

MR NELSON MANDELA cannot

tpone a decision on economic policy much longer â\200\224 nothwithstanding negotiations on constitutional solutions.

On his recent visit to the United States he was confronted everywhere by questions about nationalisation and the alliance with the South African Communist Party. His answers were lame at best.

He has almost acknowledged his dilemma. The policy enshrined in the Freedom Charter, the truths that fashionable people believed when he went to jail, are truths no longer.

Moreover, his major ally, the SACP, is apparently as hell-bent on swimming against the tide of history as the late Dr Verwoerd. Verwoerdâ\200\231s apartheid was implemented just after a world war had given appalling proof of the evils of racism.

Now, as communism collapses in infamy all round the world, the SACP omits the word â\200\230â\200\234democraticâ\200\235 from the description of itself as â\200\234democratic socialistâ\200\235, and supports Marxism-Leninism, the essence of which is the undemocratic seizure of power by a small vanguard of the proletariat.

So theyâ\200\231re not going to be much

|Better ways to achi

If the ANC would spell out a coherent ; economic policy it would be unstoppable in elections, says JOHN CHETTLE

help. But Mr Mandela knows that the ANC cannot stand for business as usual, and that something needs to be seen to be done to rectify the inequities that exist.

What makes it worse for the ANC is that the South African government already presides over a highly nationalised, inefficient and expensive socialist bureaucracy, which it hastily stopped privatising after the ANC protested.

Inefficient
But there is indeed a policy that
the ANC could adopt which would.

accord with its aims, be good for
South Africa and be hugely suc-
cessful politically. Like most good
answers, it is surprisingly simple.

The ANC should shift its focus
from the process (national-
isation, expropriation, redistri-
bution) to the result (more land,
more houses, better education
and more opportunities for
blacks).

Many hitherto socialist coun-
tries have already done just this.
Last year 25 governments round
the world sold R75-billion worth
of state-owned enterprises, bring-
ing the total for the past three
years to R270-billion, an indica-
tion of the general recognition
that government ownership is
disastrously inefficient.

The lesson is clear: nationalisa-
tion costs money; privatisation -
provides it.

So the ANC could find money to
strengthen black opportunity by
selling off nationalised industries.
The ANC has nothing to lose, and
it had better win power first
before thinking about pleasant
sinecures for dutiful party mem-
bers. The money could be used to:

• Buy more land, which should
be sold on favourable terms to
individual black buyers, with
their only obligation being not to
resell the land for a short period;

• Sell all state-owned houses
throughout South Africa for nomi-
nal amounts to those renting
them, with no prohibition on
resale;

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Â® Make funds available for massive low-cost housing projects, to be sold to blacks. The state should give guarantees to building societies to enable low-income purchasers to buy their own homes. Repayments could fund further land and house purchases and construction;

Â® Provide new schools and better education, another cause which goes right to the heart of the concerns of black parents.

The ANC must also finally call for the lifting of sanctions. Mr Mandela has indicated that he would so do upon the formation of an interim government, and in any event he should do so soon.

Impediments

A final policy announcement would be the boldest of all: an undertaking to lower VAT and the tax rate, and not to institute any capital-gains tax. New jobs and investment should pay for the tax cut, but it could also be funded by a drastic cut in defence. The benefits of such action would be enormous.

First, the ANC would have laid to rest the two greatest impediments to investment in South Africa â\200\224 uncertainty and sanc-

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tions. It would show that the /ol â\200\231 anti-capitalist forces within the ANC had been vanquished, and that the lessons of the success of the Asian economic tigers â\200\224 South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore â\200\224 had been learnt.

Secondly, such action would ; give rise to massive new investment in the South African economy, not only from abroad but by South African companies themselves.

Thirdly, new investment would begin to make inroads into the tragically large reservoir of unemployed blacks, which is one of the single most serious causes | of violence.

