

'Heads will roll'

Political parties guilty of intolerance will be charged within next few weeks

ARC 17/3/94
MICHAEL MORRIS, Political Correspondent

POLITICAL parties guilty of intolerance will be charged with Electoral Act offences "within the next few weeks".

Deputy chairman of the powerful Independent Electoral Commission Dikgang Moseneke said last night: "Heads will roll in the next few weeks. Some parties will be charged."

"We will do our damndest to ensure there's fair play."

He also:

- Singled out Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa's refusal to allow a National Party office in the territory as a breach of the Electoral Act.

- Criticised Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's summary declaration of areas of unrest, outlawing political activity.

- Announced that the IEC had launched a campaign, code-named "Operation Access", to secure party canvassers' access to farm workers.

- Revealed that he and IEC chairman Mr Justice Kriegler would visit Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi "in the coming few days" to persuade him to allow free political activity in KwaZulu, and to assure him of his right not to participate.

Mr Moseneke made his forthright statement of the IEC's intent to act firmly, and soon, against political intolerance at a conference on banking, finance and development in Southern Africa attended by leading South African and Southern African bankers.

His comments come in the wake of growing controversy over the disruption of political meetings and harassment of politicians and canvassers.

The Democratic Party and National Party have lodged complaints with the IEC against ANC supporters, and the ANC has been seeking a guarantee of its right to canvass voters in hostile rural communities.

Mr Moseneke acknowledged that the complaints by political parties against their opponents were "an area of great challenge" for the IEC.

"Generally it is the ANC and the National Party who are either complaining or have complaints against them."

"We have had a number of nasty incidents where certain political activities — particularly those of the NP — have not been allowed to go ahead."

"Heads will roll in the next few weeks and some parties will be charged for that."

"On the other side, a government minister unilaterally declaring 52 emergency areas has important implications for the election."

"There could be no free election activity in those areas on account of what Mr Kriel did. He has withdrawn that."

"Then General Holomisa saying there can be no National Party office in Transkei is clearly a violation of the Electoral Act."

Mr Moseneke said: "All these things have occurred despite the parties committing themselves to a free and fair election."

However, the IEC had a commitment to "manage this challenge" and he was confident of its ability to "secure" the election.

Outlining the "nightmarish" logistical task of setting up and overseeing the election, he acknowledged that delays agreed to in an attempt to achieve as inclusive a settlement as possible had taken "a heavy toll on our logistical programme".

But he added: "I have no doubt we will meet the deadline and have a successful election."

(News by M. Morris, 122 St. George's Mall, Cape Town)

● More politics, page 4

Days of writing to local MP are over

ORDINARY people battling against bureaucracy can expect little joy from elected politicians in the new South Africa. **DAVID BREIER** reports.

CAPE TOWN — Voters in South Africa have paid a heavy price for the crude proportional representation system the politicians negotiated for themselves, experts have warned.

Elected politicians in South Africa's National Assembly, Senate and nine provincial parliaments will not be accountable to any specific voters as they were under the old constituency system — they will owe their allegiance only to their party caucus.

This differs from proportional representation in countries like Germany, which has a combination of proportional and constituency representatives to help ordinary voters with their

problems.

Backbenchers in South Africa's National Assembly and provincial parliaments who are not involved in high-powered politicking could end up becoming the most overpaid and underworked people in the country as

'Backbenchers in National Assembly and provincial parliaments not involved in high-powered politicking could end up as most overpaid and underworked people in the country.'

they will have no specific constituents to look after.

Political parties point out that the days are over when a voter with a grievance could write to the local constituency MP to take up a problem. There will be no such thing as local MPs, either at national or provincial level, as the politicians have opted for pure proportional repre-

sensation which frees them from the onus of looking after specific voters.

Once voters have cast their two ballots for the National Assembly and provincial legislature, they will have no politician to bat for them unless they can mount a strong lobby to pull strings at the top.

The main political parties have made limited or no arrangements to enable voters to approach specific MPs to sort out their grievances.

The National Party has structured itself into districts so that NP voters can approach a Nat MP from that district for help. No help will be offered to supporters of other parties.

But as many Nat candidates will not make it to either the national or provincial parliaments, this could leave some NP districts unrepresented.

President de Klerk says that from now on Nat MPs will be "concerned primarily with the interests of supporters (or would-be

supporters) of the party in that area, rather than for all voters registered in that area, as was the case before". (304A)

The ANC has made even less provision for ordinary voters with specific problems. ANC spokesman Ronnie Ma-

'ANC has made even less provision (than NP) for ordinary voters with specific problems. It is expected that the mass-based ANC will be more responsive to mass lobbies than to individual grievances'

moepa says the question of allocating specific ANC MPs to look after areas is "still under discussion". It is expected that the mass-based ANC will be more responsive to mass lobbies rather than individual grievances.

The tiny Democratic Party has committed itself to individual rights. DP executive director James Selfe says the DP favours the German system of constituency representation coupled with proportional representation. The South African system is "second prize".

He says the DP will demarcate its own "constituencies" which

voters could contact to be put in touch with a DP MP who could help them.

Hennie Kotze, head of political science at the University of Stellenbosch, says that very little accountability is built into the new constitution. He finds it ironic that the ANC, with its buzzword of "accountability", is so uninterested in applying it.

But Professor Kotze points out that even in Germany, with its sophisticated electorate, there is "terrible confusion" over double proportional and constituency ballots. He predicts similar confusion here with double national and provincial ballots.

The NP acknowledges that the lack of specific representatives for a constituency is the weak point of South Africa's new proportional representation system. "There is not as strong a link between the voter and representatives as is the case in the single-member constituency system," party spokesman Danie du Plessis says.

"The NP has anticipated this by having only regional lists for Parliament and not a national list as well. This means that people in a specific region will know who their representatives are.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Star 19/3/94

PARTY POLICIES

FEATURE

Checklist for April 1995

Fun 18/3/94

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How do the main parties in the general election intend dealing with some of the basic questions — such as violence, housing, tax — on the minds of most people anxious

about what the future holds?

Democracy in Action, journal of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in SA (Idasa), recently published the following re-

plies from four parties (including Inkatha, which now seems out of contention), looking at the situation a year after the election and assuming their party was in power.

NP

ANC

INKATHA

DP

Will we have seen a drop in the unemployment rate?

An NP government, with its free-market approach, will have created investor confidence, both locally and overseas, bringing in local and foreign capital. This will have enabled the economy to grow and, as a result, the unemployment rate will have dropped.

An ANC government will start a national public works programme which will aim to provide employment and training for about 2.5 million people over the next 10 years. The ANC will also develop South Africa's massive tourist industry which will provide jobs but in a way that will preserve our environment.

We are now seeing signs of positive economic growth which, within the constraint of strict monetary and fiscal policy, we hope to develop by stimulating exports, small business growth, peasant agriculture, tourism, human resources (especially skills training) and mass job creation programmes.

The DP's economic policy — based on a free market system coupled with a social conscience — will inspire investor confidence. State funds will be invested in labour-intensive reconstruction schemes to build roads, houses, schools and health care facilities. These will create jobs and provide training.

Will you have succeeded in restoring stability to violence-ravaged townships?

This will sadly take some time. Township people, tired of instability, would have voted for the NP to indicate to those who had participated in and encouraged violence that this was unacceptable. However, a government victory may not have been accepted by all, and some might still "continue the struggle".

Together with communities, an ANC government will ensure that criminals are dealt with to the full extent of the law. Security forces will be non-partisan, professional and respect human rights and they will be reformed to reflect the national and gender character of our country. A new volunteer army will deal with defence and not internal politics.

Though it will be very difficult, we will manage to do so. A combination of strict, impartial community policing, democratic and therefore respected local government, township upgrading, an improving economy, as well as a focus upon the future rather than the past, will all contribute meaningfully towards peace.

The DP believes that a democratic and inclusive political settlement, coupled with socio-economic upliftment, will create a stable environment in which more effective policing can occur. The benefits of a growing economy will be felt throughout society, but political parties which raise unrealistic expectations could delay progress towards stability.

Will squatters have proper housing?

Billions of rand, some of which have been available for a few years but not spent because of the ANC's delaying tactics, will be used to purchase land. Infrastructure to provide services for squatter communities will be in place. Many houses will have been built.

The ANC will eliminate racially based housing institutions and install one national housing department which is non-racial, non-sexist, legitimate and accountable. An ANC government aims to spend five percent of the budget on providing 1.2 million housing units within five years.

To achieve this in one year, or even a few years, is impossible. But what we will have done is to make a significant start in implementing a housing delivery policy that the economy, the fiscus and the end user can all afford.

The DP will begin massive site and service schemes which will enable people to build homes. Squatter and established communities, local and provincial authorities and the state housing authorities, will have to work together with private and non-governmental organisations to solve our housing crisis.

Will the crime rate have dropped?

There will have been economic growth, so there will be less unemployment and improved social conditions. The NP plan for community-involved policing will be in place, and as a consequence, the crime rate would have dropped.

When a government of national unity succeeds in stimulating the economy, creating jobs and building a non-partisan police force the crime rate will drop. The new police force must emphasise community policing and police resources must be directed at prevention.

Existing levels of crime are a function of political violence and a culture of anarchy. Unemployment and inadequate policing. We would address all of these and certainly reduce the crime rate. Reducing it to an "acceptable" level, however, will take years.

Under a DP government tensions will be defused. As the economy recovers, jobs will be created and the desperate need that has driven people to crime will be alleviated. Tough sentencing will be imposed on criminals and no political amnesties will be allowed.

Will we have seen an improvement in the matric pass rate of black students?

A single, just and equitable educational policy will be in place and there will be no point in a call for 'liberation before education' once liberation had been achieved. Hopefully, teachers will have adopted a more responsible attitude. All these factors will help students pay attention to their studies.

The ANC links economic, social and educational development. We plan one education system with compulsory education for all for 10 years, based on a more learner-centered approach. We believe that reducing violence in the townships, and providing books, more science equipment etc, will in the short-term help improve matric results.

Education backlogs are so vast that it will take a decade to lift "black" education to existing "white" levels. In the short term, the pass rate can best be improved by pupils and educators recognising both the constraints and the programme being implemented, and dedicating themselves to working within these guidelines.

A DP government will do all it can to bring pupils and teachers together. Education will be the responsibility of provincial governments. The emphasis will be on involving the community and depoliticising education. Teachers will be properly paid and suitable channels of communication implemented between teachers and education departments.

Will South Africans pay more tax than they do at present?

The economy will have been growing. The tax base will have expanded. The income of the state from the expanding tax base will have increased and a lowering of the tax rate could be a possibility.

An ANC government will ensure that South Africans will not lose income through unfair taxes. We will end Vat on basic foods; reduce taxes on people earning below R4 000 a month; end unfair taxation of women; and ensure that every business pays its fair share.

Not if we can help it. If we all accept the need to live within our means, balancing the twin needs of fiscal distribution and sustainable growth, then tax rates will not increase since fiscal distribution on social services will be underpinned by a rising tax base.

Under a DP government the system of taxation will be streamlined, discrimination against married women and middle income earners will be abolished. Nominal company tax rates will be reduced through reducing the myriad of deductions and exemptions.

Will people receive proper treatment in state hospitals?

The alleged reasons for strikes by hospital workers' unions will have diminished after successful negotiations between the state and the trade unions. Thus the NP's health plan for sound community-based health care and hospital services will be functioning efficiently.

We will draw up a single national health system which will include public and private services and will be organised at national, district and community levels. All health care workers must be accountable to their communities and our reconstruction strategies will include a charter of patients' rights and a code of conduct for health workers.

State hospitals are but one facet of a health delivery system requiring restructuring. Our initial emphasis will be on expanding primary health care and hospital-based community health wards. Everyone should have access to decent and affordable health care, and the state should aid those who do not have access to private health care.

A DP government will develop a comprehensive network of primary health facilities, including mobile clinics for remote areas. The emphasis will be on preventative health care and education. Doctors and nurses will be expected to perform their jobs professionally as patients should not become the victims of politically inspired industrial action.

THE RIGHT

Changing the guard

Em 18/8/94

304A

The past week's dramatic realignment of conservative political forces is likely to see General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front replace the CP as the main voice of right-wing whites.

And with a formal split in the CP's parliamentary caucus now inevitable, the party's hardline leader Ferdi Hartzenberg will be driven closer to militant Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre-Blanche in a desperate attempt to stop the transition to democracy.

Their only ally will be Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who appears equally determined to stay out of next month's general election even though some of his lieutenants fear the consequences.

Their apprehension is understandable. The boycott strategy has already wreaked havoc in conservative ranks: the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront have split; the Freedom Alliance has been shattered; the myth of AWB military might has been dispelled; and Lucas Mangope's government in Bophuthatswana has been toppled. It now seems that Inkatha will also split.

In Natal the CP has already rebelled. Provincial leader and former President's Councillor Carl Werth and most of the provincial executive have come out in support of the Freedom Front and will stand for election next month.

They say the *volkstaat* strategy makes no provision for Natal. They need representatives in the provincial legislature to fight for the rights of conservative Natalians.

No other province has so far followed Natal's example, possibly because the split in the caucus has been smaller than expected.

Only seven of the party's 36 MPs have come out openly in support of Viljoen. They are Pieter Mulder (Schweizer-Reneke), Corne Mulder (Randfontein), Joseph Chiole (Pretoria West), Willie Botha (Uitenhage), Willie Botha (Rustenburg), Leon Louw (Welkom) and Petrus Groenewald (Stilfontein).

The group apparently still hopes to persuade the CP to participate in the election under the Freedom Front banner when the party's head committee meets in Pretoria today. But they are likely to fail and will probably resign or be expelled.

