehicles and schools.

The schools crisis was worsened by a two-week long strike by Soweto teachers, and the resultant closure of the majority of Soweto schools. The protest followed the retrenchment of 30 temporary teachers and also resulted in the Johannesburg offices of the Dept of Education and Training (DET) being occupied by 27 Soweto teachers for a week. The situation was aggravated by an announcement by State President FW de Klerk that pay increases for teachers would be pegged at five percent. Negotiations between the ANC-aligned SA Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) and the Dept of Education and Training were held on March 6.

The Anti-Examination Committee, which flowed from the March 1 conference, announced on March 12 that it **intended to organise 100 000 pupils from 100 schools in the southern Transvaal on March 24 to protest against the government's refusal to scrap exam fees**. Pupils all over the country would march to regional DET offices. Moreover the SA Students Congress (Sasco) is **threatening a national wave of mass action** if the government does not write off the R53 million owed by students at six universities since 1992.

More than 96 percent of respondents to an opinion survey held in Soweto agreed strongly with the statement that pupils should attend school every day and 97 percent agreed that teachers had an obligation to teach the children. More than 76 percent disagreed with a statement that teachers had the right to disrupt teaching and 78 percent rejected the disruption of teaching for political purposes. The findings of the poll, which was held to test public opinion on the disruption of schools, were published on March 14.

## PUBLIC CONFIDENCE SHAKEN BY DIRTY TRICKS AND CORRUPTION

**Public confidence in the government has been further shaken by allegations of SA Defence Force involvement in the murder of United Democratic Front activists and by fresh revelations of corruption and wastage of money.**

A top secret signal sent from Eastern Province Command to the secretariat of the State Security Council in June 1985 calling for the "permanent removal from society" of three political activists was a recommendation that they be killed, a retired army colonel told an inquest judge in Port Elizabeth on March 11. Three weeks later, the bodies of the so-called "Cradock Four", including Matthew Goniwe, were found. The inquest into the death of the four activists was reopened following the publication of the signal in a newspaper.

The signal was part of a master plan drafted by Lt Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen, then head of EP command and now chief of military intelligence, to stabilise the Eastern Cape and develop it into an independent power bloc against the ANC and the United Democratic Front. The plan called for the removal of the then Ciskeian president, Lennox Sebe, and the formation of a Xhosa resistance movement, similar to Inkatha. At the time political violence was rife in the Eastern Cape, with terrorist actions including indiscriminate bomb attacks and the ghastly necklacing murders. The first steps of the plan correspond to events which began to unfold soon afterwards. However when an assassination attempt on Sebe failed, the plan appears to have been abandoned. Documents detailing the plan were released by Transkei's military ruler, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, on March 11.

"The government of that time had a primary duty to take appropriate action to restore order, re-establish normality to society and create a climate to search for constitutional solutions," said a government spokesman in response to Holomisa's disclosures. "In this process, it did use extraordinary powers and unconventional strategies. However, at no time did the Cabinet or the State Security Council order or approve any illegal actions."

While revelations about "dirty tricks" by the security forces grab the headlines, plots by the ANC/SACP to destabilise the country at that time through, among other things, the murder of political opponents, which provoked the actions of the security forces, are neither being exposed by the media nor are the subject of judicial inquests. They are completely ignored!



Confirmation of serious deficiencies involving millions of Rands in the former Dept of Development Aid were contained in the report of the Auditor-General presented to Parliament on Feb 23. R18 million was spent on schools and police stations which were not immediately taken into use while R13.5 million went into infrastructure on sites which were never occupied. No adequate measures were taken to ensure the collection of debts, running into billions of Rands, in townships. Outstanding loans and bank overdraft facilities of Transkei, Ciskei and Venda amounted to R3.3 billion at end of the 1991-92 financial year.

## CRIMINAL VIOLENCE CONTINUES TO RISE

**Lack of security is another major reason people are fast losing confidence in the government. In addition to political violence, South Africa is in the grip of an unprecedented crime wave. Shocked experts said there is a complete breakdown of law and order and that the country is slowly sliding into anarchy, according to *The Citizen* (22/2/93). There were 19 400 murders last year an increase of more than 32 percent over the total of 14 693 murders in 1991! The murder rate has skyrocketed since the death penalty was suspended in 1989.**

This means that South Africa, with a population of 20 240 216 (excluding the self-governing territories and independent homelands) has a murder rate of 95 homicides per 100 000 people, compared with nine per 100 000 in the United States with a population of 250 million. In other words, **South Africa's murder rate is ten times that of the US!** The murder rate in England, Wales and the Netherlands is about one per 100 000.