Fourthly, there would be great political benefits for the ANC. Its programme would provide real benefits for blacks and reassurance for whites. It would be seen

to be responsible for the improvements, and it would lay to rest much of the suspicion which exists about ANC policies. In short, in any election the ANC could be unstoppable.

Â® John Chettle is a former director for North and South America of the South Africa Foundation. He is now a partner in a Washington legal firm.

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leader Amichand Rajbansi

. Allan Hendrickse greets NPP |
Picture: MS ROY

ference in Durban yesterday

NICE TO SEE YOU ..
at the Labour Partyâ\200\231s con

Thabo
urges LWE:
walk same road

THE ANC and the
Labour Party yester-
day signalled their
willingness to enter an
alliance.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the
ANC Foreign Affairs chief,
told about 1500 delegates
at the Labour Party's 26
annual conference in Dur-
ban yesterday that his
message had been dictated
to him by ANC president
Nelson Mandela.

He said Labour and the
ANC should walk the same
road as they were on the
same side, having signed
the National Peace Ac-
cord, the Codesa Declara-
tion of Intent and having
been co-founders of the Pa-
triotic Front conference.

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By Norman West: Political Reporter

The ANC and the LP are
also both committed to an
interim government and
an elected constituent as-
sembly to write a new con-
stitution for South Africa.

Indicating that past dif-
ferences should be discard-
ed in a new joint attempt to
arrive at a new South
Africa, Mr Mbeki said in
the past the ANC had been
called 'terrorists' and
'communists' and the LP,
for participating in the tri-

cameral parliament, had been called â\200\234sell-outsâ\200\235 and â\200\234puppets) "

He said Labour and the ANC had â\200\234redefined our relationshipâ\200\235 and both bodies had to strive towards achieving a new constitution â\200\234within two years or lessâ\200\235.

It was therefore imperative to set aside sectional interests.

Yesterdayâ\200\231s opening address by Labour leader the Rev Allan Henderickse, in which he indicated a decision would have to be taken today on an alliance with the ANC, sparked sharp debate.

Most delegates who were against such an alliance cited the ANCâ\200\231s ties

with the â\200\234ungodly Communist Partyâ\200\235.

But this morning the congress will be called on to take that decision â\200\224 already anticipated by Mr Mbeki in his address.

The Inkatha Freedom Party leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, sent a letter apologising for not attending, saying he had not expected when he accepted an invitation to address the congress that he would be occupied with a â\200\234serious crisisâ\200\235 involving the exclusion from Codesa of King Goodwill Zwelithini and the Zulu nation.

His speech was read out by Dr BS Ngubane, a member of the Inkatha central committee member.

@ Another serious matter facing Labour today is questions about the R500 000 that auditors could not trace in the partyâ\200\231s books.

On Friday, the partyâ\200\231s finance and administration committee met behind closed doors to discuss the financial report to be

tabled this morning by treasurer Douglas Josephs, MP for Riversdale and

deputy chairman of the House of Representatives. Sources said there was a fierce verbal clash between senior party members over cash shortfalls, including an unaccounted cheque for R20 000.

The committee, which comprises the party's leadership, including the treasurer and administrative secretary, later decided after fierce argument to withhold the auditor's report at today's session of the congress and to present to the delegates a watered-down treasurer's report without any reference to the missing money.

According to the auditor's report, Labour's balance sheet should reflect assets of at least R11-million.

Instead it shows assets valued at R562 000.

There is also no account of cheque No 053, for R21 860,39, drawn on January 30 this year, plus another cheque for R6 800 (No 2121), sources told the Sunday Times.

Only the members of the finance and administration committee knew about this, the sources added.

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AWB trains â\200\230SSâ\200\231 elite

O From Page 1 to implement Codesa, we will be ready,â\200\235 he said.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were aware of the Ystergarde, whose membership figures are unknown, and were moni-

toring their movements.