The formal splitting of the CP will be a further dramatic development in what Stellenbosch University professor of African Studies Willie Breytenbach describes as "the most momentous week in conservative politics in SA in recent times."

He says the effective split in the CP has already narrowed the ideological differences between Hartzenberg and Terre-Blanche and pegged them clearly as the "hard Right."

But the majority of conservative whites are likely to follow Viljoen's "soft Right" and vote on April 27 to give the Freedom Front 12-16 seats in parliament.

Meanwhile, the "hard Right" is expected to intensify its sabre rattling, but may struggle to regain credibility following the AWB's Bophuthatswana fiasco.

Breytenbach says Terre-Blanche's response to his organisation's humiliation in Mmabatho — he claimed it as a "victory" — was characteristic of a "very desperate man. To lambaste openly Colonel Jan Breytenbach, a hero of the war in Angola, and say that many Rightwingers had a fundamental distrust of Viljoen, must have cost Terre-Blanche considerable credibility in rightwing circles."

A credibility problem is also staring Buthelezi in the face. With Mangope now effectively removed from the scene, the Inkatha leader will be drawn closer to the hardline Right. Breytenbach says this will further undermine his standing as a credible black leader.

A boycott appeal by Hartzenberg will probably be ignored by most conservatives, not only to his dismay, but also that of the NP, which will be hurt most by Freedom Front participation in the election.

Breytenbach says the majority of the 500 000-plus white Rightwingers who are likely to back Viljoen would probably have voted Nat if neither the CP nor Inkatha (their likely second choice) were on the ballot paper. He says there are three things an Afrikaner cannot be told not to do: enjoy rugby; enjoy braaivleis; and vote. Rightwing support would have pushed the NP's share of the total vote to above 20%.

Breytenbach believes it is too late to postpone the election. Until a month ago he was predicting that it would happen due to logistical problems such as issuing identity

documents.

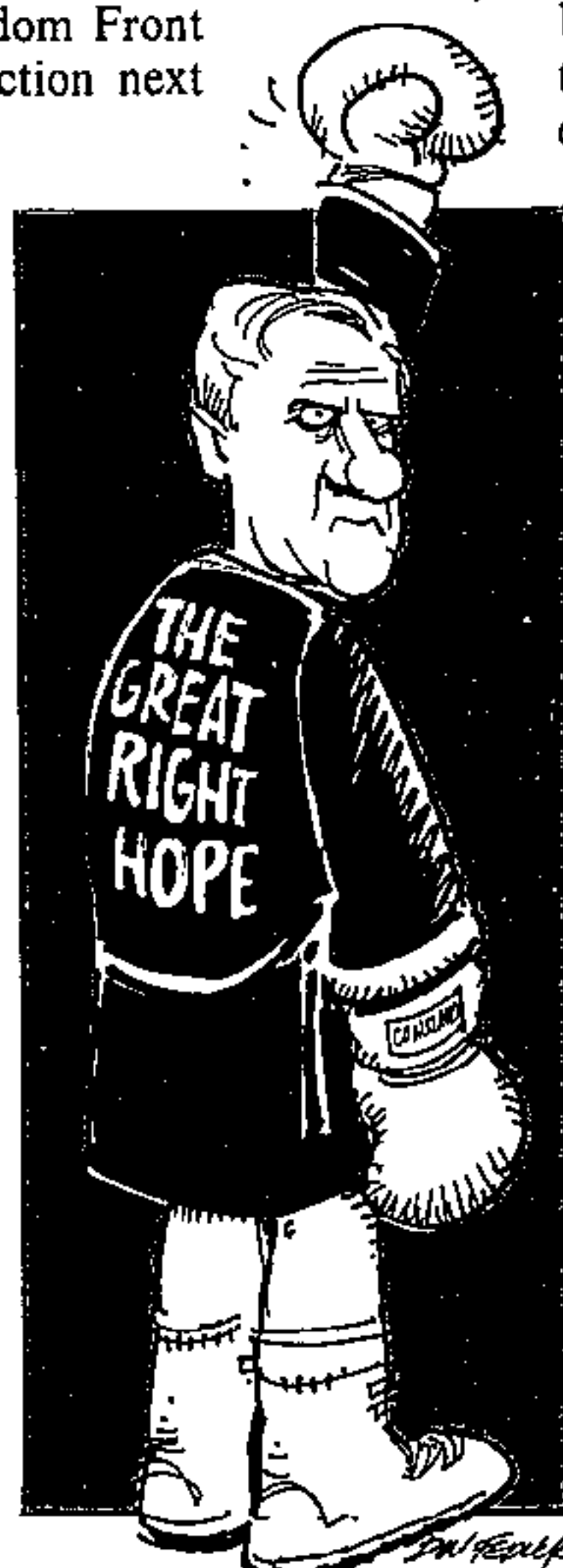
But the process is now so far advanced that only a political agreement between ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Buthelezi on international mediation to resolve outstanding constitutional disputes could possibly lead to a delay in the election date.

As far as the Independent Electoral Commission is concerned, registration of parties for the election has closed. The ballot papers are in the process of being printed in the UK and amended lists of candidates had to be submitted by 4.30 pm on Wednesday. The final lists were due to be published in the *Government Gazette* today.

A spokesman says any decision to alter these arrangements would have to be taken at political level and would definitely necessitate a postponement of the election for logistical reasons.

Breytenbach says the boycott alliance should not pose a serious threat to the holding of a reasonably free and fair election.

The crunch would come in Natal after the election if Buthelezi refused to leave office. A "Mmabatho option" to remove him could then become a possibility. ■



CT 18/3/94
IEC plan to reach voters

(3049)
Political Staff

THE Independent Electoral Commission today launches a nationwide campaign to enable all parties rapid access to farms, universities, hostels and municipal employees.

With just 40 days to polling day, the initiative is aimed at defusing tension countrywide.

IEC spokeswoman Miss Nicky Moore said the IEC would undertake to negotiate with the "traditional authority" (or employer) to hold a "rally" where all interested political parties could have their say.

TEC will crack the whip to keep government finances in check

GNETA STEVEN

18/13/94

THE Transitional Executive Council has cracked the whip on government finances as more evidence emerges of profligacy in the dying days of the current government.

The TEC finance subcouncil yesterday indicated it would keep a watchful eye on the management of self-governing territories' overdraft facilities.

It also announced it was setting up a "high-powered" fiscal control and monitoring committee to ensure public funds were properly spent and accounted for. ANC deputy economics head Tito Mboweni told a news conference: "We want to en-

sure the family silver is still there when the new administration takes over."

The TEC did not announce borrowing guidelines for the next fiscal year as was expected, but said an announcement would be made in due course.

The subcouncil expressed "extreme displeasure" at Budget overruns during the 1993/94 fiscal year in four self-governing territories. The council was forced to recommend more than R47bn in central government guaranteed overdraft facilities. The biggest spender was Lebowa, which was granted additional facilities of

R339m. The other three were Gazankulu, KaNgwane and KwaNdebele. The amounts represented salary payments, social pensions and contractual commitments.

In a memo to the Regional and Land Affairs Department, the subcouncil said it was "extremely perturbed". It instructed the department to monitor the management of the overdrafts, and said all further overexpenditure would be considered unauthorised. The territories' accounting officers would appear before the subcouncil

to account for their management.

Mboweni said more details would be made available next week on the new fiscal control committee as there was a growing sense that "everything goes" in the transition. Subcouncil member for government Theo Alant acknowledged there were many rumours of asset-stripping in self-governing territories.

Turning to other matters on the sub-council's agenda, Alant said the US had requested negotiations on a double tax treaty be started immediately. SA had already responded and the US was considering its

"opening statements". He hoped SA would have double tax agreements with all the 7 countries by the end of the year. Inland Revenue policy chief Trevor van Heerden and private tax experts Dennis Davis and Michael Katz had been drawn into negotiations.

On negotiating favourable tariff treatment from the US in terms of the Generalised System of Preferences, Mboweni said a joint committee would be set up by the subcouncil, the National Economic Forum and the Trade and Industry Department.

IEC begins probe into NP complaint

Biday 18.3.1994

DAVID GREYBE and
JACQUIE GOLDING

THE Independent Electoral Commission yesterday started an investigation into allegations that the NP was being denied the right to campaign freely in Transkei. (3044)

This was in response to one of 70 complaints of intimidation that had been made countrywide, the IEC said at a media briefing yesterday.

The NP said it was denied permission to establish an office in Umtata by military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa.

Holomisa, in a letter to Cape NP leader and Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, gave an "emphatic and unequivocal no" to a request for his co-operation in the establishment of a campaign office in the homeland, NP election spokesman Jacko Maree said yesterday.

He said Holomisa had "reminded" Kriel that it was the NP government which had sent SADF troops into Transkei. Many residents were still angry about the incident and suggested his denial was linked to security considerations for the NP.

However, the NP rejected this and yesterday lodged a formal complaint with the IEC, demanding that the IEC use the full power of the law at its disposal to deal with Holomisa. "We are not prepared to discuss any conditions with this dictator and top ANC candidate," Maree said.

But yesterday Holomisa rejected claims that he denied the NP and the DP free

political activity in the homeland. He said he had invited the NP to engage in public relations exercises to level the political playing fields. He said no other party complained of a lack of free political activity.

The IEC head office in Johannesburg had instructed local IEC monitors to start collecting affidavits from the parties involved in the Transkei matter.

Mediation at a local level would follow, and if this failed the IEC head office would take the issue further.

The Black Sash Legislation Watch Group submitted a complaint to the IEC on Wednesday about parties which had been denied access to free political activity, which led to a decision to launch the Transkei investigation, IEC spokesman Martie Meiring said yesterday.

The DP's Tony Leon met IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler yesterday afternoon to discuss the western Cape issue, and local mediation was under way between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party in Natal, Meiring said.

The IEC would be conducting a hearing on Monday in the dispute between the DP and the University of the Western Cape's Students' Representative Council, while the Inkatha case in Umlazi would be heard next Friday.

Report by D Greybe and J Golding, TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Jhb.

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk turns 58 today. His birthday roughly coincides with the end of one of the most tumultuous eras of SA history, an era in which SA reinvented itself, an era which he initiated.

De Klerk could well look back on the past four years with a certain amount of satisfaction. The gamble he took on February 2 1990 has essentially paid off. With a few bumps, SA has managed the transition, the revolution has been staged off, the country is more or less intact.

But the same cannot be said of the future. He needs more than a few birthday presents. He needs a miracle.

The party he leads is on the verge of being whipped in the election. Although he vehemently denies it, his main opponent is close to winning two-thirds of the vote, which would allow the ANC to decide on SA's final constitution without consulting any other party. De Klerk promises his supporters that there is no chance of this happening, restating his conviction that the NP will be the single largest party after the election.

But history and cold figures are against him. In most African countries, the first democratic election resulted in an overwhelming victory for the party of liberation. Roughly 68% of the voters will be black, and the NP has just not made significant inroads into the black community.

This is not for lack of trying. De Klerk, with typical courage, has taken the battle into what he once described as "enemy territory". His road shows have focused on black voters, but the response has hardly been overwhelming.

Whether in the Free State heartland or in the far northern Transvaal, the scene is the same. Black farm workers dressed in rags wait patiently in dusty farm yards under the watchful eye of their masters for De Klerk's arrival, only waving their NP flags when encouraged to do so by their minders. They listen patiently to De Klerk with vacant looks on their faces, while the carefully orchestrated event plays itself out. Real enthusiasm, only takes hold once the speeches are over, and the packets of fruit juice adorned with NP slogans are handed out.

De Klerk will need a miracle to reward his efforts

BIDCg 18/3/94

TIM COHEN

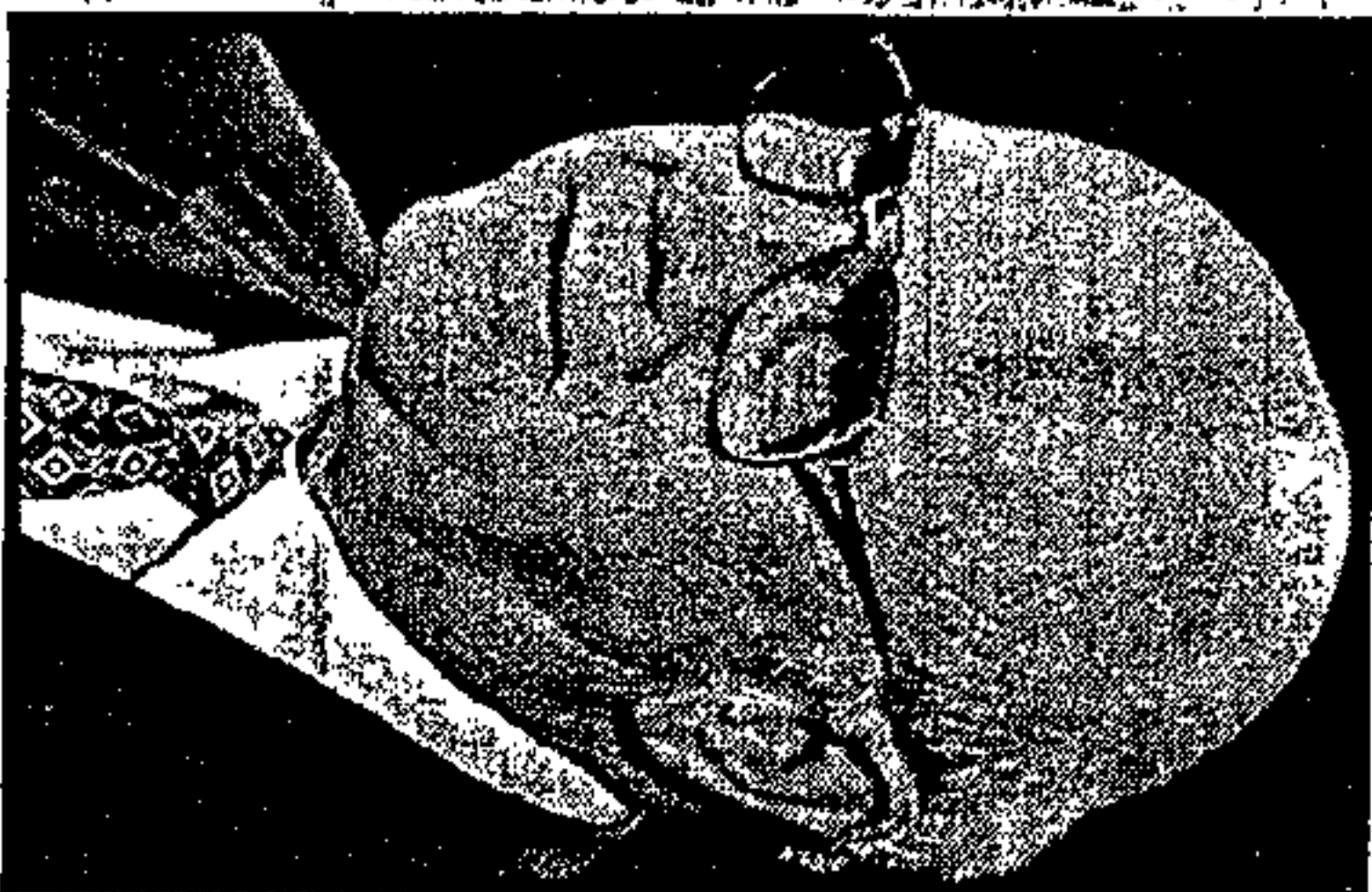
It is easy to pour scorn on the embarrassing displays that have marked De Klerk's interaction with blacks on his road shows, but his job has not been an easy one. He has had to bridge a huge gulf, which includes culture, language and the appalling history of his own party.