The chances of being murdered in Johannesburg are 1 in 647, compared with 1 in 1 158 in Rio de Janeiro and 1 in 39 344 in London. Armed robberies in restaurants and other city centre establishments are strangling Johannesburg according to businessmen. Turnover has dropped by 60 percent in the past month. As a result, customers and retailers are moving out of the city centre.

"The fact that murders increased by so much is an indication of the levels of anarchy and brutality currently existing in South Africa," said Lloyd Vogelmann, director of the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation at the University of the Witwatersrand. In terms of crime, **1992 was the most horrific year that the country has ever experienced.** In addition to the murders, there were 1 781 861 serious crimes in 1992, including 31 575 armed robberies and 24 334 rapes.

**Political violence claimed 2 465 lives in 1992 and 3 560 people were injured.** In the same year, 216 people were killed in violence on trains and 891 AK-47 assault rifles were seized. **Indemnity was granted to 4 639 people who had gone abroad for military training and to 5 220 people who had left South Africa without valid travel documents,** Law and Order Minister, Kobie Coetsee said on March 2. Another 941 persons were granted indemnity for political crimes and 174 for crimes like house-breaking and theft.

Many of those murdered in South Africa are elderly Whites. This is reminiscent of the instructions given by Admiral Rosa Coutinho, a member of the Portuguese Communist Party, to the MPLA's Agostinho Neto at the beginning of the civil war in Angola in 1974. He told Neto to give secret instructions to the MPLA to **"terrorise the Whites by all means". "Be cruel especially to the children, the women and the elderly, to discourage the most brave," to demoralise them and force them to flee the country.** By uprooting the Whites, "the whole capitalistic structure will be demolished, making it possible to establish the new socialist society".

**The 28th member of the SA Police to die violently this year was killed on March 3** when a man walked up to a Black constable escorting a bakery van in Alexandra, laughed, drew a firearm and shot him in the head. Apla claimed responsibility. **In 1992, 226 policemen were murdered. That year, 231 policemen resigned because of stress** compared with 37 in 1991, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said on Feb 17. No figures are available for traffic officers and members of private security firms who have been killed but two Black traffic officers were shot dead on March 10 in Vosloorus when gunmen walked up to their marked patrol vehicle from behind and fired at them at point-blank range from either side of the vehicle.

## ANC'S CONCEPT OF FREEDOM OF SPEECH

**Two incidents clearly indicate that the ANC defines freedom of speech as freedom for ANC speakers and freedom to prevent its political opponents from speaking!** Despite chanting and singing by a section of the audience, ANC official Carl Niehuis was able to complete his speech at the University of Pretoria on March 9 on the controversial issue of the need for new national symbols in South Africa. Nevertheless he criticised the students who, he said, did not want to face reality. **"The intolerant and undemocratic behavior of some students calls for carefully considered disciplinary action that will clearly convey the message that such behaviour cannot be tolerated."**

However, the following day Mrs Marike de Klerk, the State President's wife, was insulted by jeering protesters who pressed against her car, threw posters at it and clashed with the police when she attended a function in the Coloured town of Atlantis in the Cape to talk about the role of women. **The ANC organised the protest.** Earlier two DP meetings in the Cape peninsula were broken up by ANC supporters.

The day before the visit, the ANC's Western Cape secretary, Tony Yengeni, called on the people of Atlantis to **"exercise their democratic rights" by protesting against the visit.** Abe Williams, a Coloured who had recently



been appointed to the Cabinet, accompanied Mrs de Klerk. He said he and his family had received daily anonymous death threats and those invited to the function had been intimidated and threatened not to attend. He accused the ANC of disrupting the climate of political freedom and tolerance and the right of association.

"The trouble is that the ANC pays lip service to democracy, but does precious little to encourage its members to observe it," editorialised *The Citizen* (12/3/93). "Put bluntly, Mr Nieuhuis should not blather about tolerance and democracy when his own organisation shows precious little of either."