â\200\234They are the SS of the AWB, their elite troops. They have been seen at AWB rallies and marches, and one of their tasks is said to be protection of AWB VIPs. We are watching them closely,â\200\235 he said.

However, he pointed out that the police could only act against private armies if they broke the law or were proved to be planning insurrection.

He said there were no longer any banned organisations or laws barring drills and military exercises. The same applied to

Umkhonto we Sizwe, he

said.

Disclosures about the secret AWB base, meanwhile, coincides with the circulation of a â\200\234newsleterâ\200\235 â\200\224 which the Sunday Times obtained a copy of yesterday â\200\224 in which an organisation known as the Boer Republican Army warned â\200\234Boer patriotsâ\200\235 not to launch attacks that resulted in loss of life.

However, despite claim-

to destroy the Boer nationâ\200\235 the BRA identified ANC president Nelson Mandela, chairman Oliver Tambo, Umkhonto we Sizwe leader Joe Modise and SA Communist Party secretary-general Chris Hani as targets for terror.

The BRA urged â\200\234all who support a Boer homelandâ\200\235 to organise themselves into cells of two or three members, and to identify targets at will.

â\200\234We should steal the ideas of Mao Tse Tung and

adopt the tactics of the Zanla fighters in Rhodesia, using attacks on multiracial schools and churches, courts and government offices to instil fear in the population," the letter said.

Plot

The newsletter is the latest in a sequence of events indicating a hard-line trend within the right wing. Apart from last week's bomb attacks, in the weeks leading up to Codesa:

• Twenty-five right-wing organisations published a joint declaration condemning Codesa as a "recipe for bloodshed and domination" and vowing to die for their cause;

• Police acknowledged

the existence of a right-wing hit list targeting

de la Rie and a plot to kidnap Mr De Klerk's four-year-old grandson;

• Conservative Party leader Andries Treurnicht said that unless there was a white election, 1992 would be a year of "conflict and confusion".

Captain Kotze said police did not think the right wing had the might to topple the state.

"We do not underestimate the ability of the right to wage terrorist warfare. But we don't think they have the might to topple the state.

"Events at Ventersdorp exploded the myth that the security forces will support the right wing in the face of conflict," he said.

"Different groups with different leaders and varying methods would combine forces.

CP sources this week confirmed moves toward a right-wing alliance and predicted that the "unity" would

congress suggested by
HNP leader Jaap Marais
would take place early in
the new year.

â\200\234At the moment we are
talking about passive resis-
tance â\200\224 white strikes and
protest marches. The point
of no return will come
when all constitutional
options have been exhaust-
ed â\200\224 the day an interim

ing that their enemy is â\200\234not President FW de Klerk and government is appointed,â
\200\235
blacks, but those who want ANC leader Nelson Man- said a CP MP.

'LOOKING AHEAD: MANDELA ON CODESA AND THE FUTCRE

UESTION: Reaction to President De Klerk's la-
:estopproposal to negotiate an interim constitu-
ion's

A.n_swer: We would like to acknowledge the
positive aspects in De Klerk's proposals. He
has now agreed an interim government is necessary,

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Looking relaxed and fit despite a punishing round-the-clock
schedule, 74-year-old African National Congress leader Nel-
son Mandela, now nearing his second year of freedom, joined
political commentator and former editor of the Rand Daily Mail,

he has accepted the idea of a constituent assembly and
he has accepted that an election is necessary to give
legitimacy to the constitution-making process.

But it is clear that he

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means something differ-
E:lt from the interim government we are demand-

We are very much concerned that the interim

White fears
â'sirrational's

government should be of
short duration. It must be
there not only to super-

' vise the transition from

an apartheid society to a
nonracial democracy, but
also because it is the best
mechanism to supervise
elections to a constituent
assembly where the con-
stitution will be drafted.
It is also essential to

ensure security before

elections are held. It is
only when a representa-
tive interim government
takes over the security

departments that it will be possible to control those elements of the security forces that are running wild.