His message has been more or less consistent, focusing on the ANC's inability to deliver the goods and what he sees as its record of destruction. The ANC destroyed your children's education, he tells them; it has never built a school, only burnt them down. The choice is between the builders and the breakers. Take my hand and let us go forward into the future and make SA a winning nation.

But De Klerk has struggled with the pitch of his message, sometimes talking way over the heads of his audience and sometimes bordering on patronising them unbearably. On his first road show he made almost everyone squirm with a poor analogy on the difference between capitalism and socialism.

If a socialist had five chickens, he would eat one each day and would be left with nothing in less than a week. But the capitalist would sell the eggs, De Klerk said, but then he backtracked quickly by adding that, well, maybe the capitalist would eat one or two of the chickens, but he certainly would not eat all of them. The assembled multitude looked at him completely baffled.

This was followed on other road shows by an array of animal analogies.



□ DE KLERK

gies, cows, bulls and horses all featured, with varying degrees of success. The ANC was like a wild horse in the kraal which was always kicking the gate down. The NP used to be a white bull, but now it has become a Friesian, and so on.

Later he found an easier way to make his point about the difference between the NP and the ANC's economic policies, and has repeated it ever since. The ANC's economic policy was the one applied in Mozam-

(BOLA)

biqwe, and took what happened there, he says, with markedly more effect.

Campaigning for black support has all too clearly been a difficult experience for De Klerk, and it has entailed a practically vertical learning curve. He has gradually changed the tone and style of his delivery, taking questions and not just lecturing, and "softening" his negativity about the ANC, which was not what township residents wanted to hear.

But the truth is that De Klerk has not mastered yet the art of winning black support. It is doubtful whether he could, even if he could find the perfect pitch. This election has nothing to do with policies or programmes or economic plans, and everything to do with victory and dignity. The polls show most blacks regard the election as an act of liberation rather than as a rational choice between opposing ideologies.

This is reflected in the attitude of township residents to De Klerk's intrusion into "our areas" and some rather distasteful incidents of blatant intimidation. Almost without fail, when De Klerk enters a township, there is a spontaneous eruption of support for the ANC. At times the intrusion is vocal but cheerfully good spirited; at other times it degenerates into the horrible. On one occasion, ANC supporters showered NP supporters emerging from a hall with spit, jeered at them and burnt their posters with merry abandon.

The justifications for these acts are contradictory but they illustrate

how reviled De Klerk is in some black communities, despite the fact that he was the person who fundamentally changed the nature of his party, not to mention SA's history. Any suggestion of a "liberation election" infuriates De Klerk. "This is an election, not a coronation. The people have yet to speak," he proclaims. But the people do speak, every time he enters "their" areas.

The campaign trail is not all depressing for De Klerk. The support he has gained in coloured communities is as overwhelming as it is astounding. And when he speaks to businessmen, he comes into his own and regains his authority with devastating effect. Perhaps better than any other NP leader, De Klerk understands the needs and aspirations of businessmen. Business has in De Klerk an informed defender of its interests and this shows in support at his frequent appearances at local chambers of commerce.

He is on weaker ground when he tries to justify the NP's support for the interim constitution's half-hearted federalism, unwittingly revealing the authoritarian tendencies that still lurk in his party. The constitution secures a balance between the centre and the regions, he states. In education, for example, regional autonomy has been secured, but national certification is essential because — in that NP phrase, favoured over the decades — "otherwise there would be chaos".

History will probably be unkind to De Klerk. It will declare that, the changes he brought about were forced on him by circumstance. Within a decade, South Africans will find it hard to believe that apartheid ever happened, or that people actually did decide on a person's race by sticking pencils in his hair. Consequently, the dramatic change he brought about will be undervalued. People will forget what a beleaguered nation we had become, and what a huge weight was lifted on that bright summer's day in Cape Town four years ago.

Whatever his future, De Klerk gave SA a chance when it needed it most. On a more immediate level, he has overcome his own private fears. He found the courage to jump over his own shadow. He deserves to be honoured for that. Happy birthday, President de Klerk.

No votes for prisoner

Mduduzi ka Harvey

WM 18-2413194
THE Transitional Executive Council has refused to amend the Electoral Act to allow prisoners to vote in the country's forthcoming election.

According to the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights (Sapohr), prisoners who had suspended mass action pending the TEC's decision have relaunched work stoppages and hunger strikes.

Sapohr's Miles Bhudu blamed the decision on the National Party and the Democratic Party. "After the NP and DP's decision to block the amendment at the TEC, we have no choice but to resume mass action."

Sapohr has also briefed Lawyers for Human Rights to contest the TEC's decision in court.

Soccer party lines up for kick at goal

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE Soccer party kicked off yesterday, wearing collars and ties, with the unveiling of its manifesto — and its candidates were quick to point out they were serious election players.

Even its dreadlocked president James Mange donned a suit for the launch at Wits Amphitheatre, where the party said its previous high-spirited displays were to create awareness, and it was now ready to get down to the serious game of contesting the election.

Mange, a former death row and Robben Island prisoner, said what set the Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights (Soccer) apart from the rest of the field was its intention to build unity through the medium of sport, art and culture.

"The Soccer party is the only party that crosses barriers. It is a people's party," he said. "Through art and sport we stand a better chance than anyone else to bring peace and unity to this country." Sport and art had shown their power for unifying, rather than dividing, people in SA, he said. *BIDAY*

The logo of a soccer ball also symbolised interdependence — if one segment was removed the whole collapsed.

Vice-president Neil Helmann said the party, which features cricketer Darryl Cullinan 16th on its candidates' list, had more than 10 000 signatures of support. But no one was saying what percentage of the vote the party realistically expected to capture. *18/3/94*

The party had applied to the IEC for funding, but declined to reveal other sources of funds. *(304A)*

Its manifesto echoes that of the other political parties, expressing support for the new constitution and prioritising education, housing, peace and the creation of jobs.

The party would nurture untapped talent in sport and culture, and address the needs of workers in these arenas.

Report by K Strachan, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Right wing to push for legal equality

THE newly formed Afrikaner Volksfront-aligned Political Rights Organisation said yesterday it would take "reasonably serious action" to highlight the inconsistent application of SA law against right-wingers. *B/Day 18/3/94*

CP MP and Volksfront national executive member Jurg Prinsloo told a news briefing it would mobilise the Volksfront to expose "abnormalities of SA's legal system". *(3044)*

The organisation, headed by Gaye Derby-Lewis, claimed right-wingers were denied bail while members of the ANC and Apla were granted bail. Some right-wingers detained under Section 29 were tortured.

Derby-Lewis was detained together with her husband, CP member Clive, for three-and-a-half

MARIANNE MERTEN

months, charged with the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani last year. She said her personal experience was one of the reasons she became involved in the organisation.

Prinsloo did not elaborate on what action might be taken or whether any action would be linked to a right-wing plan to take over town councils on March 31.

He said the Volksfront had "a massive power base" to help right-wing political prisoners.

The organisation had been unable to obtain details from government about right-wing political prisoners, Prinsloo said.

Report by M Merten, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Viljoen heads Freedom Front list

PRETORIA — General Constand Viljoen heads the Freedom Front's election candidates list for the national legislature.

The CP's former deputy Transvaal leader Dr Pieter Mulder, and his brother Corné follow in positions two and three.

Although the Freedom Front had the backing of the former Afrikaner Volksfront generals, the only other general on the list is General Kobus Visser at No 19.

The front's list contains 31 national legislature candidates and 219 for the provinces.

Also on the national list are the Natal and Free State CP leaders, Mr Carl Werth (No 8) and Mr Abrie Oosthuizen (No 10).

CP Cape deputy leader Mr W Botha is No 4 on the list, CP MP Mr Willie Botha No 5 and CP MP Mr Joseph Chiole No 6.

Also on the list is South Africa's head of mission in Berlin, Mr J Landman, who will resign from his post, and a former NP MP for Springs, Mr W Grobler.

For the provincial legislatures Mr Werth heads the list in Natal, with Mr Oosthuizen (Free State), Dr Mulder (Northern Cape), Mr P Grobbelaar (Western Cape), Dr Willie Botha (Northern Transvaal), Mr Pieter Groenewald (north-west region), Dr W van Niekerk (Eastern Transvaal) and Mr W Botha (Eastern Cape). — Sapa

zi warns of unparalleled struggle

Election fever hits schools

21/3/94
Sowetan 18/3/94
■ **VOTER RALLY** Soweto pupils

gather for voter education:

By Bongani Mavuso and
Sapa

SCHOOLING was disrupted in Soweto yesterday as thousands of pupils gathered at Jabulani Amphitheatre for what the Congress of SA Students said was part of the African National Congress' election drive.

Cosas PWV region chairman Mr Mahlomola Kekane said his organisation organised the rally to canvass voters for the ANC and to teach pupils how to vote.

The rally was also intended to "disappoint De Klerk, who would find classrooms empty when visiting our schools".

'Confrontation can be avoided'

President FW de Klerk visited Soweto yesterday. Speaking to journalists at Jabavu, he said if Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi kept to his commitment to allow people in Kwazulu-Natal to vote and guaranteed the pensions of civil servants, "I believe a confrontation can be avoided".

"If he can make that stick we'll do our part and I think a confrontation can

be avoided," De Klerk said.

He addressed a surprised crowd of people amid tight security and told residents he had come to the area not only to canvass for votes, but also "to hear what your problems are and to see for myself".

Promised

He promised the people houses, jobs, improved health care and education.

The ANC made the same promises but, "whom can we believe?" The NP would keep its promises because of its economic policy, which enjoyed international support, he said.

Meanwhile at and around Jabulani Amphitheatre, pupils said they were attending the rally because they "wanted to know more about the ANC's education policy".

Kekane said pupils believed in the ANC because it had always fought for nonracial and nonsexist education and a single department of education.

"De Klerk has dismally failed to give such an education. De Klerk and his party introduced apartheid education and he cannot fool us by visiting our classrooms," he said.

(Report by B Mavuso, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg and R Norton, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Business filling coffers of ANC only, says PAC chief

Political Staff

(30/11) ARG 18/3/94

JOHANNESBURG. — The cash-strapped Pan Africanist Congress complained that the election would not be free and fair because local business and the international community poured money into the coffers of only one party, while others struggled financially.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday his organisation had been rightly criticised by some of its members for taking part in what will obviously be an unfree and unfair election.

This was because local big business and the international

community were conspiring to ensure a crushing victory for the ANC and were, in the process, helping to turn the country into a one-party state.

However, Mr Makwetu said the PAC, which was struggling to survive and had not paid its employees for nine months, remained committed to the election and would not pull out.

Neither would it associate itself with "any campaign to destabilise the election or any organisation that wants to do this, or postpone the poll", he said.

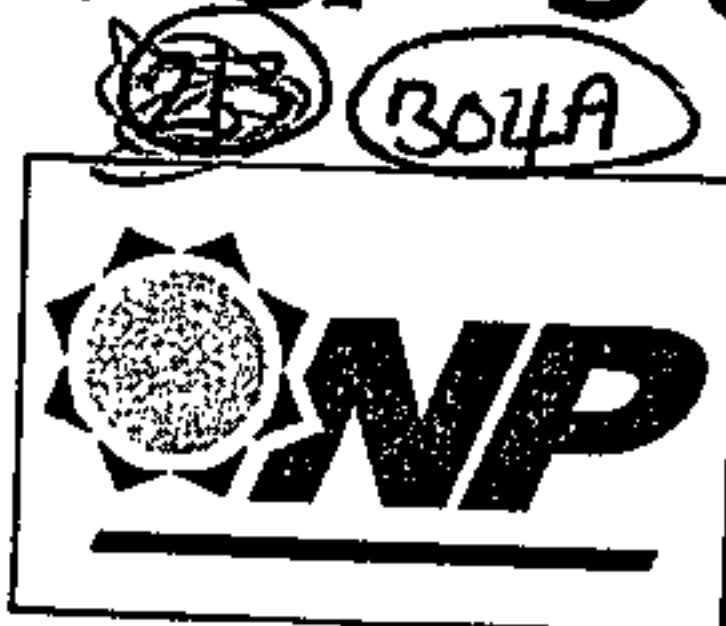
(News by K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

'Kaalkop' attracts coloured support

TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

ARG 18/3/94



THE National Party in the Western Cape faces a dilemma other political parties will envy: while confident that it can win comfortably in the region, it is finding its canvassing figures, especially among coloured voters, "too good to be true".