"The people will use every tactic to prevent political activity by those parties," said Dan Mofokeng of the ANC-aligned SA National Civic Organisation on Feb 24, referring to the NP, CP and DP. **"They are not going to allow those parties to come to the townships."** Despite criticism, Moses Mayekiso, Sanco's national president and a senior member of the SACP, reiterated on Feb 27 that his organisation would do everything in its power to persuade township residents to stay away from pre-election campaigns by these parties. **"This is not an empty threat or warning,"** Sanco regional chairman, Khabisi Mosunkutu, told the same press briefing. "We are not going to let our people fall into the hands of the NP or DP. We fought far too hard and long not to make such mistakes." Sanco did not see this as in conflict with the freedom of political activity. Azapo said it would "back to the hilt" any attempt to make electioneering by White parties in Black townships impossible.

The ANC belief that only its views are true and it alone has the right to make its views known is typical of the Marxist elite who refuse to acknowledge the validity of any other viewpoint. The ANC's attitude bodes ill for free political activity in South Africa.

## CABINET CHANGES

Five Ministers, including those for Defence and Home Affairs and former Defence Minister, Magnus Malan, were replaced in a major Cabinet reshuffle on Feb 20. In a surprise move Kobie Coetsee was appointed Defence Minister in addition to his existing portfolio. As Minister of Justice he is already handling such contentious issues as the Bill of Rights and the potentially explosive issue of the possible resumption of hanging. He will now also have to deal with the consequences of severe cutbacks in the SADF, and the CCB and the Goniwe issues as well as the prospect of integrating MK into the Defence Force and placing it under the control of the Transitional Executive Council. Doubts have been expressed as to whether Coetsee, who had a heart attack last year, can handle the additional work load. With this appointment, **Coetsee becomes the fourth Defence Minister in twenty months,** during which the budget and activities of the SADF had been dramatically cut. The new budget is expected to reduce Defence spending to about 50 percent, in real terms, of what it was four years ago. De Klerk will take over National Intelligence from Coetsee under whom Military Intelligence now falls.

Two Coloureds, Jac Rabie (Population Development) and Abe Williams (Sport), and an Indian, Bhadra Ranchod (Tourism), were brought into the Cabinet. De Klerk said he had also seriously considered appointing a Black, but after consulting opinion makers, had decided this would probably be counter-productive at this delicate stage in negotiations. Danie Schutte takes over Home Affairs, which will oversee the holding of elections.

The appointment of Coloureds and Indians to the Cabinet is seen as an attempt to consolidate NP support among these groups. De Klerk personally has the backing of 74 percent of Coloureds while 62 percent support the NP according to a survey published by *The Weekly Mail* (12/3/93). This is a big increase over an earlier poll. Only five percent would vote for Mandela and nine percent for the ANC. The Labour Party would get 7.6 percent of the vote. The 2.9 million Coloureds make up 11 percent of South Africa's population, excluding the TBVC states.

## IN BRIEF

- The three-day International Solidarity Conference, held on Feb 19-21 and attended by more than 500 people, issued a declaration saying the major priority must be "to mobilise the international community to ensure genuine free and fair elections" and to ensure that **"the maximum possible material and financial resources be provided to the ANC in order to secure a decisive majority in the Constituent Assembly"**. The declaration ended with the international participants pledging to strengthen their bonds with the ANC.
- The IFP gained its third representative in Parliament on Feb 16 when Farouk Cassim, the member of the House of Delegates for Stanger, resigned from Solidarity. He gave as his main reason for joining Inkatha that he was a firm supporter of federalism and felt this would only be achieved through IFP's resoluteness.
- Mandela called for the formation of a national peace force comprising a wide range of political, religious and international organisations to stop the violence ravaging South Africa. Speaking on March 12, he said the commander should be appointed by the United Nations and controlled by other international organisations like the OAU and European Community while the force should be located inside the National Peace Committee. Many observers see his call as another attempt to involve the international community, and especially the UN, in the internal affairs of South Africa.

16/3/93

---

**ROCA REPORT is published monthly at an annual subscription rate of R59 (\$69)**