We certainly do not agree with an interim government continuing for 10 years, as De Klerk visualises, because once we set up an interim government financial and trade sanctions would have to go. We would be part of that government and we couldn't maintain sanctions against ourselves.

And if the interim government continued for 10 years then all the fury against South Africa would die down. The pressure would disappear because the perception would be that we have a democratic government in the country. Then De Klerk could simply go on and on with the interim government and never take the next step, which he knows is the real thing of transferring power from the existing parliament to a government representing the majority of the people.

We would have fallen into a trap. So we are insisting on an interim government of very short duration, certainly not more than 18 months.

Q: You have said that in every negotiation there has to be compromise, but what possible compromise can there be between having majority rule and not having it?

A: There can be no -

compromise as far as the principle of majority rule is concerned, because that is the essence of democracy. The party that polls the most votes is

| placed in power, and we can't change from that

principle on the eve of
the majority of the coun-
try winning the battle for
the vote.

The only compromise
one could think of is
something like what hap-
pened in Zimbabwe

where we are able to say

we will guarantee that so
many seats will be held
by whites. I wouldn't nec-
essarily be against that

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Allister Sparks, for breakfast and s-
ever before about the need to
fears. This is an edited

poke in greater depth than
allay white and other minority
version of the interview.

fi There can be no compromise

on the principle of majority rule

as an individual. Whether
the organisation would

accept it I don't know, but that is the type of compromise one could think of in order to allay the fears of the minorities.

Q: If you were to have such a block of white seats would it be for a limited period?

A: Naturally yes.

Q: Would that not have the disadvantage of perpetuating a white electorate?

A: Yes. But you have to consider compromises in order to move people to accept a solution. We have got as much responsibility as De Klerk to consider ways and means of ensuring that the whites accept a new dispensation and if we can achieve that without

surrendering the principle of majority rule, then we should do so.

Q: To sum up, you haven't actually got a thought-through proposal at this stage for allaying minority fears?

A: Yes precisely. That is the correct position.

You see, one of the problems in dealing with white fears is that they are irrational. We have set out a very clear policy in the Freedom Charter, which we think has no comparison in the policies of any of the other political parties. Ours is clearly the most democratic.

We also propose a Bill of Rights in which the rights of all South Africans will be set out. Once you defend the basic

rights of every individual, there is no other protection which can be better than that. To think in terms of group protec-

tion, whatever the group is, however you define the group, does not take the matter any further.

So what we are really talking about is a gesture to try to allay an irrational fear.

Q: How do you cope with right-wing demands for a boerestaat?

A: That is a very difficult question. One would hope that the moderate voices amongst them will convince them to come and put their proposals on the table at Codesa 2 because it is only by sitting down and exchanging views that we can convince them their de-

mand is impracticable and can never be accepted by the majority of the people; that it is actually a formula for conflict.

If we are able to communicate with them, then, because we have got a powerful case, we are likely to make inroads into their thinking, The difficulty is that there is no communication of the kind that is required to solve the problem which they are raising.

There are already between 12 and 15 members of the Conservative Party caucus who support Mr Koos van der Merwe's point of view that they are going to be marginalised if they refuse to take part in the negotiations. We have to see how to strengthen the impact of that moderate group.

What I fear is De Klerk's determination to have a referendum amongst whites, because the strength of the Conservative Party is clearly rising and there is a possibility that he might get a negative result. Then, he will be obliged to halt

everything. That is the

one thing that could really cause complications.

Q: What would the reaction of the black community be if the whole thing were stopped by a white referendum?

A: There would be an explosion of anger, and we would have to try to see to it that it was properly channelled by way of mass action, by strikes, stay-at-homes and so on. There would of course be demands to re-'turn to the bush, but whether we would do so would depend on what we | were- able to achieve by: mass action.

