

THIS week's National Party Cape congress — the last of the congress season — marks the end of a long era in South African politics.

It's the first time in more than 40 years that the ruling party has held a provincial or federal congress at which delegates know that the next time they meet their party will not be running the country.

The congress comes in the last quarter of a particularly difficult and often frustrating year for the NP.

The party leadership and its rank-and-file have had to grapple with the uncomfortable reality that the days of minority rule are numbered.

There is a growing perception that key members of the NP hierarchy have been proceeding with unseemly haste in prematurely handing over the reins of power. This mood of disquiet among the NP's traditional support base is interpreted by some as a loss of the will to govern.

Pretenders

Indeed, for many Nats already bewildered by the pace of change, the performance by the current administration has been nothing short of "surrender by instalment".

For many jittery Nats, long accustomed to seeking refuge under the wings of the all-powerful party when the going got tough, 1993 is viewed as one long series of backdowns by the government in the face of mounting pressure from a variety of pretenders to the throne.

The problem has been compounded for the ruling party by a measure of confusion among ordinary citizens about the powers and functions of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) due on stream next month.

Government ministers repeatedly assured the party faithful that the TEC would be a purely advisory body capable only of input to the real executive or the government of the day about levelling the political playing fields in the run-up to the election.

But it eventually emerged from multiparty negotiations that the TEC would in fact wield

NP congress *Cape Times* marks end of *13 Oct. 1993* long era in SA politics



Midweek Politics

By ANTHONY
JOHNSON

considerable clout on areas which many had believed would remain the exclusive preserve of the government.

Leaders such as Mr Nelson Mandela, no doubt eager to make political capital out of the increasing lame duck status of the government, have mischievously suggested the outside world should bypass Pretoria and deal directly with the TEC.

Irresponsible

An angry State President, Mr De Klerk, lashed out at his rival's "irresponsible statement", pointing out that it was not in line with either the spirit or text of the TEC Bill approved by Parliament last month.

On the other side of the political spectrum, another De Klerk rival, Chief Mangosuthu Buthe-lezi, has decided to further exploit the uncertainty about the future of the security forces by announcing moves to set up yet another private army — this in a country where a political or-

ganisation without its own security arms are in danger of becoming the exception rather than the rule.

The PAC, for its part, has been playing the government and the official security establishment like a violin, all the while counting on the belief that Pretoria dare not act unilaterally in the current political climate.

All this reinforces the impression among the ordinary Nationalists that the wheels are coming off and that "their" government neither has the will nor the capacity to assert its authority and take charge any longer.

Despite official protestation to the contrary, there is little doubt that three highly risky decisions by the Cabinet in the past week — maintaining the petrol price rise, the Transkei raid and the referendum call — have been influenced by the need to reassure despondent Nats that their embattled government is still capable of taking the initiative.

ANC wants an all-party conference by year's end

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DURBAN. — The African National Congress is ready to make arrangements for an all-party conference which it wants to hold before the end of the year, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in Durban on Saturday.

Addressing business people at a dinner function, Mr Mandela said the ANC intended resuming talks with all political parties and organisations with "substantial support".

On the issue of nationalisation, Mr Mandela said his organisation was

prepared to abandon that policy if the business community could provide an alternative to redressing the economic imbalances in the country.

The ANC had taken note of the concern over nationalisation and had gone out of its way to bring the business community into the debate, but business people had failed to provide an alternative.

"We have no ideological attachment to nationalisation, but it's the

only effective way to ensure there's an equal distribution of wealth. We say to the business community: If you have a better alternative tell us, and if it's effective, we'll abandon nationalisation."

Nationalisation was one form of State intervention and needed to be addressed in selected areas of a mixed economy "as a means of giving the State effective clout to begin the process of redressing existing imbalances".

Nationalisation did not mean the private sector would be excluded from certain areas of the economy and it was in this spirit that the ANC had invited business to take part in its ongoing dialogue to ensure growth and equal distribution, Mr Mandela said.

The ANC were not "economic experts" and believed there should be a broad coalition of business people to study specific industries and secure the best way of involving the State in reorganising or taking over these industries.

Mr Mandela rebutted the business community's argument that the ANC had not put forward a detailed enough blueprint for the post-apartheid economy, saying his organisation accepted it had an obligation in this regard but "what has business produced apart from general clichés about the free market, growth and trickle-down effects?"

"Have we seen a single programme from them which convinces our people that the inherited privilege of apartheid on which business has flourished, will be addressed as a resource which will begin to benefit all our people?"

Referring to President De Klerk's recently reported attacks on the ANC and its policies and strategies, Mr Mandela said the National Party was the "last to teach us about democracy".

While Mr De Klerk accused the ANC of wanting to take the country by storm and to keep it by aggression, Mr Mandela said the whole world knew the atrocities the State had committed and continued to commit.

— Sapa.

Cape Times

WEDNESDAY, OCTOBER 13 1993

A referendum to what end?

PRESIDENT De Klerk has threatened to call a referendum unless the negotiations crisis can be resolved soon, without explaining how a referendum would improve matters. What would be the purpose of such a costly exercise? At best, with the co-operation of the other major political groupings in the field, it might show that the majority favoured a democratic settlement. So what else is new?