It aims to net 60 percent of the coloured people, the largest block of 1 260 000 voters in the area. The results of intensive canvassing in coloured areas show support for the NP far above 60 percent.

Apart from the coloured people there are 660 000 white, 426 000 black and 20 000 Indian voters in the region. There may well be more blacks eligible to vote.

According to the party's Cape strategy committee chairman Melt Hamman MP, the party aims to get some 70 percent of the white vote, 25 percent of the blacks and 60 percent of the Indians.

Mr Hamman concedes that the target for blacks appears to be high but he says it is "realistic".

He says that "something appears to be stirring among the black voters", something that may benefit the NP.

Some polls have found that there is a "gatvol" factor developing among the black middle class. There is some uneasiness in this group about the ANC especially on issues like unrest, school boycotts and a young hooligan element which has been intimidating people and trying to get money from them under the guise of collecting funds for the ANC.

Nationalist workers believe that support for the NP among blacks will not emerge accurately in canvassing figures but they are confident that a large number of blacks will in the end vote for the party.

The problem remains one of access to some blacks areas but organisers maintain that this is improving. The party has a number of black candidates.

Then there's the riddle of the coloured vote. In part the

high support for the NP may be voters trying to get rid of canvassers by telling them that they will support the party. This is something likely to affect all parties.

The biggest problem the NP faces is to get coloured voters to the polls. There is a propensity not to vote in this group, probably because of apathy and lack of information.

The "lie factor" among coloured voters appears to be very high. No party can by polling day be really sure about its support in this group.

Among the factors counting in the NP's favour is a fear for blacks and the ANC among many coloured people, the perception that the ANC is racist and bound to favour blacks and misgivings about the integrity of the ANC leadership in the region, according to Mr Hamman.

To observers it appears as if coloured thinking on the NP has undergone a remarkable change in the past four years. In spite of the wrongs they suffered in the past under measures such as the Group Areas Act and job reservation many coloured people are now prepared to forgive the Nats.

According to Mr Hamman, many say that in spite of all that was done to them they feel the NP regime had a respect for life. They do not feel the same about the ANC.

The other factor, in the coloured community as in others, is the good image of President De Klerk. He is well liked for his non-aggressive stance and on the Cape Flats people are talking about voting for "die kaalkop" (the "bald one").

Mr De Klerk's "roadshows" in the Western Cape have been a great success and Pik Botha is coming soon. The President is due to address a

rally here just before polling day.

The NP is stepping up its house-to-house canvassing and its propaganda efforts in the coloured community. It has many voluntary workers under the leadership of coloured MPs.

The transport arrangements for polling day will be crucial. The party is also working to have polling booths as near to voters as possible.

The Nats appear to be winning their other big battle: getting back their traditional white supporters who have drifted off, disgruntled by the way negotiations were dragging on and rightwing propaganda that the government was just giving in to the ANC.

One uncertain factor is how the Democratic Party will fare. National Party organisers concede that the DP may now do far better regionally with the two-ballot system.

There are indications that many whites, not traditionally Nationalist supporters but now "De Klerk Nats", will vote for the NP for parliament but for the DP regionally. The DP is countering Nationalist propaganda that a vote for the DP is a "waste" because all votes count under the proportional representation system being used for the first time in the election.

If an efficient organisation alone can win an election the Nats should "walk it" in the Western Cape region.

In contrast to what appears to be a highly centralised ANC organisation, the NP is going for maximum decentralisation, with local party structures running their own campaigns with minimum interference from the head office at 40 Burg Street in Cape Town.

Each magisterial district has its own party district council and branches with their own budgets and funds.

The NP is pacing itself and is determined not to "peak" too early before polling day. There will be a high-pressure final fortnight or so in its campaign.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

Transport problems for election

MILLIONS of voters may not make it to the polling stations because transport companies are wary of hurting out their vehicles to political parties during the election, fearing that they will become targets of political violence.

A memorandum signed by the South African Bus Owners' Association (Saboa), the National Transport Policy Forum (NTPF) — an umbrella body for the transport industry — and the South African Rail Commuter Corporation urges the Independent Electoral Commission to take urgent steps to ensure that transport will be available to all voters on a non-partisan basis during

the election. It states that this is the only way to stop vehicles being targeted by political rivals.

A committee representing the transport industry and political parties has been formed to discuss the issue with the IEC. The committee wants the IEC to look at providing security for trains, taxis and buses during the election; the location of polling stations near major transport routes; and identifying areas where special arrangements will have to be made to ferry people to polling stations.

Special insurance for transport

Voters might not get to the polls because of a bus boycott — by bus owners, reports **Paul Stober**

Wm 18-24/3/94

companies during the election and transport subsidises for the public are likely to be the most tricky points of such a meeting. Saboa's Jackie Walters said although most buses have riot cover, the insurance industry usually pays out a fraction of the replacement value and it would be too costly for companies to run full

steam for the three days of voting without compensation.

"The rail system operates on a subsidy system and some companies can be placed on the same system. But we have to look at modes of transport that are not subsidised, like taxis," said Walters.

"We do not want to rent our buses to political parties during the election because they are going to be moving targets," he said. "It is not envisaged that we will hold our vehicles back but I cannot talk for specific companies. We currently hold back vehicles if there is violence in an area because

of the dangers."

The NTPF's George Negola indicated that taxi organisations were divided over the provision of transport: "Some are saying transport should be free of charge, others are saying they must be paid. But we cannot fail to provide transport."

Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa) project co-ordinator Geoff Brown, who oversaw the setting up of the committee, said most of the major political parties had agreed to the provision of transport on a non-party basis. But Minister of Transport Piet Welgemoed has reportedly said that each party will have to make its own transport arrangements during the election.

Viljoen lambasts the wild right

Explaining his reasons for quitting the Volksfront, Constand Viljoen lashes out at fellow rightwingers in a fax to supporters, reports **Jan Taljaard**

BUREAUCRATIC foot-dragging and nitpicking inside the Afrikaner Volksfront, the misguided belief that a volksstaat can be sustained after being seized by military force and lack of discipline within the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging are among the key reasons given by General Constand Viljoen for quitting the AVF.

In a remarkably frank "message on AVF developments" faxed to some of his closest supporters this week, which has been acquired by the Mail & Guardian, Viljoen attempted to explain his actions.

The fax comes against the background of the growing fragmentation of the right. Yesterday Viljoen's Freedom Front registered a number of breakaway Conservative Party leaders on its 30-strong national and 168-strong regional lists, including CP MPs Corné Mulder, Pieter Mulder, Carl Werth (the party's Natal leader), Pieter Groenewald and Leon Louw. CP boss Ferdi Hartzenburg insisted that CP MPs standing as election candidates for another party would be automatically expelled.

Viljoen is blunt in his condemnation of the AWB: "It is known that I am taking a strong stand against the AWB, especially because of the effect of some of their actions on the image of the AVF and because of their refusal to obey military leadership and orders."

Viljoen laid the blame for the military failure of the rightwing forces in Bophuthatswana at its doorstep: "It has come to my attention the military personnel of the logistics base of Bop mutinied when they heard that the AWB was involved and the weapons were intended for the AWB. Because of this a great number of the boer forces did not receive weapons and could not be deployed."

Also taking a beating were AVF supporters who advocate armed resistance in order to attain a volksstaat. Viljoen reasoned that the rightwing will not be able to hold on to such a volksstaat.

"Holding on to what you have conquered — not only on a military level, but also on financial and other levels — is something that has to be considered carefully. Many members of the controlling structures differed with me ... and were feeling the time had come for us to use our military power to gain what we could not attain on the political front."

"Even though we are strong on the military level, it is necessary that this strength be exercised as a last resort and that cognisance be taken

of the misery that could be the result of military violence, as was the case in Bophuthatswana."

The fax makes it clear that Viljoen remains a fervent advocate of the volksstaat ideal. He nevertheless cautions that even if a sovereign volksstaat could be negotiated, it would be economically and constitutionally linked to the larger South Africa.

He gives this as one of the reasons he favours a negotiated option and participation in the election. It also becomes apparent that differences on this issue were the major bone of contention between himself and other members the AVF.

"If we were to establish a volksstaat on a legal basis, there is a legal requirement: we have to prove our support among the Afrikaners. The government refuses a referendum before April 27. A referendum after April 27 is unthinkable. The only alternative open to us at this stage is to take part in the elections and then to use the votes for the AVF as indication of this support."

"This is a difficult idea to accept, but our critics gave us no choice. The frustration felt by the military man of action when confronted by the bureaucratic foot-dragging of professional politicians becomes apparent: 'My sense of urgency, the government's speeding up of the process and a heavy workload could most certainly have created the impression that I acted on my own and without always meeting with the situation always changing, and without always meeting with the appropriate committees and governing bodies.'

Viljoen ends the four-page message on a rather despondent note: "Naturally, it is not easy to argue clinically about something that was so important to me during the past year. To me, achieving our aim is an ideal — our volksstaat an all-consuming obsession. I cannot continue when I feel that constraints are rendering me ineffective."

"There comes a time when it is best to make a decision. I am committed to achieving our ideal, and hope to lead the Vryheidfront parallel with the AVF to do that."

300 000 people to help run election

Ballot paper for the big day is unveiled

Star 18/3/94

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Options, options! This is a specimen of the National Assembly ballot paper that voters will be confronted with on election day.

One choice must be made from the 18 political parties reflected on the ballot paper, which will be 60 cm long in its actual form.

A cross or tick must be placed next to the chosen party in the empty space at the far right. Any other mark or marks will be considered a spoilt ballot.

Every voter will be presented with a second ballot paper reflecting only the parties competing for seats in the voter's regional legislature. There will be nine regional legislatures, one in each of the nine new provinces.

The regional ballot papers will all be A4 in size, and will follow the same presentational formula as the National Assembly ballot paper. Again, only one party must be chosen on the regional ballot paper presented to the voter.

FROM PAC to NP, with KISS and Soccer thrown in, the new South Africa is just around the corner

Some 80 million of these colourful documents are currently being churned out on printing presses in England, to be flown back to South Africa by April 17.

They will then be distributed under strictest security to the 9 000 voting stations around the country. (304A)

■ There will be 9 000 voting stations and no fewer than 126 000 ballot boxes and 81 574 voting compartments for the election, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.

■ Sapa reports that the commission will employ nearly 300 000 people — provincial electoral officers, deputy officers, assistant deputy electoral officers, presiding officers, voting officers and enumerators — to run the election.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Star 18/3/94

Poll code breaches probed

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA

The Independent Electoral Commission is investigating 70 complaints of breaches of the electoral code, and two complaints will be heard in court soon.

The first case to be heard is between the Democratic Party Youth League and the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council following an incident at the university. The case will be heard at the Bellville Magistrate's Court soon.

The second will deal with the alleged occupation of the Umlazi Stadium by Inkatha Freedom Party members shortly before the ANC held a rally there. The IFP was summonsed yesterday.

Other cases are under mediation by the IEC's mediation department.

The IEC also announced it was train-

ing 2 500 monitors weekly in a bid to meet its goal of training up 10 000 monitors by April 8.

IEC monitoring directorate chief Peter Harris said yesterday the training of monitors was proceeding well and that provincial co-ordinators had been appointed in all regions. (2044)

The co-ordinators would assist in the recruitment and training of monitors in the different regions.

Harris said monitoring teams had already been deployed at political meetings. He said 14 monitoring teams were deployed in the Transvaal at the weekend, including three at the Messina meeting addressed by President de Klerk at which stones were thrown and rubber bullets fired.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

CP crisis grows as 9 opt for poll

Star 18/3/94

■ BY KAIZER
NYATSUMBA and
JOHN SÖDERLAND

The crisis facing the Conservative Party deepened yesterday — with confirmation that as many as nine of its 34 MPs will contest next month's election on a Freedom Front ticket and that most whites approve of the FF's participation.

The confirmation, made by FF leaders yesterday, means more than a quarter of the CP's MPs will follow General Constand Viljoen, who recently resigned from both the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Freedom Alliance.

They will automatically be expelled from the CP.

And a survey conducted among 911 whites in traditionally conservative areas in the PWV showed that Viljoen gets the thumbs-up from the majority of whites for taking the FF into the election.

Conducted by the Market Intelligence Resource Group, the survey found that up to 72,5 percent of whites approached thought Viljoen was doing the right thing. This contrasts with only 11,6 percent of the respondents who were against participation.

Significantly, 63,9 percent of the respondents said they disapproved of

a volkstaat for Afrikaners, while only 25 percent were in favour of it.