It would certainly lead to a lot more unrest inâ\200\231 the country. I have dis-: cussed this with De Klerk. I have said: Why do you insist on this, because there is this danger? But he keeps on saying: Look I am convinced | I will be able to win.

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' Mandela warns of â\200\230trapâ\200\231
ik Sunois ;

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and reassures whites

- NELSON Mandela, in an ex-

â\200\230clusive interview this week,

rejected President FW de

Klerkâ\200\231s new interim govern-
ment proposals as â\200\234a trapâ\200\235 to
avert majority rule, but re-
- vealed a readiness to make
radical compromises to reas-
sure white South Africans

Allister Sparks

â\200\230â\200\230government of national
unityâ\200\235 for a given period after
the first post-apartheid elec-
tion â\200\224 again ensuring that all
race groups were represented.

about the future. â\200\234You hax;e to consider com-

: promises in order to move

ln'lâ\200\230he ANC lea(er also spoke i¬\201ople to accept a solution,â\200\235
n greater depth than ever be- Mr Mandela said. â\200\234We have
fore about the need to allay got as much responsibility as
" white and other minority - ge Klerk to consider ways and
: 'fears PRI - means of ensuring that the

whites accept a new dispensa-

ority rule.

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â\200\234the most votes is placext;0 in
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vote@ roll. . & of the majority of the coun-
Alternatively, the various :f,y ol e ok o
political parties could enter = '
into an agreement to have a

~ Full report: page 19 :

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and looked the likely

Then came: Calorie Bomb, Blue Yonder, Barley Sugar, |

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Running Scared, Captain's Fling, Keep in Tune,

â\200\230Winner trained by: MD Miler
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bred by: Golden Acres Pretly Brave, Dream Home, Always Blushing, Did- Imp) 2 56 (W Mawing)
â\200\234Botting: 5-2 Lemispring, 7-2 Lake Louise, Cool Danc- ooï¬\202dio Derby Day. i B o
M Âf O 3 | go Polar Wind at 6-1
er, 6-1 Fleece of Gold, 7-1 Not Negotiable, Fox | Winner trained by: DS Bosch. :mâ\200\230â
\200\234zgâ\200\230sâ\200\230?â\200\231(van Zyl) + | drawing away won it
_ on the Run, 10-1 Brian's Time, 14-1 Peristroika, | Winner bred by: Lord and Lady Kensingt

on Thon. came: Parisian Wonder, Blush On, Desert Runner, Elegant | Victory and Tom And
. 20-10thers Betting: 28-10 Barley Sugar, 4-1 No Choice, 9-2 Blue Grace, Star Blood '
â\200\230Tote win: R13,80 Places: R4,40 R1,70 R3,10 Yonder, 6-1 Didgeridoo, 8-1 Dream House
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Double: 3x3 R33,80, 3x7 R2,10, 1x3 R6,10 Trl- Miss Pennyfeather, 20-1 Others. m@râ\200\230m
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gers: 10x12 R26,30; 11x12 R39,10; 10x11 e 10 Plases: R1,00 R1.40 R2,20 Swingers: 748
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3,50, 1, 0,50 Time: 1 min 23,50 sec e Won by: Shd, 2,25, 2,75 Tims: 60,86 sec
15 C'Est Si Bon. Tote favourite: 2 Barley Sugar, swmsunuâ\200\230ummxvm.m
SUMMARY: Kazakh Kit was one of the early

unplaced.
S8UMMARY: Dream Home set off at a cracking leaders from Pixie Fair, Power Of Glory, Star
gallop chased by Keep In Tune with a bunched Blood and Perlsmnh Wonder. There was not
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1 min 11,00 sec Tote favourite: 11 Lake Louise,
~ unplaced.
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stride and took up the running ahead of Cool
â\200\230Dancer and Fox On The Run with Brian's Time
and Lemispring racing midfield just ahead of
â\200\230Lake Louise. Fleece Of Gold led into the

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ool Dancer dropning