A referendum would *not* indicate what sort of support each party could expect in a proper election. Various parties could continue claiming a disproportionate share of the vote. Only an election can show who really commands major electoral support. A referendum would merely delay such an election.

In fact, far from resolving the present crisis in the negotiations, a referendum would almost certainly exacerbate it. No party, except the NP, favours it. If there is friction now, a referendum which only one party wants — the governing one, at that — is likely to provoke far greater conflict in the form of intimidation, violence, boycotts and low polls. What could Mr De Klerk possibly read into such a result?

In any case the question asked would have to be so vague and generalised as to be meaningless. The only thing in its favour is that it might be assessed as a sort of dummy run, educating newcomers to the democratic process. But it would have none of the advantages of an election, and all the disadvantages. It wouldn't tell anyone very much, but it would be accompanied by disruption and confrontation.

The main objection to the referendum is that to the still disfranchised, it would be seen as a delaying tactic, to postpone (at very least) their first opportunity to flex democratic muscle. The right-wingers, on the other hand, reject it because of its non-racial basis. In pursuing this idea, Mr De Klerk is likely to fall between several stools, benefiting neither himself nor his party's negotiating partners.

Postponement 'attempt to end impasse'

By BARRY STREEK

THE next short session of Parliament that is meant to ratify South Africa's transitional constitution had been postponed until November 22, partly in an attempt to resolve the impasse in negotiations, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

The delay was partly an attempt to resolve the impasse created by the withdrawal of the Freedom Alliance from negotiations, he said in a statement.

The decision to postpone the session was to create time for the transitional constitution and election legislation to be "thoroughly dealt with and completed without undue haste".

It was also to make time to deal in the best possible way with the complex situation resulting from the withdrawal of parties from multi-party negotiations.

"I am convinced we will in this way be able to stick to the time schedule to which the government has committed itself," Mr De Klerk added.

The next session may well be the last before the April 27 elections.

Pre-school

Cape Times

plan for

13 Oct. 1993

black kids

From ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

STRAND. — The government may introduce a year of pre-school for black children because many lack the background to cope when thrust into the formal educational environment.

National Education Minister Mr Piet Marais told the National Party's Cape Congress here that a major deficiency of the present education system was that many black children were not prepared for school when they reached school-going age.

Because many black children came from homes where poverty, ignorance and illiteracy were rife, they "stumbled" from one year to the next once they entered the formal education system.

The government was considering providing a bridging year of pre-school education to ensure that black children were better able to take ad-

vantage of their schooling years, but financing for the proposed new system was a problem.

Mr Marais told delegates that despite the huge sums spent on education in South Africa — 20% of the national budget — racial discrepancies remained wide.

A total of 1.7 million black children in South Africa (excluding the independent homelands) were not attending school at all and many blacks "are still attending school under trees".

The minister said there was a backlog of at least 45 000 classrooms in South Africa and in some black schools up to 110 pupils were crammed into a classroom.

He said the discrepancy in spending on white and black education had been decreased from 10:1 in the early 1980s to the current level of 2.5:1.

"Although the situation is not satisfactory, there is much for which we can be proud," Mr Marais said.

SA, Angola facing similar problems, warns former PM

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

FORMER Angolan Prime Minister Lopo do Nascimento, who is general secretary of the MPLA, has warned that he sees "certain similarities" between his government's relationship with Unita and events unfolding in South Africa.

He was speaking at the University of the Western Cape last night, the prelude to a UWC Centre for Southern African Studies symposium which starts today on "Angolan-South African relations — perspectives on co-operation and development in Southern Africa".

Unita was first and foremost "very militaristic" and made it clear in the run-up to their October 1992 elections "that they were prepared to rule the country by force", Mr Do Nascimento said.

Unita lost the election.

✕ "Unita showed an inability to understand changes in Angola after independence. They didn't understand the majority of voters were young and had values other than the traditional."

After the elections there were all types of suggestions for solving Angola's problems — outside the electoral process, Mr Do Nascimento said.

A federation based on ethnic groups, power-sharing, the belief that elections do not always provide solutions, the creation of a state council with two presidents and the division of Angola into two independent states had all been mooted.

"The situation in Angola is tragic and very complex."

More people were dying of starvation than in the war.

"Three million people are threatened with starvation," Mr Do Nascimento said.

✕ ● SA Communist Party

13 Oct. 1993
chairman Joe Slovo said: "There are important players whose acceptance of democratic elections is conditional on protecting the positions of power they inherited from apartheid."

"We are being bombarded with threats that the country will be plunged into civil war unless those who lose the elections are guaranteed power," he said.

"We've all read recently about an organisation that can only be described as a joke — the Freedom Alliance."

"Who's in it? That great supporter of non-racism and democracy the Afrikaner Volksfront."

"Then you've got that great democrat (Brigadier) Gqozo."

"The only party with freedom in its name, the Inkatha Freedom Party, has forgotten about freedom."

Political opponents to play ball for change

BY HELEN GRANGE

Political foes, practised in tough-talking and constituency mobilisation, are to be tested in a less cerebral form of battle this weekend.

Members of the ANC, IFP and SAP will, for once, be playing on the same side in a soccer match against Kaizer Chiefs at Orlando Stadium in Soweto on Sunday.