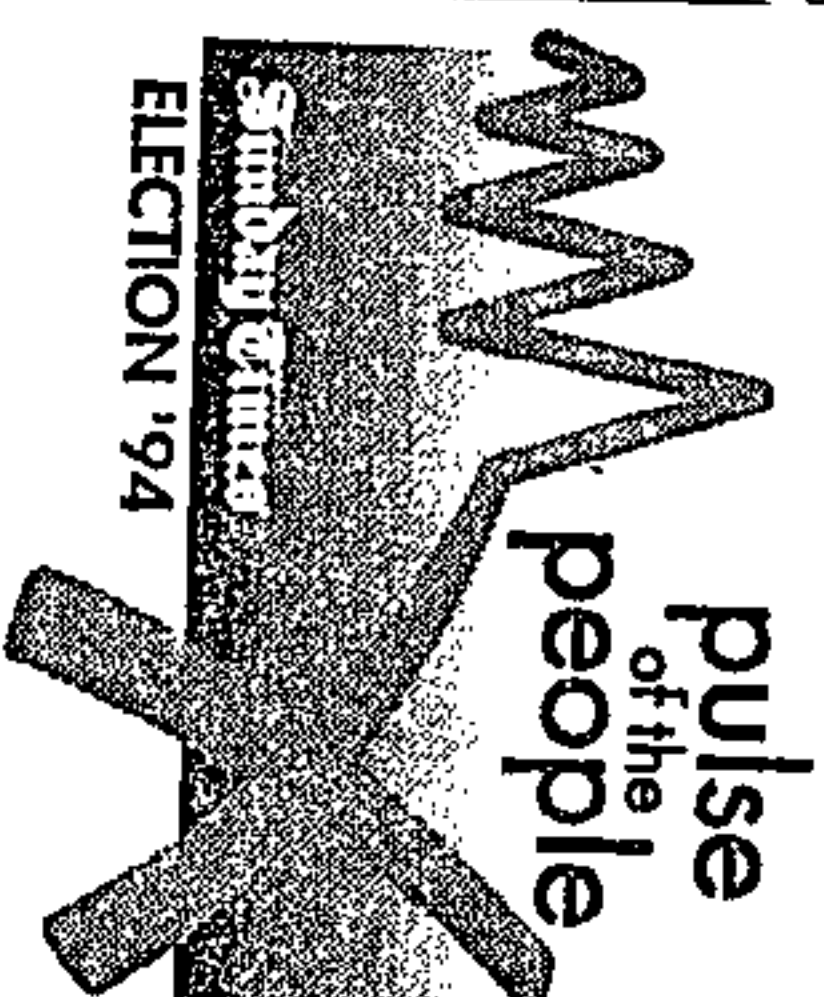
The FF's election lists, submitted to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) this week, have the names of 206 people standing for the National Assembly and the regional legislatures.

Prominent names are former CP Natal leader Carl Werth, Free State leader Abrie Oosthuizen, Transvaal deputy leader Dr Pieter Mulder and Cape deputy leader Willem Botha. Viljoen heads the FF list for the National Assembly. (304A)

Meanwhile, the North West Christian Democratic Party — which for-

mer Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope last week said he would lead into the election — yesterday appeared to have failed to submit its lists of candidates.

Among the CP MPs on the FF list are Dr Corne Mulder (Randfontein), Joseph Chiole (Pretoria West), Leon Louw (Welkom), Dr Willie Botha (Rustenburg), Piet Groenewald (Stilfontein). Also on the lists are General Kobus Visser, former CP and AVF Ermelo MP Moolman Mentz, Afrikaner Freedom Foundation chairman Professor Carel Boshoff and former NP MP Roger Whiteley. (47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



By BRIAN SOKUTU

WHEN it comes to gunning for votes in the villages, ANC president Nelson Mandela and National Party leader F W de Klerk — the main political contenders in South Africa's first non-racial elections — know exactly who should be the first to be won over: the royal family.

On separate campaign trails — hot on each other's heels — Mr Mandela and Mr de Klerk paid courtesy visits to royal kraals in the Northern Transvaal province, where they met chiefs before addressing supporters.

The young and militant black youths in urban areas may not have much respect for traditional leaders but, in rural areas, chiefs are still held in high esteem. And if campaigning political parties want rural votes, chiefs should be the first targets.

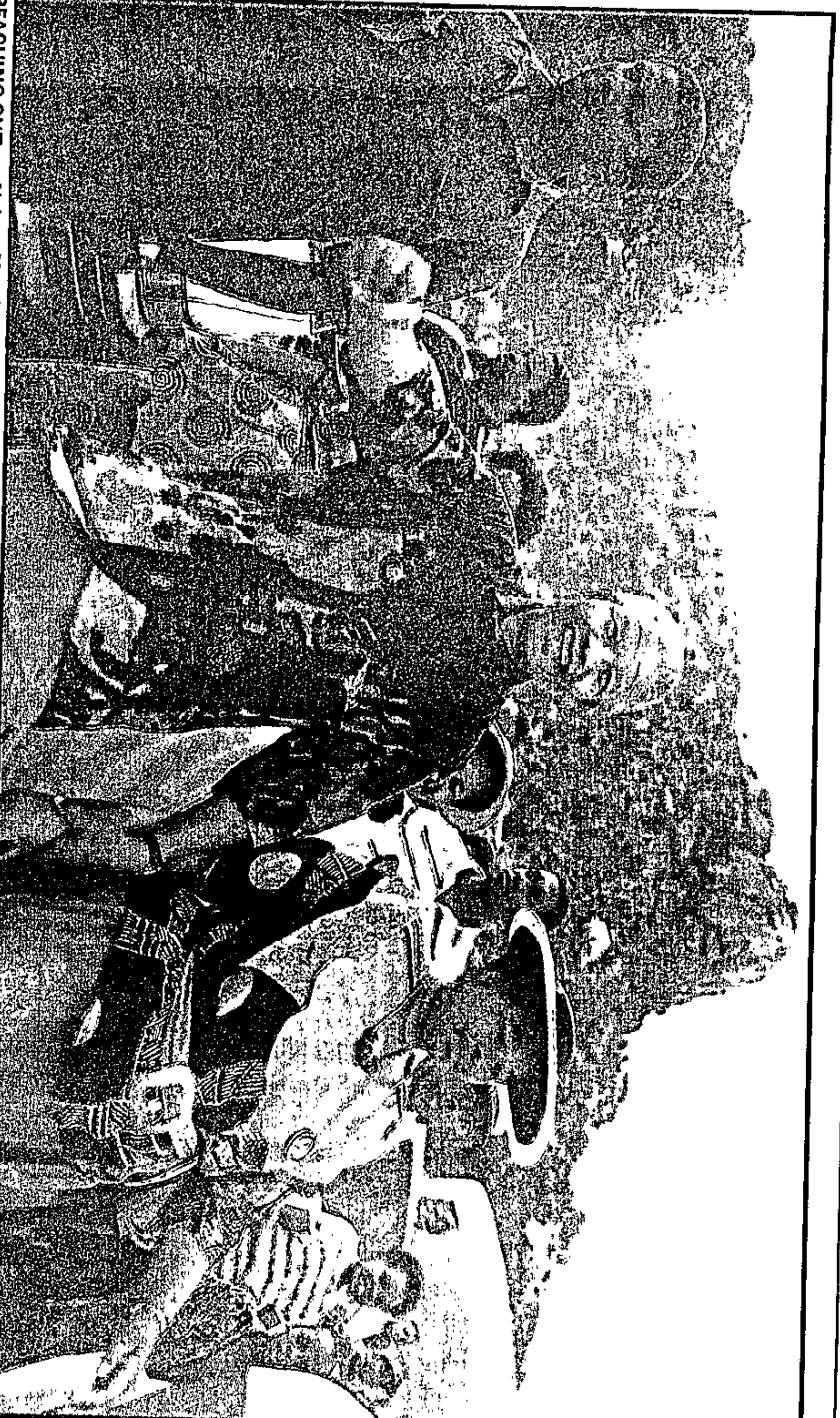
As in rural Transkei, the peasant vote in the Northern Transvaal will be a decisive factor in determining which party wins in the provincial and national elections.

Mr Mandela and Mr De Klerk recently made pilgrimages to the underdeveloped and dusty villages of Ga-Sekgopo and Sekororo in Lebowa, and Nzelele in Venda.

For a villager to get a plot or more land for grazing in Ga-Sekgopo, in the Northern Transvaal province, he should consult Chief Jennifer Sekgopo, whose decision is final on such matters.

The royal widow wields power in her district: she mediates when there are tribal disputes and presides over decision-making meetings of the Balobedu tribe.

Mrs Sekgopo's district consists of 10 villages, with



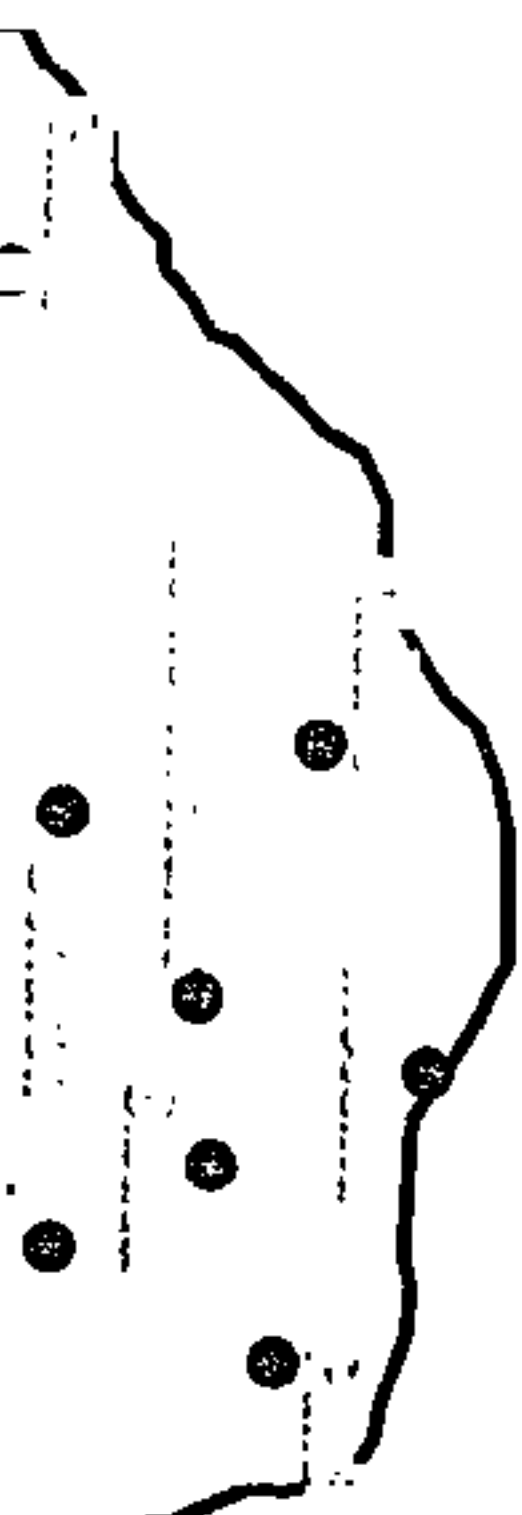
REACHING OUT... Nelson Mandela has the support of Lebowa Chief Jennifer Sekgopo, who regards him as 'a Messiah'

Pictures: CECIL SOLS

Mandela and FW target chiefs in quest for votes

SITINGS 20/21/94

Projected composition of the Northern Transvaal Parliament



the National Peace-Keeping Force) in Venda was rocked by demonstrations following a pension scandal.

But civil servants halted mass action after Brigadier Ramushwana and other government officials started returning the huge pension payouts paid to them.

The revolt was sparked by the discovery that there



...the Sekgopo district consists of 10 villages, with a population estimated at more than 34 000 people.

She took over on a caretaker basis in 1990 after the death of her husband, Chief Mochochi Sekgopo, whose son, Koma, nine, is still too young to become chief.

The Sekgopo royal kraal — a cluster of rondavels, some sporting Mandela posters on the walls — made it clear which way Mrs Sekgopo would influence her people to vote. She regards Mr Mandela, with whom she shared a platform for the first time in an open field at Mochendi High School last week, as "a Messiah".

Asked about the concerns of her people, she said: "We're a neglected community. There is one clinic. We need at least five. There are three primary schools and seven secondary schools. Most people work for neighbouring farmers."

Mochendi High School vice-principal Nakedi Nogathe described his school as "a shack". "There are no facilities, no lab and no electricity."

