

Better ways to achieve ANC ends

MR NELSON MANDELA cannot postpone a decision on economic policy much longer — notwithstanding 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. Verwoerd's 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 "democratic" from the description of itself as "democratic socialist", and supports Marxism-Leninism, the essence of which is the undemocratic seizure of power by a small vanguard of the proletariat.

So they're not going to be much

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

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 successful politically. Like most good answers, it is surprisingly simple.

The ANC should shift its focus from the *process* (nationalisation, expropriation, redistribution) 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, bringing the total for the past three years to R270-billion, an indication of the general recognition that government ownership is disastrously inefficient.

The lesson is clear: nationalisation 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 members. 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 nominal amounts to those renting them, with no prohibition on resale;

- 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;

- 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 — uncertainty and sanc-

tions. It would show that the old anti-capitalist forces within the ANC had been vanquished, and that the lessons of the success of the Asian economic tigers — South Korea, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Singapore — 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.

● 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.

16/1/11



NICE TO SEE YOU... Allan Hendrickse greets NPP leader Amichand Rajbansi at the Labour Party's conference in Durban yesterday. Picture: MS ROY

Thabo Mbeki urges LP: Let's walk same road

By Norman West: Political Reporter

THE ANC and the Labour Party yesterday signalled their willingness to enter an alliance.

Mr Thabo Mbeki, the ANC Foreign Affairs chief, told about 1 500 delegates at the Labour Party's 26 annual conference in Durban 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 Accord, the Codesa Declaration of Intent and having been co-founders of the Patriotic Front conference.

The ANC and the LP are also both committed to an interim government and an elected constituent assembly to write a new constitution for South Africa.

Indicating that past differences should be discarded 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 "sell-outs" and "puppets".

He said Labour and the ANC had "redefined our relationship" and both bodies had to strive towards achieving a new constitution "within two years or less".

It was therefore imperative to set aside sectional interests.

Yesterday's opening address by Labour leader the Rev Allan Hendrickse, 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 ANC's ties

with the "ungodly Communist Party".

But this morning the congress will be called on to take that decision — 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 "serious crisis" 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 party's books.

On Friday, the party's 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 R1-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.

AWB trains 'SS' elite

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to implement Codesa, we will be ready," he said.

Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze said police were aware of the Ystergarde, whose membership figures are unknown, and were monitoring their movements.

"They 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," 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 "newsletter" — which the Sunday Times obtained a copy of yesterday — in which an organisation known as the Boer Republican Army warned "Boer patriots" not to launch attacks that resulted in loss of life.

However, despite claiming that their enemy is "not blacks, but those who want

to destroy the Boer nation" 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 "all who support a Boer homeland" to organise themselves into cells of two or three members, and to identify targets at will.

"We should steal the ideas of Mao Tse Tung and adopt the tactics of the Zanja 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 President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Man-

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

"At the moment we are talking about passive resistance — white strikes and protest marches. The point of no return will come when all constitutional options have been exhausted — the day an interim government is appointed," said a CP MP.

LOOKING AHEAD: MANDELA ON CODESA AND THE FUTURE

QUESTION: Reaction to President De Klerk's latest proposal to negotiate an interim constitution?

Answer: We would like to acknowledge the positive aspects in De Klerk's proposals. He has now agreed an interim government is necessary, 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 means something different from the interim government we are demanding.

We are very much concerned that the interim government should be of short duration. It must be there not only to supervise 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 constitution will be drafted.

It is also essential to ensure security before elections are held. It is only when a representative 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 country winning the battle for the vote.

The only compromise one could think of is something like what happened in Zimbabwe where we are able to say we will guarantee that so many seats will be held by whites. I wouldn't necessarily be against that

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 winning the battle for the vote. The only compromise one could think of is something like what happened in Zimbabwe.
— Mandela



Looking relaxed and fit despite a punishing round-the-clock schedule, 74-year-old African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, now nearing his second year of freedom, joined political commentator and former editor of the *Rand Daily Mail*, Allister Sparks, for breakfast and spoke in greater depth than ever before about the need to allay white and other minority fears. This is an edited version of the interview.

White fears 'irrational'



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 return 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 in the country. I have discussed 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.

“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 protection, 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-

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Mandela warns of 'trap' and reassures whites

X Sunday Tribune 29/12/91

NELSON Mandela, in an exclusive interview this week, rejected President FW de Klerk's new interim government proposals as "a trap" to avert majority rule, but revealed a readiness to make radical compromises to reassure white South Africans about the future.

The ANC leader also spoke in greater depth than ever before about the need to allay white and other minority fears.