The programme starts at



9 am with music from the popular Inlonji KaNtu, Mbongeni Ngema's *New South Africa*, the SAP Choir, and cultural activities by the cultural desks of the IFP and ANC.

Chicco Twala, who wrote and produced the *Peace Song*, will sing the song during the day.

The first soccer game will be between politicians including Tokyo Sexwale, Themba Khoza and Sam Shilowa against a team from the SABC.

The main match between the ANC, IFP and SAP and Kaizer Chiefs starts at 3.15 pm.

Former Chiefs star Abedni-

go "Shaka" Ngcobo will make a welcome return to soccer as trainer/coach of the ANC-IFP-SAP team.

The games have been sanctioned by the leadership of the ANC, IFP, SAP, Greater Soweto Peace Committee and the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat.

The entrance fee will be R5 for adults and R3 for children. The money raised is to be given to the victims of the ongoing violence.

WORLD BRIEFS

Lawyer acknowledges Hani suspect's guilt

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Prosecutors proved that a white extremist gunned down black leader Chris Hani, the suspect's lawyer conceded Wednesday as the murder trial neared its end.

"I acknowledged he was guilty," attorney Eben Jordaan told reporters after his closing argument in defense of Janusz Walus, a 38-year-old Polish immigrant.

Walus and two leading pro-apartheid figures are charged in the assassination. Police arrested Walus 10 minutes after Hani, the Communist Party leader and a top African National Congress official, was shot to death April 10.

Ballistics tests proved a pistol found in the car Walus was driving was the murder weapon. Jordaan had been expected to argue the gun was planted in the car.

S. African youths riot over deaths

Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Scores of youths rioted in the capital of the Transkei black homeland Wednesday after a rally for five youths killed in a South African military raid.

Police fired tear gas as the mob looted stores in Umtata, and gunshots also were heard, the South African Press Association news agency reported.

There was no immediate word on casualties.

South African soldiers at 1 a.m. Friday raided an Umtata house suspected of being used by black militants to launch terrorist attacks. Five youths, believed to be ages 12 and up, were killed.

The government justified the raid as a strike on militants, but the outcry over the victims' ages and charges they were killed in bed made the raid a political setback for President F.W. de Klerk, who authorized it.

The Pan Africanist Congress, linked to militants who have attacked white people in South Africa, demanded that political negotiators meeting in Johannesburg discuss the raid.

Pan Africanist officials said Sicele Mpendulo, owner of the house, was not a guerrilla fighter but a Pan African leader and former political prisoner.

2 convicted in killing of S. Africa's Hani

By **DONNA BRYSON**
Associated Press

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — A pro-apartheid politician and a Polish immigrant who feared communism were convicted Thursday of murdering popular black leader Chris Hani.

But a third defendant was acquitted, evoking cries from black leaders that the "mastermind" of the assassination had been freed.

A gasp went through the packed courtroom as Judge Frikkie Eloff announced Gaye Derby-Lewis played no role in the death of Hani, the Communist Party leader and a top African National Congress official.

Eloff had just convicted her husband, Clive, and Janusz Walus of killing Hani on April 10.

The shooting touched off rioting but did not derail talks among the ANC, the government and other parties on ending apartheid. South Africa's first multiracial elections

are scheduled April 27.

After the ruling, Hani's widow, Limpho Hani, told a crowd of about 500 supporters that Gaye Derby-Lewis was the "mastermind" of the plot to kill "our leader, our father and our husband."

Prosecutors alleged that Walus and the Derby-Lewises, white extremists, planned to assassinate Hani and other political figures instrumental in political reforms.

After a nonjury trial, the judge found insufficient evidence to prove a conspiracy, though he said Walus was the gunman and Derby-Lewis supplied him with a weapon "knowing full well . . . for what purpose it would be put."

Gaye Derby-Lewis was accused of drawing up a hit list, found in Walus' apartment, that included Hani's name. But the judge said prosecutors failed to prove it was a hit list, or that she gave it to Walus.

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*The white Far
Right has
conceded the
weakness of a
racially
exclusive power
base, writes
Hugh Robertson*

Alliance may not know it, but it has seen the light

The purpose of forming the Freedom Alliance, one would think, was because its sum would be greater in both political power and attractiveness than its individual parts, that the CP, AVF, IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana would count for a lot more by standing together than they would by fighting for their causes separately.

They wish to negotiate in future as a single entity and will no longer take part in one-on-one discussions. For all practical purposes, therefore, we have a new political party.

But the dearth of analytical and intellectual talent around the leaders of the white Far Right probably was responsible for their failing to see what a huge contradiction their alli-

ance represents to the ideals which they claim to stand for.

Nevertheless the rest of us should not complain. By forming the multiracial, multi-ethnic Freedom Alliance, the white Far Right has publicly conceded for the first time the weakness of a racially exclusive political power base.

That is a burst of sunlight on their hitherto heightened response to the realities of the country, and we should welcome this breakthrough. But it is a breakthrough which is diaphanously fragile.

We cannot assume that the Far Right rank and file, or even the leadership of the CP and the AVF, actually grasp the import of what they have done or realise that they have denied themselves, at the very least, the emotional satisfaction of pointing to the mottled complexion of the "new"

NP and shouting "traitors".

They have now embarked on much the same course, and their argument that their different elements all stand for ethnically separate or autonomous states is deeply unconvincing.