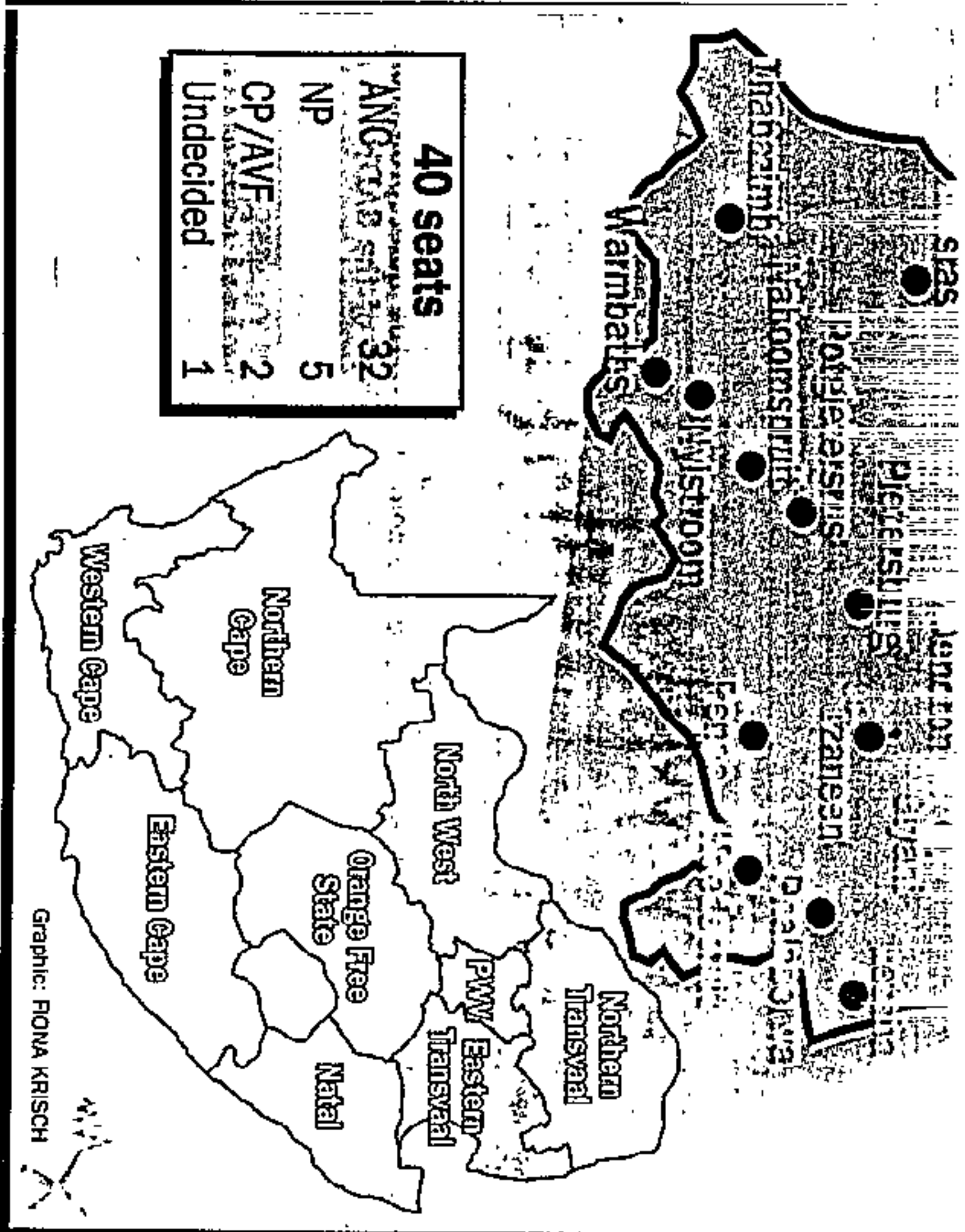
Mr Mandela, who was greeted by crowds at Ga-Sekgopo shortly after landing on an open field at the school, urged his followers to respect the royal family.

Much as the elections are dominated by politics because of the country's apartheid past, economic questions from the floor feature prominently in the ANC election forums.

Almost 90 percent of questions posed to Mr Mandela at Ga-Sekgopo related to social welfare.

"The payment of pensions will be honoured by the new democratic government. People will not lose their pensions because of corruption in homelands," Mr Mandela assured a Lebowa civil servant.

Lebowa's senior policeman, Major Vuyi Michael Maleka, summed up the feelings of civil servants in the homeland: "We're not happy. We demand salary increases and a guarantee



BASED ON MARKINOR RESEARCH

that we're going to get our pensions."

Citing concerns about the squandering of taxpayers' money by the Nelson Mandela government, South African Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie took over the running of the homeland's finances last year.

"If we did not interfere in Lebowa there would have been a R1 000-million deficit. Now there is a R330-million shortage... a

problem I have submitted to the TEC sub-council on finance.

"The money is finished in the homeland," said Mr Fourie.

With the advent of democracy not far off in South Africa, homelands, facing reincorporation after the April elections, have been rocked by popular uprisings led by civil servants concerned about losing their pensions and fearing a bleak future.

This has led to Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo joining the Transitional Executive Council and Lucas Mangope being deposed in Bophuthatswana.

In Venda, the Public Workers' Coalition Committee has spearheaded the civil servants' struggle, operating from what were once government buildings.

The then administration of Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana (now head of

were gross discrepancies in the distribution of the pension benefits among fund members.

Brigadier Ramushwana's finance department had grossly mismanaged and irresponsibly handled the pension fund.

According to a document in possession of the Sunday Times, Brigadier Ramushwana was among state officials who paid back their pension money to the homeland last week. The brigadier paid back R72 834 15.

Said Venda Public Workers' Coalition Committee vice-chairman Simon Ramovha: "When we discovered the government had decided unilaterally to privatise pensions without consulting contributors, we challenged it. We knew there were expatriates working in Venda who were not contributing to the pension fund."

"When the government did not respond to our demands, we embarked on mass action, calling on them to pay back the money they gave themselves."

The ANC claims to be enjoying majority support in the Northern Transvaal province, but Mr Fourie, who heads the NP's campaign in the province, said his party was well-placed to challenge its rival.



LENDING SUPPORT... National Party supporters carry a party placard through the streets in Venda.

"The ANC is in for a surprise. It is over-estimating its support."

"The reception we're getting from new voters is very encouraging. I challenge the ANC to compare its candidates' list with ours. We have prominent chiefs and civil servants."

"The ANC has put on its list all those who are discredited in this province, people like Ramodike and Ramushwana."

ANC northern Transvaal spokesman Ian Madikoto disagreed: "We have very good relations with traditional leaders. We're well-prepared for these elections because we've been conducting voter education on a large scale."

"We have a signed-up membership of 65 000."

The NP's campaigning has not gone smoothly in the northern Transvaal villages, where Mr de Klerk has been dogged by placard-carrying and slogan-chanting ANC supporters.

While he held a conversation with King Dlamini Mphahlele at the royal kraal in Ntshelile, ANC and NP supporters chanted at each other outside.

Yet some blacks remain loyal to the NP.

"I joined the NP because I like it. The ANC cannot just come here and disrupt our meetings," said University of Venda student George Rapulu.

Venda teacher Vincent Muthambi sees things differently: "The people of this region have been oppressed for too long."

"The NP-installed Patrick Mphahlele regime did not allow any free political activity in the homeland."

That may be true but it is clear that, when the dust settles after the April elections, the challenges facing the new provincial government in the Northern Transvaal will be economic rather than political.

(News by Brian Sokun, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.)

Duel anthems face more boos than cheers

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

DUAL anthems could become duelling anthems in South Africa, especially at international sport events such as next year's rugby World Cup.

Politicians warn there is a real danger that rowdies will show disrespect to either *Die Stem* or *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*, resulting in greater friction and international embarrassment.

This was South Africa's experience years ago when the country also had two anthems — *God Save the King* or *Queen* and *Die Stem*.

In those days the two anthems were often played after cinema shows. Strongly nationalist Afrikaners would walk out at the playing of the British anthem, while anti-Nats kept a stony silence at *Die Stem*.

■ The TEC wants South Africa's double national anthems to be sung on all appropriate occasions, including international sport. But there is concern that this could lead to friction.

(3644) ARG 19/3/94

This week the Transitional Executive Council adopted an interim six-coloured flag and opted to retain *Die Stem* and *Nkosi* as joint anthems at least for an interim period.

TEC spokeswoman Bassy Thokoane said the TEC wanted both anthems to be used whenever an anthem was sung including international soccer and rugby matches.

"If they don't, this will create political problems as playing only one of them will lead to accusations of discrimination," she said.

Ms Thokoane predicted that South Africans would grow to accept both anthems. "We are living in different times. People are coming together to

build a nation," she said, predicting that two anthems would not result in snubs as was the case decades ago.

She suggested that the two anthems could be linked by playing the first part of *Nkosi* which is in Xhosa first, followed by *Die Stem* followed by the last stanza of *Nkosi* which is in Sotho.

But Democratic Party leader Zac de Beer recalled the era when the singing of *God Save the King* and *Die Stem* triggered off incidents due to underlying tension between Afrikaner Nats and "English-speaking jingoes".

He said that especially during World War 2 the singing of the two anthems became a focus of the tension that existed between the two sides.

Dr De Beer said the "loyal Dutch" like himself who were Jan Smuts supporters were quite comfortable with both anthems in those days. "And in general moderate liberals like myself are quite comfortable with both (*Die Stem* and *Nkosi*) now," he said.

But he predicted that rightwingers would snub *Nkosi* and most blacks would do the same to *Die Stem*. "My advice to South Africans is not to make too much of an issue of it," he said.

Cor Pama, chairman of the Heraldry Society of Southern Africa, cautioned that double anthems would not work out and could aggravate political tension.

Dr Pama, who was a member of the commission on national symbols which

examined the issue last year, said the best long-term solution was to find a completely original anthem with words which had a strong appeal.

Such an anthem put forward by the commission did not find favour with the Negotiating Council last year.

While the ANC sings only *Nkosi* at its rallies, the Nats have sung both anthems at some of its recent meetings. It has also sung an Afrikaners translation of *Nkosi*.

Critics have also pointed out that singing both anthems at international sporting events could become extremely time-consuming as the rival teams' anthems also had to be sung, resulting in three anthems.

The singing of *Die Stem* at rugby tests recently led to controversial incidents when the newly integrated SA Rugby Football Union frowned on the practice.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

'Farmers hinder ANC canvassers'

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE African National Congress has accused several Boland farmers of frustrating its election campaign by denying the movement's field workers access to workers and confiscating the workers' identity documents.

The movement complained that certain farmers did not allow the ANC members to canvass on their properties unless the ANC fulfilled certain conditions including, among others, paying a liability insurance of R5 million.

At a Press conference in Guguletu's Club Ubuntu yesterday, regional ANC officials also claimed the movement's posters were torn from poles, allegedly by National Party supporters on the Cape Flats.

They also expressed concern that the Department of Home Affairs was "not efficient" in issuing temporary voting cards.

Two ANC members said they saw the party's posters being torn off by several people, including a traffic officer known only as Lukas.

Another ANC member described how young children were allegedly hired to remove ANC posters. *ARG 19/3/94*

ANC regional organiser Cameron Dugmore said a window of the organisation's Ocean View office was stoned and the movement's posters were torn off by NP supporters.

Mr Dugmore also claimed a Piketberg farmer denied an ANC field worker access to his farm on the grounds that his workers

were harvesting.

The farmer had claimed the workers were not interested in the election.

"When asked about Sunday, the farmer responded that Sundays were reserved for worship."

Another farmer in Piketberg refused to allow the ANC member access because he did not allow political parties on his farm.

In Worcester farm employee Gawie Martinus was allegedly fired for being in possession of an ANC flag.

In Franschhoek a farmer is apparently withholding the identity documents of his workers.

Earlier ANC regional premier candidate Allan Boesak said initially the ANC did not want to run to the IEC each time there was a transgression.

IEC in action: 600 voting stations for W Cape

(3044)

ARC 19/3/94

MICHAEL MORRIS

Weekend Argus Political Staff

OFFICIALS of the Independent Electoral Commission in Cape Town are working flat out to set up 600 voting stations in the 42 districts of the Western Cape and to appoint staff to man them over the three-day election next month.

Voter education is underway across the Peninsula and Bolland and more than 400 monitors are already in the field keeping tabs on political activities.

While acknowledging that the task facing the IEC was "enormous", Provincial Electoral Officer Mary Burton said: "The logistics are enormous, but we feel it is manageable."

"We have a detailed readiness plan in place and I believe we can manage the task ahead."

Speaking at a Press conference at the IEC's new Fore-shore offices, she said her message to voters was that the IEC "is here to serve the public".

"This is an exciting opportunity and people must be free to vote for the party of their choice, or to abstain, and to be free from intimidation."

"We will have people in place, and mechanisms, to ensure that."

IEC officials also urged members of the public to raise their concerns and report complaints.

About 400 of the estimated 900 monitors who will oversee political activity have already been appointed.

Monitors prepare comprehensive reports which are collated and analysed by an analysis team, headed in the Western Cape by Wilmo James. These analyses will be

used to judge whether or not the election as a whole was free and fair, but will also allow the IEC to monitor trends during the election campaign.

There is also a mediation unit to resolve disputes.

Mrs Burton, who is assisted by three deputy electoral officers based in Beaufort-West, George and Vredendal, said a priority was the establishment of provincial and district liaison committees comprising members of all political parties.

● IEC voter educators are setting up information kiosks in rural towns in order to reach farmworkers during their weekend shopping trips, according to Randy Erentzen, regional head of the IEC's voter education division.

He said access to farms was not as big a problem in the Western Cape as it was else-

where in the country and, in fact, the IEC had received requests from many Boland farmers to provide voter education to their workers.

Voter education kiosks would be set up in country towns on Fridays and Saturdays when workers did their shopping.

Derek Marco, who manages the recruitment and deployment of monitors, said problems had arisen on some farms in the Beaufort-West and George districts where some farmers allowed only certain political parties to address their workers.

● IEC voter educators will also be reaching out to the province's 24 000 prisoners in an intensive two-week project which is being co-ordinated by the National Institute for Lawyers for Human Rights and the Crime Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders.

Mr Erentzen said three to four workshops a day, each with about 50 prisoners, would be conducted during the project.

The IEC is to press for equal voting rights for prisoners at a meeting on Monday with the Transitional Executive Council.

A commissioner of the IEC, Helen Suzman, will represent the IEC at the meeting.

● The IEC's first electoral tribunal hearing in the Western Cape takes place on Monday at the Bellville magistrate's court concerning a complaint about harassment of the Democratic Party Youth by the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Western Cape.

If either is not satisfied with the result, it may request that the case be presented to an appeal tribunal.

(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

Military action a 'last resort' for Gen Viljoen

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

THE concept of seizing a volkstaat by military force has been rejected by General Constand Viljoen, leader of the new Freedom Front.

In a special message to his followers, he warned rightwingers they would not be able to hold on to a volkstaat obtained in this way.

"Holding on to what you have conquered — not only on a military level, but also on financial and other levels — is something that has to be considered carefully," he said.

He made it clear he regarded military action as "a last resort", and even then cogitance had to be taken of "the misery that could be the result of military violence, as was the case in Bophuthatswana."

He laid the blame for last week's military failure of rightwing forces in the Bop debacle squarely on the shoulders of Eugene Terre-Blanche's Afrikaner Weer-

standsbeweging (AWB).