Despite the ANC's deep commitment to the principle of non-racism, he said he would be willing to consider guaranteeing a block of white seats in the post-apartheid parliament for a limited period, as in Zimbabwe's Lancaster House constitution, even though this would mean perpetuating a separate white voters' roll.

Alternatively, the various political parties could enter into an agreement to have a

Allister Sparks

"government of national unity" for a given period after the first post-apartheid election — again ensuring that all race groups were represented.

"You have to consider compromises in order to move people to accept a solution," Mr Mandela said. "We have got as much responsibility as De Klerk to consider ways and means of ensuring that the whites accept a new dispensation."

But the ANC president was adamant there could be no compromise on the principle of majority rule. "That is the very essence of democracy," he said. "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 country's winning the battle for the vote."

Full report: page 19

Brushwood Boy, Doug Browne
Winner trained by: MD Miller
Winner bred by: Golden Acres
Betting: 5-2 Lemispring, 7-2 Lake Louise, Cool Dancer, 6-1 Fleece of Gold, 7-1 Not Negotiable, Fox on the Run, 10-1 Brian's Time, 14-1 Peristroika, 20-1 Others
Tote win: R13,80 **Places:** R4,40 R1,70 R3,10
Swingers: 3x7 R14,20; 3x6 R21,10; 6x7 R11,80
Double: 3x3 R33,80, 3x7 R2,10, 1x3 R6,10 **Trifecta:** 3x7x6 R1036 **Won by:** Hd, 1,50, Shd Time: 1 min 11,00 sec **Tote favourite:** 11 Lake Louise, unplaced.

SUMMARY: Fleece Of Gold was quickest into stride and took up the running ahead of Cool Dancer and Fox On The Run with Brian's Time and Lemispring racing midfield just ahead of Lake Louise. Fleece Of Gold led into the straight with Cool Dancer dropping away and

Then came: Calorie Bomb, Blue Yonder, Barley Sugar, Running Scared, Captain's Fling, Keep in Tune, Pretty Brave, Dream Home, Always Blushing, Didgeridoo, Derby Day.
Winner trained by: DS Bosch
Winner bred by: Lord and Lady Kensington
Betting: 28-10 Barley Sugar, 4-1 No Choice, 9-2 Blue Yonder, 6-1 Didgeridoo, 8-1 Dream House, 10-1 Keep in Tune, Fantasy Lady, Lady of Shalott, Miss Pennyfeather, 20-1 Others.
Tote win: R16,40 **Places:** R2,70 R3,90 R2,60 R1,10
Swingers: 10x12 R26,30; 11x12 R39,10; 10x11 R39,50 **Trifecta:** 12x10x11 R3 685,90 **Won by:** 3,50, 1, 0,50 **Time:** 1 min 23,50 sec **Scratched:** 15 C'Est Si Bon. **Tote favourite:** 2 Barley Sugar, unplaced.

SUMMARY: Dream Home set off at a cracking gallop chased by Keep in Tune with a bunched

7 PIXIE FAIR Mrs M F Hinton's Ch f (Hobnob — Freds Imp) 2 56 (W Mawing).....1
8 Power Of Glory 2 56 (D Whyte).....2
2 Classic Ruler 2 56 (G van Zyl).....3
5 Kazakh Kit 2 56 (J Freedman).....4
Then came: Parisian Wonder, Blush On, Desert Runner, Elegant Grace, Star Blood
Winner trained by: OA Ferraris
Winner bred by: Bosworth Farm Stud
Betting: 1-1 Pixie Fair, 17-10 Power Of Glory, 9-2 Elegant Grace, 8-1 Classic Ruler, Parisian Wonder, 33-1 Kazakh Kit and others
Tote win: R2,10 **Places:** R1,00 R1,40 R2,20 **Swingers:** 7x8 R1,50; 2x7 R4,30; 2x8 R6,10 **Trifecta:** 7x8x2 R23,40
Won by: Shd, 2,25, 2,75 **Time:** 60,86 sec **Scratched:** 9 Scarlet Scarl **Tote favourite:** 7 PIXIE FAIR, the winner

SUMMARY: Kazakh Kit was one of the early leaders from Pixie Fair, Power Of Glory, Star Blood and Persian Wonder. There was not much change in the order until the closing

500m to go Vee For and looked the likely v go Polar Wind at 6-1, drawing away won it Victory and Tom And J

6 First National Handicap F

3 EMPRESS CLUB (Arg) Mr L a Elysee) 3 53 (F Coetzee).....
8 Fairy Cove 4 47,5 (F Naude).....
6 Exotic Lily 3 50 (W Mawing).....
7 Smashing Beauty 3 50 (D Whyte).....
Then came: Doudouche (Arg), Jumpup And Kissme
Winner trained by: AT Millard
Winner bred by: Haras Aboleng