For instance, when the Far Right eventually does put forward an actual map of their proposed white homeland, they will know, and the rest of the Freedom Alliance will know, that there cannot be an economically viable part of it where blacks do not form an overwhelming majority of the population.

That being so, what will the IFP's response be to rights of Zulus in that homeland? Or Ciskei's and Bop's feelings about Xhosas and Tswanas? Do the IFP, Ciskei and Bop actually embrace a white homeland? Almost certainly not.

But they are sticking together with the white Far Right nevertheless, which raises the question: If the Freedom Alliance has embarked upon the politics of racial and ethnic co-operation without actually meaning to, and if there is no agreement among them on a white homeland, then what did they have in mind?

Other than their shared desire for their own chunk of territory (the economic and demographic impossibility of that in the case of whites notwithstanding) the thing which the two most powerful groups in the alliance — the CP and ICP — have in common, is their talk of "war".

Is this, then, a war alliance? It would be most surprising indeed if any of the rightist radicals believed they could launch armed resistance to change on their own, or at least

without attempting to find allies wherever they could.

But at the same time, it is difficult to conceive armed resistance by groups which essentially differ on the issue of a white homeland.

Unless, of course, the IFP has in mind a white homeland in which blacks who are not Zulus would be relegated to perpetual subservience. What, indeed, is the IFP's view on the future destiny of the non-Zulu black majority who now are clustered around greater Pretoria, the supposed epicentre of the white homeland? Have the IFP swung a deal with the white Far Right about the destiny of non-Zulu blacks which the country does not know of?

On these treacherous foundations have the white Far Right, and the IFP, begun their mixed marriage of convenience.

Apla-Govt talks still on

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The scheduled meeting between Apla and the Government is still on track despite the SADF raid in Umlata.

Apla chief information officer Johannes Majozi told The Star from Dar es Salaam yesterday that "the meeting still stands" for Monday.

According to sources the meeting, said to have been brokered by the

Venda Defence Force, was likely to take place in Harare.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Captain Craig Kotze confirmed that the meeting was still on track, but said the final details were yet to be confirmed.

PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille yesterday announced that her organization has started a fund for the victims of Friday's raid.

The PAC would raise the SADF attack at today's Negotiating Council meeting and would insist on Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee being present.

"They (the Government) must account for the killings," she said.

■ Donations to the Northcrest victims fund can be sent to the Umtata branch of First National Bank, current account number 1 000 092 657.

'Programme of redistribution needed'

ANC spells out land reform plan

MEASURES to address the racial imbalance in land ownership are vital to build peace and stability, says Cyril Ramaphosa

■ BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The ANC is committed to a programme of land reform which goes beyond settling the particular land claims of the victims of forced removal, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa reasserted last night.

Opening a Johannesburg conference on options for land redistribution, he said: "If we turn our backs on the land question, we are no longer the ANC and we give up the history that started in 1912."

He described measures to redress the legacy of forced removals as a fundamental point of departure. "Effective measures to ensure that landless people gain access to land on



Cyril Ramaphosa ... imbalance of ownership.

fair terms, and a legal process to resolve competing claims to land, will be introduced by an ANC government as a matter of priority."

Local land committees and a land claims court would be set up to achieve equitable settlements, involving restoration of land or compensation for its loss.

However, the ANC had little doubt that this procedure, on its own, would prove inefficient and slow. A broad programme of

land redistribution would have more impact. This remained the general objective of the ANC.

Without addressing the huge racial imbalance in land ownership it would be impossible to secure peace and stability, let alone respect for a legal system of property rights, Ramaphosa said.

Other economic reasons for land reform included the prospect of increasing productive employment in the rural areas and the need to relieve poverty.

Ramaphosa appealed to whites to acknowledge that the land was the common heritage of all South Africans and promised a land policy that would be "as fair as the previous one was unfair, as participatory as the former was dictatorial".

The three-day conference has been organised by the Land and Agriculture Policy Centre, an independent research organisation based in Johannesburg. Much of the work to be presented at the conference has been produced in collaboration with the World Bank.

Killings 'barbaric terrorism'

ANC man gets life 21 times

■ BY MOKONE MOLETE

A Rand Supreme Court judge yesterday sentenced Phola Park ANC leader Michael Phama (45) to 21 terms of life imprisonment for 21 murders.

In sentencing Phama, Mr Justice M C de Klerk said that given current political developments, the death sentence would have been a "paper sentence" (*papier vonnis*).

Phama was sentenced to life 21 times for murder and to 12 years each for 16 cases of attempted murder. He was sentenced to 10 years' jail for possession of an AK-47 and six years for possession of ammunition, with these two sentences to run concurrently.

The case follows the

SUPREME Court judge rejects political motives and deprived conditions as mitigation

death of 16 IFP supporters who were shot at while on their way to a rally at Phola Park on September 8 1991. Phama was also convicted of killing four people and injuring eight others as well as the killing of a traffic officer on February 26 last year.

De Klerk called Phama a mass murderer who had committed acts of "barbaric terrorism". He said it was merciful that only 16 people had died

when Phama fired on IFP supporters.

He refused to accept a psychologist's submission that Phama's actions were politically motivated and that he was forced by deprived socio-economic conditions to act the way he did.