In a blunt condemnation of the AWB, General Viljoen accused the militant movement of refusing to obey military leadership and orders.

In saying this, General Viljoen has in no uncertain terms dissociated himself from the AWB and its seemingly undisciplined rag-tag "army".

He also made it clear that he remained a fervent advocate of the volkstaat ideal. However, he cautioned that even if a sovereign volkstaat could be negotiated, it would be economically and constitutionally linked to the larger South Africa.

Significantly, he gave this as one of his reasons for favouring a negotiated option and participation in the election.

In this approach to the volkstaat issue, General Viljoen appeared to be in line with Professor Carel Boshoff's concept of a negotiated volkstaat. (News by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.

■ See Constand's coup, page 20.



DETERMINED: A Zulu warrior with an AK-47 rifle leads fellow warriors into the grounds of the KwaZulu parliament in Ulundi as thousands of Zulus answered the call of their King Good Zwelethini to attend an Umbizo (gathering).

ANC 'assured us of an Afrikaner volkstaat'

ROBERT BRAND

Weekend Argus Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen said he had been assured by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela that an Afrikaner "volkstaat" would be a reality.

Yesterday, General Viljoen told the Pretoria Press Club his party wanted to finalise the details of a volkstaat before the elections and to define the self-determination aspect as soon as possible.

However, he said proof of support for a volkstaat was of cardinal importance and could be shown only by voting in next month's election.

If the Freedom Front (FF) got one million votes in the April elections, the demand for an Afrikaner volkstaat could not be ignored, said the general.

Outlining the FF's election manifesto, General Viljoen said the FF would abide by the election result if the poll was legitimate and free.

Exactly how many votes would be considered sufficient support for a volkstaat would be decided by the Constitutional Court.

General Viljoen said the

FF's election campaign would have three aims: Opposition to the ANC and National Party (NP); a means to gauge support for the Afrikaner volkstaat ideal; and furthering the objective of self-determination for all the peoples of South Africa.

He said he accepted that the volkstaat could not be a piece of ground with a Berlin Wall around it, but that it would have to be economically linked to the rest of South Africa.

"The Afrikaner isn't living alone in this country. We live together with other people and we will have to live together with other people in future."

However, the principle of self-determination was accepted worldwide and even the ANC now recognised that a volkstaat was a political reality.

The practical means of attaining a volkstaat, as well as details of the volkstaat such as the rights of non-Afrikaners in the territory, were issues which would have to be negotiated before April 27.

Otherwise, it will be useless to contest the election, said General Viljoen.

(News by R Brand, 141 Commissioens Street, Johannesburg)



FERDI HARTZENBERG: Warned that Right could not afford differences over the election. PHOTOGRAPH: MYKEL NICOLAOU

Unease among Ferdi's faithful

Star 19/3/94

JOHN PERLMAN

Chief Reporter

THE Conservative Party demoralised? You wouldn't have thought so watching Ferdi Hartzenberg stride through the packed rows to the stage of the Brakpan Town Hall on Thursday night, carried along by hundreds of voices singing *Die Lied van Jong Suid-Afrika*, then breaking into cries of "Volkstaat" and "President Hartzenberg". But after a meeting lasting more than two hours, it wasn't that simple.

Hartzenberg, who by anybody's standards has had a trying week, looked preoccupied as the introductions and thank-yous dragged on. But, as always, he snapped to life the instant he began to speak, delivering the CP message in his usual crisp, straight-right-to-the-jaw style.

"At this moment the Afrikaner volk stands with its back to the wall," he said. "Every freedom-loving volk does." And with the Afrikaner's future "in the balance like never before, the volk must be united".

Differences over whether to

go to the polls, he said, were "the last thing we can afford in these decisive weeks, to seize each other by the throat while the enemy roams free. The target we should direct our attack against is the National Party and the ANC-SACP alliance. We must fight the real enemy." (30/4)

Hartzenberg made vivid his forecast of what the future might hold. "The election will be the conclusion of the revolution to put the communists in power," he said. The purse strings and the army will be "firmly in the hands of central government".

Just cause

And he spoke ringingly of the justness of the cause he was asking the audience to fight. "We can't be slaves because our souls have been fed by the open spaces of this country," he said. The fight ahead would be long and hard: "We are not going to get our freedom for nothing."

Hartzenberg spoke of plans to resist. CP town councils would fight "giving the civics 50 percent of control". A day of action was planned for

March 29 in which "every town must put in its tent peg in spectacular style".

But it was deep in question time that somebody in the audience summed up the unease that had shadowed the militancy and defiance all evening. "How come we threaten all the time and we don't act?" said a clear-voiced young man. "Why haven't we started with strikes on the mines and at Eskom?" asked another. Hartzenberg made light of the second question: "That man must come and give me tips on how to do that," he said.

But those dilemmas have been raised in CP meetings before. Two weeks ago, in the Roodepoort City Hall — where Hartzenberg had delivered more or less the same speech — question time produced similar questions.

"From the way you are talking, Dr Ferdi," said one, "you have already accepted that the April 27 election will go ahead. But let's be clear. Are we going to boycott this election or are we going to stop it?" The cheers from the packed hall that night sent

the ceiling fans spinning even faster. They were louder still when another young man asked: "Isn't it time the generals pulled out of negotiations and got busy with their real work?"

The Brakpan meeting at times had the warm, cosy community feel that is always one strong strand of right-wing politics. The singing before the start began with folk songs like "My hartjie, my liefie", a large room had been set aside for the selling of pannekoeck and tea, and the young member of the AWB stopping people at the entrance was only trying to sell raffle tickets — R2 a shot, the prize a fierce-looking dagger.

Anxious

The crowd was a mixed bunch — families with kids, old couples who helped the Nationalists to victory in '48, armed men in khaki. It was a large gathering, like many CP rallies are, and Hartzenberg still has supporters. But with the election clock ticking faster and faster, they seem anxious to know just what will be asked of them.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

The Right sheds its wild fringes and goes to polls

Recent ruptions in the right wing may have provided South Africa with a final opportunity to accommodate the Afrikaner, reports Political Correspondent **CHRIS WHITEFIELD**.

THE turbulence in the right wing over recent weeks has begun to settle, revealing clear shifts in the conservative power balance and some significant implications for the country.

The decision by General Constand Viljoen to lead the Freedom Front (FF) party into elections signalled a final breaking with the radical core in the Conservative Party and the wild fringes of the right wing.

Viljoen's move has, his supporters believe, provided South Africa with a final opportunity to accommodate the Afrikaner and defuse the right-wing threat.

On Tuesday evening, a meeting between CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and Viljoen had ended with the two agreeing to co-operate in spite of differences over strategy.

What the two leaders appeared to have in mind was a two-pronged strategy where Viljoen led moderate Afrikaners into Parliament while Hartzenberg kept up the pressure from the outside.

On Wednesday morning the remaining Conservative Party leadership vetoed the plan when it was put to them by Hartzenberg. He later made the announcement that any CP member appearing on a election candidates list for any party would automatically be expelled.

Hartzenberg and his advisers may soon have cause to regret that move. The haemorrhaging of CP MPs to the FF and the imminent retirement of others — there is a significant chunk of long-standing MPs in the CP — could soon leave him with little more than one-third of his caucus intact.

At the same time the Afrikaner Volksfront is steaming headlong into rocky waters. Its leadership has been denounced by the reportedly unanimous decision of the "Committee of Generals" — whose political intervention breathed new life into the right wing —

to support Viljoen.

AVF unity is also under strain because of the activities of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The animosity of even CP hardliners towards the AWB, an AVF member, was deepened by the activities of Eugene TerreBlanche's followers in Bophuthatswana.

Those CP members who switched to the Viljoen camp this week believe Hartzenberg's election boycott will prove fatal for him, the party and the AVF.

The FF believes it can draw the support of 90 percent of conservatives — mainly Afrikaans-speaking but with some English support — and this will amount to close to 14 percent of the national vote.

The FF message is not vastly removed from that of the Conservative Party — in essence it also seeks a volkstaat for its people, and most political scientists would probably describe its version of a federalist dispensation as confederalism.

However, it has taken up the challenge inherent in one of the last-minute changes to the Interim Constitution: to go to the ballot box, prove that there is support for a volkstaat and then use the Volkstaat Council to apply pressure.

But members of the organisation say it will need more than this for the FF to ultimately defend its decision — not to mention keeping its supporters from reaching for their guns and dynamite.

They believe the judgment of grassroots supporters will be heavily influenced by the behaviour and attitudes of the country's new rulers to the FF members.

They claim that recent comments by ANC president Nelson Mandela and secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, in which they disparaged volkstaters, played right into the hands of the Hartzenbergs and TerreBlanches.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Bailot beats bullet

Star 19/3/94

Viljoen rejects military seizure of a volkstaat

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

CAPE TOWN — The whole concept of seizing a volkstaat by military force has been rejected by General Constand Viljoen, leader of the new Freedom Front.

In a special message this week to his followers, he warned rightwingers they would not be able to hold on to a volkstaat obtained in this way. "Holding on to what you have conquered — not only on a military level, but also on financial and other levels — is something that has to be considered carefully," he said.

He made it clear he regarded military action as a last resort, and even then cognisance had to be taken of "the misery that could be the result of military violence, as was the case in Bophuthatswana".

He laid the blame for last

week's military failure of right-wing forces in the Bop debacle squarely on the shoulders of Eugene Terre-Blanche's Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Viljoen accused the militant movement of refusing to obey military leadership and orders. (304A)

In saying this, Viljoen has dissociated himself from the AWB and its seemingly undisciplined rag-tag "army".

He also made it clear that he remained a fervent advocate of the volkstaat ideal. However, he cautioned that even if a sovereign volkstaat could be negotiated, it would be economically and constitutionally linked to the larger South Africa.

He gave this as one of his reasons for favouring a negotiated option and participation in the election.

Sheet of 1913194

(3047)

Lowdown on who'll be allowed into

ARE you eligible to take part in the election? Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN spoke to the Independent Electoral Commission to clarify which people will be allowed to make their crosses. Find out now whether you can take part. Don't be caught unawares on April 27.

DESPITE millions spent on voter education and information, some people remain confused as to who is eligible to vote in next month's election — if calls to The Star seeking clarity are anything to go by.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) — set up under multiparty control to run the election — has released a document detailing just who is allowed to vote. We then ap-

official says people who hold permanent residence permits will still have to apply for the necessary documents. "If you don't have an ID document but you have permanent residence, then you can apply for a temporary ID certificate or a temporary voter's card."

People who are "exempted from holding permits for permanent residence" are also eligible to vote. "These include people whose fathers are SA citizens and former SA citizens who have the right to live here without permanent residence permits," she says. "It also includes people who fled to South Africa before December 1986, like the Portuguese who left Mozambique and Angola."

In category four are "former SA citizens living in South Africa". Former citizens who have "renounced their citizenship" must apply for "resumption" of their citizenship. "You can only apply for this back in South Africa and the issuing of ID documents depends on resumption being granted first."

Illegally

The fifth group are the spouses and children "of a South African citizen or former South African citizen who resides in South Africa permanently". And finally people who "entered South Africa before December 31 1978 and who have been ordinarily resident in South Africa since" are also eligible to vote.

"These are the people who came in illegally and never had permanent residence permits and were not exempted," the official says. "They can now apply for ID documents." This would not be granted, however, where the person has been declared "prohibited" for having committed crimes.

Every person in each of these six categories, of course, has to be aged 18 years or older and in possession of a "voter's eligibility document". The IEC has listed seven documents which are valid for this purpose:

- Identity documents.
- ID books issued in the "independent homelands".
- Reference books (the old pass-books).
- Old-style reference cards

proached an official at the IEC for additional explanation.

According to the IEC, six categories of people can go to the polls. Top of the list are "South African citizens (so born or naturalised)", including people who have taken out citizenship of any one of the four "independent" TBVC homelands.

Then there are people who "hold permits for permanent residence (immigrants)". The IEC

- (those issued before 1972).
- Temporary ID certificates, which are issued when ID books have been lost.
 - Valid SA passports may be used when voting overseas.
 - Temporary voters' cards, which can be issued on the spot to people who can document their birth particulars with a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, hospital records of birth, school records, house permits, or a letter from a local or traditional authority. Temporary voters' cards may also be issued if a person in possession of an identity document identifies the applicant.
- There are five categories of people who will be barred from voting: migrant workers on con-

tract in South Africa; prohibited immigrants such as people who have been deported, repatriated or refused entry for having a contagious disease; persons declared mentally ill; persons detained for drug dependency; and certain categories of prisoners sentenced without the option of a fine for offences including murder, indecent assault, kidnapping and fraud.

Estimates

Just what the total number of eligible voters is has been a matter of debate.

The Department of Home Affairs estimates there are 22.75 million voters, while the Matla Trust voter education project believes the figure is

closer to 27 million.

And there is still concern that some people may not get the necessary documents in time.

In January the department warned that 2.4 million people had still not applied for documents. By late last month, that backlog had been reduced to 2.15 million.

According to a Home Affairs representative, the department is currently issuing around 130 000 ID documents a week.

A total of 11 000 voters' cards were issued during the second week of February, the first week that these documents were available, but the department estimates this figure will rise to 50 000.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

polling booths

year, 20 percent of the coloured voters said they had not yet made up their minds.

A number of factors have also emerged which favour the PAC and which could result in a serious challenge to both the Nats and the ANC.

One is the sheer luck of being drawn by the Independent Electoral Commission as the party that appears first on both the national and regional ballot papers.

The ANC is buried in the middle of the lists, while the NP appears last.

The contesting parties in alphabetical order:

Western Cape Provincial Government, which will comprise 42 provincial MPs, is the ANC, which aims to have about 20 000 canvassers in the field, one for every 100 voters.