"The enormity of your actions is that you are guilty of more murders than anyone I can recall in the history of this land," De Klerk said. "You killed innocent people simply because they did not conform to your political views and they did not speak your language."

Political leaders who were "only interested in gaining power" came under heavy criticism from De Klerk.

Security alert as white shops, homes attacked

■ BY BRONWYN
WILKINSON and
OWN CORRESPONDENT

Security forces have been put on alert following attacks on white businesses and homes in Transkei and Beaufort West in the wake of Friday's SADF raid on a house in Umtata.

Security forces and businessmen fear more attacks in a continued backlash after the raid and the ominous warnings and threats to whites that followed it.

Early yesterday, nine petrol bombs exploded in two flats and the district surgeon's consulting rooms in Beaufort West, causing R16 000 in damage but no serious injuries.

A man was arrested shortly after the bombings and is being questioned by police.

And in Cala, near the Transkei-Cape border, a supermarket was burnt down and six other white-owned businesses closed their doors for fear of more reprisals.

Raymond Lehlehla, a

"temporary" manager at Weirs Cash and Carry, in Engcobo, near Cala, said the store's white manager had been told by locals to leave.

He added: "At present we have no problems, but I heard this morning that a delivery truck from East London was chased from town. They were white guys. They were told to go back. It is not 100 percent safe at the moment."

Transkei Defence Force head Major-General T T Matanzima said yesterday that troops were "on the alert" following the Cala fire.

"People are angry and they may like to hit certain whites as a way of revenge. (The army) will move around and put a stop to that. We are here to protect everyone, including white South Africans."

General Matanzima refused to disclose the strength of the reinforcements deployed, or their positions, explaining it would be a breach of security. "The situation is tense, but under control," he said.

ANC to ask NP tough election questions

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH

The ANC has served notice that the Government can expect to answer tough questions in the election campaign.

Launching the organisation's election campaign among the Indian communities in Transvaal, national executive member Ahmed Kathrada said the ANC would continue to challenge the validity of the National Party's claim to be a non-racial organisation.

"We will promise the people that when it is in our power to do so we will reveal the archival records of the security police and the National Intelligence Service to show that several of the

so-called new Nats, including at least one Indian Cabinet Minister, have been longstanding agents of the regime and doing its dirty work," he said.

Speaking at a meeting at the World Trade Centre attended by about 1 000 people, Kathrada said the ANC was aware that the NP had been distributing "State-financed welfare parcels to the needy and the poor, with each parcel containing a Nationalist Party propaganda leaflet".

He challenged President de Klerk to criticise the architects of apartheid and condemn the 1948 NP election slogan "Die Kaffers en Boesmans op hulle plek en die Koelies uit die land"

(The Kaffirs and Bushmen in their place and Coolies out of the country).

"We will want to know when he will publicly distance himself from the insulting and insensitive remarks made by his wife about the coloured people." He rejected polls that Indians would be voting in large numbers for the NP.

Kathrada said the Democratic Party remained "a small, dwindling party of wealthy whites".

Turning to the IFP, he said "a handful of Chin-samys and some deserters from the tricameral Parliament was not enough to make the IFP a nonracial organisation".

Foreign policy to stress trade and economy – ANC

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The main emphasis of a new foreign policy will be on trade and economic relations, says ANC department of international affairs administrative head Yusuf Saloojee.

The ANC will "pay particular attention to south-south development and co-operation", but acknowledge the north as an economic powerhouse to be used for such development.

Saloojee said: "The ANC is perturbed that Foreign Affairs is going about opening missions without considering this coun-

try's economic needs, as well as doing it unilaterally."

An important ANC discussion document on future foreign policy, which is in the possession of The Star, says: "The activities of the foreign service should be open to public scrutiny and public accountability."

A new foreign service would be forged by building on the present Government's diplomatic links, as well as those established by the ANC.

"Ability to open diplomatic missions will, however, be restricted by economic and individual policy considerations.

"Foreign policy should pri-

marily be shaped by the nature of South Africa's domestic policies directed at serving the needs of our people."

Any move towards a regional economic community should not unbalance trade between, or prejudice industrial development in, neighbouring states.

The document says an ANC government would accede to all international treaties and conventions that protect human rights, as well as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which allows individuals to petition the Human Rights Commission.

Freedom Alliance commits itself to negotiations

Herum Daily News Correspondent 13/10/43

Johannesburg: Releasing its manifesto, the newly-formed Freedom Alliance expressed its commitment to negotiations, but rejected the notion of a unitary state.

It also rejected racism, discrimination and sexism and "any form of totalitarianism and tyranny over the freedom of man and society".

After a summit yesterday of leaders of the parties involved — the Inkatha Freedom Party, Conservative Party, Ciskei, Bophuthatswana and Afrikaner Volksfront, the alliance said each of its leaders would aim to secure self-determination within the parameters of their respective ideologies, policies and political visions.

The alliance leaders were repeatedly asked about the ap-

parent ideological clash between the right wing and the IFP, Ciskei and Bophuthatswana over the principle of racial discrimination.

IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the alliance was a vehicle through which millions of South Africans could express their political aspirations, notwithstanding the diversity of opinions within it.

General Constand Viljoen of the AVF said the group would give conservatives a greater political lever, thereby reducing the chances of civil war.

Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said the alliance was not an election alliance but a political one addressing constitutional principles.

He added that the alliance summit would pursue federal and confederal ideals.

DP's goal is third of the vote

The Democratic Party's goal was to prevent the ANC from getting a two-thirds majority in the April 27 elections, party leader Dr Zach de Beer said in Johannesburg last night.

De Beer said he was concerned about democracy and human rights under an ANC-dominated government because of the ANC's communist influence.

He said half the members of the ANC national executive committee were members of the SACP. The DP would campaign for 33½ per cent of the vote to stop the ANC from "playing fast and loose with our constitution". — Staff Reporter.

**SADF, MK understand
each other**

A remarkable camaraderie has come to characterise the ex-

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changes. Modise, in particular, has developed a jovial personal rapport with the moustachioed, imposingly Prussian Liebenberg. The ANC delegations have been hugely impressed by the SADF's professionalism. Already four senior SADF officers and four MK chiefs have been on a joint trip to the United States to learn about affirmative action to favour black advancement.

At the last bilateral meeting, 23 generals and Vice-Admiral Robert Simpson-Anderson of the

SA Navy faced four MK delegates across a long table. Each SADF officer read a dossier, itemising the number of soldiers under his command, the number of tanks, armoured vehicles, anti-aircraft guns, jet fighters and destroyers. What the high command sought to dramatise was the absurdity of MK with a total force of 12 000 against the SADF's half a million; imagining they might be in a position, after an ANC election victory in April, to assume control of the SADF.

The open-mouthed MK team absorbed the message loud and clear.

A deal has now been struck, the essence of which is that the SADF will loyally serve the new government on condition that the government does not seek to tamper with the SADF institutional integrity, which means there must be no purges, no crippling cuts in the defence budget, no actions taken to undermine the armed forces' professionalism.

From the ANC camp the word is that while they will insist with the SADF's blessing on having a handful of black faces in the new general staff, they are prepared to accept the hawkish Meiring, who takes over Liebenberg's post this month, as overall SADF chief for the next two or three years.

Where the ANC will place its emphasis will be the Ministry of Defence, under whose political control the generals have indicated they are prepared to operate.

"The challenges and inevitable spats", as predicted by a diplomat in Pretoria, will lie in the detail. How, for example, to organise the Multi-Party Peace-keeping Force which, politicians have agreed, will watch over the April election and will provide a pilot for the integration of MK into the SADF.

But the big picture, according to military experts who have been watching the unfolding bilateral drama, looks extraordinarily encouraging.

Privately, ANC officials are stating with confidence that the SADF now offers a cast-iron guarantee there will be no civil war. Publicly, Meiring told his troops earlier this year: "There is no reason to be scared. We must accept the realities of the changes taking place in the country with responsibility. We cannot remain stagnated in the past." — The Independent News Service.

10



Joe Modise . . . officers were taught to view the top MK commander as a bloodthirsty revolutionary.



Kat Liebenberg . . . until a year ago the SADF chief refused to talk to MK.



Ronnie Kasrils . . . MK's intelligence chief was regarded as the devil incarnate.

Poll idea gets cool response

CAPE TOWN — President F.W. de Klerk's proposal for a deadlock-breaking referendum on democracy was given a cool reception yesterday.

The African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi warned immediately that democracy is too far advanced for De Klerk to take a unilateral decision on any national poll.

De Klerk told National Party supporters on Monday that the withdrawal of all right-wing groups from the multi-party democracy forum had undermined its credibility.

ANC officials said they would study the suggestion, but said a referendum should not be used as a delaying tactic and any decision would have to be negotiated.

Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer said he would not oppose the poll, but said he saw no reason to vote twice on the same question.

"I don't know what the president thinks he is going to achieve through a referendum that he is not going to achieve by going to an election," he said.

Initial right-wing reaction was mixed. The Conservative Party rejected the notion of a referendum but it was not ruled out completely by General Constand Viljoen of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

The Azanian People's Organisation said South Africa needs a two-sided negotiation forum and not a referendum to resolve the political situation.

A spokesman said a two-sided negotiation forum would comprise the Nationalist Party, the Freedom Alliance and all parties supportive of the old order on one side.

The other side would be a patriotic front of liberation forces including Azapo, the African National Congress, the South African Communist Party, the Pan Africanist Congress, the Congress of South African Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions. — Sapa.

Alliance 'derailed deal with Inkatha'

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
Political Editor

A CONSTITUTIONAL deal with Inkatha was almost signed and sealed when it was derailed last week by the formation of the Freedom Alliance, Cape National Party leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday.

De Villiers, speaking at the Cape congress of the NP which unanimously re-elected him, said Inkatha's negotiating team had completed its work and its "principals" had agreed on the deal when talks were broken off. "The progress made in hours and hours with the IFP is now unsure. It could mean that we have to start again from the beginning," De Villiers said.

He said the newly formed alliance — with its "strange bedfellows" — could be designed to sabotage the negotiations.

De Villiers said while some members of the alliance — Inkatha, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — support federalism, the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) wants to re-establish apartheid in a volkstaat.

"The question is: do Chief Buthelezi and President Mangosuthu support the position of their alliance partners? The strangest of the whole affair is that the AWB is a part of the alliance. The AWB is part of the AVF which is part of the FA. This means that Chief Buthelezi and President Mangosuthu and Brigadier Gqozo have now become Eugene Terre-Blanche's leaders. I have difficulty thinking of strange bedfellows," De Villiers said.

He asked whether there is a common factor which binds the alliance — "is it possible that the common objective is to slow down or even sabotage negotiations and prevent a possible election?"

Senior government sources agreed that the breakdown is particularly serious for Natal. The speculation is that the right-wingers, Constand Viljoen of the AVF and Ferdi Hartzenberg of the

Conservative Party, managed to persuade Buthelezi that he is safer in alliance with them rather than relying on the government's ability to push any deal struck in bilateral talks through the negotiations council at the World Trade Centre.

The alliance, however, will further tarnish Buthelezi's image as a democratic politician and his association with the right-wing proponents of "apartheid in disguise" will further estrange some of the moderates in Inkatha ranks. Many of the so-called Inkatha doves were not informed, let alone consulted, on the formation of the FA.

Constitutional Development Minister Róel Meyer said that should a settlement not be achieved in the next four weeks then the question of how to legitimise the interim constitution will have to be faced.

He said that, as President F.W. de Klerk has indicated, the National Party favours a referendum. "We can't go back to the beginning and start negotiating again."

Meyer however told the congress that the weeks of bilateral meetings with various parties have not been in vain. He said there has been good progress on the composition and structure of the governing constitutional body and are within days of further agreement in this area.

He also warned the congress that a government that does not perform well in the election cannot expect to have a significant say. The key to maintaining the new constitution would be to do well enough to be able to continue with the work that will begin.

Financial Post, page 2

by Martin Williams

Election: how free and fair?

Fair play

Matthew 10, Verse 16. Very best wishes and thoughts and prayers - Theresa.

NELSON Mandela has asked the international community to ensure our election will be free and fair. If we are honest, we know this is a vain request.

For instance, an NP organiser putting up posters for F.W. de Klerk's meeting in Somerset West last week was threatened at gunpoint by eight men shouting "one settler, one bullet". The DP and the NP have been bounded out of townships. I recently heard democrat Jack Bloom describe how his car windscreen was smashed by ANC supporters at a disrupted DP meeting at Orange Farm. These places are quiet compared with Tembisa,

Thokoz, Sebokeng, Sharpeville, Kaitshong and vast sections of Soweto. It would be unthinkable for opposition parties to canvass in these no-go areas. Bloom is adamant: "I can state categorically that the elections next year cannot and will not be free and fair in the sense accepted in any of the established democracies."

Mandela could help by asking his followers to be more tolerant, but the ANC are not the only culprits. You don't hear of unthreatened ANC rallies in Umlazi.

Another test of fairness is access to the media. Are the parties able to present their views in a fair manner?

Here the DP score rather better, perhaps disproportionately. Almost all the mainstream newspapers, including the *Citizen* and *Die Burger*, have praised them in the past few weeks. Most of the English newspapers seem to have DP-supporting editors, whose staff lean towards the ANC. It is left to smaller papers like *South*, and a columnist in the *Star*, to stick the knife in. *South* editor Guy Berger describes the DP as negative and astonishingly bankrupt. *Star* writer Kaiser Nyatumba says many blacks who embrace liberal values would not be seen dead in DP circles.

But the real battle is for public

broadcasting, and it's still raging. In an unusual move, the new SA Broadcasting Corporation chairman, Ivy Matepe Casaburri, has publicly declared her allegiance to the ANC. Despite her, the Nats still have influence, as shown in the sympathetic initial coverage of the SADF's Umtata raid. How did the TV have footage of victims when no one else could get near? The new Independent Broadcasting Authority and the SABC's editorial code are supposed to ensure fair political coverage. That fairness is still unproven.

The most shaky aspect of this free and fair business is the credibility of the international observers. A Radio Today report, lifted from the BBC last week, was an indictment of the people who decide whether the world should recognise an election result. On the programme, *Africa Confidential* editor Patrick Smith said the French had tolerated "clear electoral abuses in Cameroon" while the British had done the same in Kenya last year. Most revealing was seasoned observer, Janet Anderson. Describing her experiences in Africa, she said "foreigners had an idealised concept of what an election should be".

In another instance she said, "everybody knew what the agenda was, including the politicians. They knew this election had to be seen as free and fair, because, if not, a particular country would not do so well in the international community to gain money". Observers were often unsure about their findings but, after comparing notes, "we come to some kind of general conclusion".

Do you get the picture? Fairness and freedom don't matter. The

observers will fudge their verdict anyway. Suddenly it seems the "losers" may have been justified in protesting the latest results in Angola and Nigeria. And if Mandela, the international hero, asks for a "free and fair election", that's what he'll get.

You and I cannot leave something so important as a proper appraisal of our democracy to a bunch of professional globe-trotters. To be effective and to begin to understand our politics, they should be here now, in large numbers. And all their work should be closely scrutinised so that we do not end up with an unsound verdict. The *Natal Witness* will be doing its bit to monitor the freedom and fairness of the election. But it is up to each person who cares about these things to be vigilant and point out where democratic standards are not being upheld.

Referendum idea rejected by Mandela

By Emma Tucker

MR NELSON MANDELA yesterday rejected a referendum as a way of breaking an impasse in South Africa's constitutional talks and said that the African National Congress was determined to go ahead with next April's general election as scheduled.

The ANC leader, in London to address a Confederation of British industry conference, was responding to a speech by President F. W. de Klerk in Stellenbosch on Monday. Mr de Klerk suggested a referendum as a way of ending a deadlock caused by a row over the talks by the Inkatha Freedom Party, the ANC's main black rivals, and the extreme right Conservative party.

Mr Mandela, who received an explanatory telephone call from Mr de Klerk on Monday night, said: "At no time did President de Klerk make a specific proposal that a referendum should be held. All that he said was that this was a matter which must be addressed in one way or the other. One day might be to have a referendum."

Some political analysts in South Africa have suggested that holding a referendum would allow the government and the ANC to claim interna-

tional legitimacy and a mandate to govern in the face of right-wing opposition which could disrupt the proposed election.

Addressing the CBI conference in London, Mr Mandela said he wanted a reassurance that the Freedom Alliance between right-wing whites and Chief Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha Freedom party would recognise and accept the results of a referendum.

"I got no such reassurance," he said, adding that a referendum was "entirely unlikely" to resolve the situation.

Earlier, Mr Mandela said South Africa should abolish exchange controls at the earliest opportunity.

"We are fully aware that the existence of exchange controls could act as a deterrent to many potential investors who may not be certain about the full implications of this system to their investments," he said.

Abandonment of the system would be possible "once some semblance of stability returns to the economy, particularly the balance between capital inflow and outflow," he said.

Mr Mandela, who later met Mr John Major, the prime minister, was nearing the end of a trip to the US and the European Community to promote investment in South Africa.

7/8

1993

Financial
Times

Referendum idea opposed

■ POLITICAL STAFF

The Government faces resistance to its proposal of a referendum if negotiations bog down.

Nelson Mandela expressed concern at a London news conference yesterday that President de Klerk's suggestion of a deadlock-breaking referendum might be used as a tactic to delay the April election.

"Our position, as the ANC, on the matter is very clear. We are having an election only six months away and we are determined to keep to that time-frame."

In Johannesburg yesterday, the ANC said that only the Negotiating Council could call a referendum, and then only after an interim constitution had been enacted by Parliament.

The newly formed Freedom Alliance (FA) — comprising the IFP, Ciskei, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), Conservative Party and Bophuthatswana — could not achieve unity on a referendum at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday, but proposed a "summit of leaders" to replace the Negotiating Council talks.


Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told the Cape National Party congress yesterday the first prize would be to get approval from all, including the FA, for the interim constitution.

In spite of the FA's lack of unity on the issue, AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, in a seeming agreement in principle to the idea, said a referendum would address the "problem of legitimacy" in negotiations.

Earlier yesterday the CP said it would insist on being involved in the formulation of the question put in any referendum.

Meyer and ANC secretary-

THE TALKS AND YOU



At the World Trade Centre

TRANSKEI RAID: The PAC's request for a special session of the Negotiating Council to discuss the SADF raid on an Umtata house on Friday will be discussed at today's meeting of the planning committee.

However, indications are that the PAC will raise the issue in the council if the planning committee decides against a special session.

Negotiators are also scheduled to discuss the draft Interim Constitution's property and custom law clauses, which will be contained in a chapter on fundamental human rights during the transition.

The chapter on human rights will not form a complete Bill of Rights. Such a Bill will be drafted by an elected constitution-making body.

ESTHER WAUGH

general Cyril Ramaphosa last night agreed a referendum was one of several options being considered — and Ramaphosa made it clear the decision should be taken by the multiparty negotiating process.

Ramaphosa said once the draft interim constitution had been agreed to at the Negotiating Council, it should be passed by Parliament before an attempt was made to "broaden consensus".

Meyer added that some of the measures already agreed to, such as the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission, could be implemented before a referendum was held.

Meyer and Ramaphosa said their parties were committed to holding elections on April 27 and a referendum would not postpone the country's first democratic poll.

The IFP and PAC yesterday rejected the idea.

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said he could not see what De Klerk stood to achieve through a referendum that he could not get by holding the real elections. However, the DP would co-operate if it were convinced that a referendum would help the negotiations process.

The Azanian People's Organisation has also opposed the call for a referendum.

The Star's London Bureau reports Mandela yesterday stressed that a referendum could come about only with the agreement of the multiparty forum and, even then, he doubted that various members of the FA would take part in or make an impact on such a vote.

The FA and the referendum proposal dominated talks Mandela held yesterday with British Prime Minister John Major.

► Alliance rejects unitary state — Page 9

Ten die in East Rand violence

Ten more people died in violent attacks on the East Rand yesterday.

Police said the bullet-riddled bodies of four men were found on the corner of Khumalo and Mdonda streets in Tokoza last night. The motive for the killings is unknown.

The body of an unknown man was found in Vosloorus and another man was found dead at Phowego High School in Katlehong's Ramakanope West section.

In Tokoza a man died of multiple gunshot wounds in Masembuku Street and another man was shot dead in Khumalo Street.

Gunmen shot dead a man in Mapike Street in Katlehong and the bullet-riddled body of another man was found in the township's Moshoeshee section.

— East Rand Bureau.