The ANC's voter organisation, training and transport team, VOTT, is headed by its chief organiser in the area, Mr Cameron Dugmore.

The ANC acknowledges that it is up against the seasoned electioneering machine of the NP, but Mr Dugmore predicts it could win "50 percent-plus" of the vote.

The ANC has an advantage over the NP with its easier access to black townships and squatter camps, but complains

black populations, compared with the combined coloured and white voters.

The ANC candidate for the premiership is ANC Western Cape leader, Dr Allan Boesak.



HENNIE BESTER

Democratic Party (DP):

THE DP's Western Cape campaign has so far focused on "leadership visits" by its regional and national leadership, rather than American-style roadshows favoured by both ANC leader Nelson Mandela and NP leader F W de Klerk.

The DP has laid several complaints with the Independent Election Commission (IEC) after claims that it has been prevented by ANC supporters from canvassing on the campuses of the Peninsula Technikon, the Good Hope College in Khayelitsha and the University of the Western Cape.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johan Kriegler said the IEC would verify the accuracy of reports before deciding on what steps to take.

Dr Boesak said it would be wrong of students to exclude certain political parties and allow others onto their campuses, while the ANC MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg, has warned ANC supporters to allow other parties to be heard and not to act like "thugs".

The DP's premier-designate is its Western Cape leader, Mr Hennie Bester.



CONSTAND VILJOEN

Freedom Front (FF):

A LATECOMER to the election battle in the Western Cape is the Transvaal-based Freedom Front of General Constand Viljoen, with

and his brother, Dr Corné Mulder, in positions two and three.

The Freedom Front has the backing of the former Afrikaner Front generals but only one other general, General Kobus Visser, is listed as candidate 19.

The Freedom Front has broken away from Dr Ferdi Hartzenburg's CP although there is no difference between the FF and the CP on the Volkstaat principle.

Islamic parties (IPSA and AMP):

THERE are two Islamic parties registered to fight for both National Assembly and Provincial Government seats.

One is the Cape-based Islamic Party of South Africa (IPSA) headed by Dr Abdullah Gamielien and the other, the Transvaal-based Africa Muslim Party (AMP).

Dr Gamielien said his party was anxious for the public to know that IPSA was "in no way connected with the Africa Muslim Party".

He said extensive efforts were made to merge with the AMP "for the sake of unity, but the Transvaal Party's response has remained negative".

He claimed an agreement had been reached at one stage whereby his party would have contested the Western Cape and the AMP the PWV and KwaZulu-Natal constituencies.

However, said Dr Gamielien, the AMP went ahead and registered to contest the Western Cape seats.

Dr Gamielien said he was unhappy with this move as it "can only cause further division in an already split community".

Dr Gamielien claimed IPSA had gained "overwhelming support and popularity, especially in the township areas".

The AMP could not be contacted for comment.



HERNUS KRIEL

National Party (NP):

THE National Party, which has transformed itself from being exclusively white to a non-racial party, has attracted a number of coloured MPs in the House of Representatives who oper-

more black South Africans. It claims it already has the support of most whites, coloureds and Asians.

In the Western Cape the NP has found it difficult to penetrate squatter areas, but has managed to secure the support of squatter community leaders like Mr Mali Hoza of Khayelitsha and former Crossroads "mayor" Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana.

Apart from career politicians who have switched allegiance from the Labour Party, there are few high-profile coloured community leaders or academics openly associating themselves with the NP.



PATRICIA DE LILLE

Pan Africanist Congress (PAC):

THE PAC campaign so far has been relatively low key and although there is little evidence of its claims to be a "growing force" in the battle for power in the Western Cape, its leaders remain bullish about its chances to do well in the elections.

The PAC is cash-strapped and its telephone and fax lines were cut at its Johannesburg head office as recently as this week, because of unpaid accounts.

Its officials often work without pay or for reduced salaries — but this does not appear to (publicly) detract from their confidence that the PAC would "spring a surprise" in the Western Cape.

It has named as its Western Cape premier-designate, feisty Mitchell's Plain housewife and community activist, Patricia de Lille, who was one of the PAC's chief negotiators at Kempton Park.

Ms de Lille said PAC support in the region was "growing" and PAC was confident it would win several of the region's 42 seats.

Like the DP, there is an outside chance that the PAC could also end up holding the balance of power in the Western Cape Parliament if neither the ANC nor the NP wins an absolute majority.

PAC has the support of a local extremist Muslim

are author and former Robben Island prisoner, Dr Neville Alexander, and the principal of the Harold Cressy High School in District Six, Mr Peter Meyer.

Dr Alexander is the chairperson of the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action (WOSA).

Other candidates include a former deputy president of the Azanian Students Movement (ASASM) and several high-profile trade unionists from the Media Workers' Association (MWASA), the National Union of Metal Workers of South Africa (Numsa), as well as several shop stewards and community activists and civic association executives.

20/3/94
304A

ACCORDING to official statistics there are 570 508 white voters, 1 274 785 coloured, 19 486 Asian and only 334 228 blacks eligible to vote in the Western Cape region.

With coloureds forming 57 percent of eligible voters, all parties — particularly the ANC and NP — are concentrating much of their effort on winning the coloured/Muslim vote.

The leaders of these parties, Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk have focused special attention on the region, and particularly on coloured voters, with further rallies and election roadshows being planned as election day draws nearer.

While both parties claim they will win a majority of votes from this vital community, many political observers believe the NP is ahead in the race for votes.

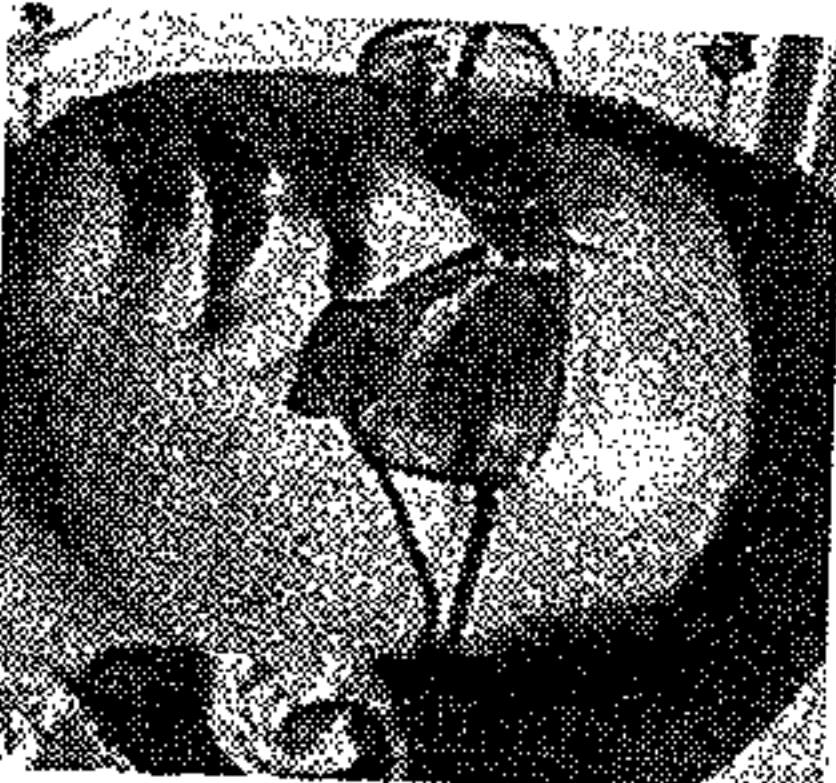
Professor of Political Science at UCT, Dr David Welsh, said there had never been political unity among coloured people and he doubted if this would change because they never had an "own identity" like, for instance, the Xhosa or Zulu.

This was why they treated Dr Verwoerd's assertion that the "brown people" were a "nation-in-the-making" with derision.

Political lecturer at the University of Stellenbosch, Jannie Gagliano, said there was no "over-eagerness" among coloured people in the Western Cape to go to the polls.

In a Sunday Times poll taken in November last

Hot contest in Western Cape



ALLAN BOESAK
African National Congress (ANC):

PERHAPS the most active of all the political parties vying for the

that its access to rural farmworkers is being impeded by farmers.

At the same time the NP has been able to campaign with few problems in the Overberg and along the West Coast and it seems clear that farmers have made transport available to get their workers to Mr de Klerk's rallies.

The ANC acknowledges that in two of the nine election regions in the country — the Western Cape and the Northern Cape — it will have to pull out all the stops to beat a determined NP. Both regions have small

(3049)

20/3/94

Political Reporter NORMAN WEST looks at the main political parties in the Western Cape which have registered to contest both the national and regional elections.

Unlike most of the other regions, where the ANC seems set to win an outright majority, the battle for the Western Cape is shaping up as one of the most closely contested regions in South Africa

Mr Pieter Grobbelaar of Stellenbosch as the FF's first candidate on its Western Cape list.

Other FF Western Cape candidates are Dr C J Jooste of Vredendal; Mrs H E le Roux of Morreesburg; Mrs Eleanor Lombard of Cape Town and Mr Pat Moore, a former Natal vice-chairman of the CP.

The FF has submitted 219 candidates' names for the National Assembly. General Viljoen tops the list for the national legislature with the Conservative Party's former deputy Transvaal leader, Dr Pieter Mulder

ate from their Peninsula constituencies.

Although the NP's premier-designate is Mr Hernus Kriel, Minister of Law and Order, the NP's strategy is to use the high profile of NP leader Mr F W de Klerk as its main election weapon.

President de Klerk is personally engaged in an intensive, country-wide campaign with specific emphasis on rural areas.

The Nats claim the biggest fear of their main rival, the ANC, is that the NP is gathering the support of more and

group, the Qibla, and on a recent so-called "Quds Day" — described as "the international day of the oppressed" — a joint PAC-Qibla group protested at the American and Israeli embassies in Cape Town against the massacre of 93 Palestinian worshippers at a Mosque in Hebron on February 25.

Workers' List Party (WLP):

TWO of the better-known Cape-based candidates of the Workers' List Party (WLP), registered to contest both national

IEC tribunal reins in NP with first ruling

CAPE TOWN — An Independent Electoral Commission election tribunal has heard its first case in Cape Town. (2047)

On Saturday the ANC applied for an urgent interim interdict against the NP after ANC posters had allegedly been damaged by NP supporters in Grassy Park and Manenberg.

The tribunal's presiding

officer Ismael Jamie issued an interim interdict yesterday prohibiting NP supporters from damaging, removing or destroying posters put up by the ANC.

NP supporters have been warned also not to assault or intimidate ANC members. The NP must give reasons by March 25 why a final interdict should not be granted, the tribunal ruled.

The Grassy Park incident occurred outside a school where ANC President Nelson Mandela was to address supporters. NP supporters jumped on a car bearing ANC posters. One NP supporter grabbed a radio journalist's equipment, but was caught by ANC marshals. — Sapa.

Report by P. Strijdom, Sapa. 141 Commissioner St., Jhb.

DP-SRC settlement negated after 'attack'

Star 22/3/94

■ BY JOHN SODERLUND

An out-of-court settlement between the DP and the SRC of the University of the Western Cape was negated yesterday when DP members were allegedly assaulted and robbed minutes after dropping the case.

Charges had been laid on February 14 by the DP after it was allegedly barred from campaigning on the UWC campus by SRC members on February 7 and 8.

The case was expected to test the IEC's ability to enforce the Electoral Act's protection of the right of parties to campaign freely.

The DP withdrew its application for an interdict against the SRC at the last moment because it had reached a settlement with the SRC, said DP youth chairman Colin Douglas.

"We withdrew our complaint because the SRC un-

dertook under oath to abide by the Electoral Code of Conduct and conduct themselves in a non-violent and non-intimidatory way," he said.

"The agreement was shattered the minute we walked out of court. We were kicked, hit and spat on by a large number of SRC students," Douglas added. (54)

A watch and numerous DP badges had been stolen and there had been cases of attempted theft of watches, handbags and briefcases, he said. A Bellville Police Station spokesman confirmed that assault and theft charges had been laid.

Douglas expressed disappointment with the IEC's conduct. He said he had asked the IEC to prosecute the SRC president for violating the Electoral Act by preventing the DP from campaigning on the campus. (204A)

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Women's party is not anti-men

THE Women's Rights Peace Party says it is not an "anti-men" party. Ensuring that women's rights are recognised in all sectors of society will benefit everyone, it says.

The party's key task is to get women into Parliament to ensure that women's rights and issues form part of every decision made there.

The party was established in February and will contest elections at the national level and provincial level in the PWV.

"We are not against other political parties, or against men," party co-leader Constance Koza said. "We stand for a new non-sexist and non-racist society."

"Affirmative action programmes should redress the injustices of sexism as well as racism in all spheres of society such as the domestic sector, business, education and defence."

Women have the right of control over their bodies, including decisions on reproduction and abortion, says the party manifesto. "We do not however insist that all members adopt a 'pro-choice' stance on abortion," said Koza. "We believe this is ultimately an issue for every individual to per-

The Women's Rights Peace Party is highlighted by **DAVID GREYBE** in this series on the lesser known parties contesting the elections.

sonally decide upon, according to their own beliefs and conscience."

The party hopes to get enough votes to put women and "progressive men" into Parliament "so that they can constantly check on every single decision and resolution made by the new government, and vigorously oppose those that in any way discriminate against women and children".

"It is time for women to have equal decision-making powers with men," the party manifesto states.

"By taking the step of registering as a political party, the Women's Rights Peace Party is clearly giving women and men everywhere the message that it is time for the presence of a party in government in which the leaders are women, and the majority of candidates are women."

The issue of sexism and discrimi-

nation against women "must be addressed at the same time as liberation from racism and apartheid".

The party intends ensuring that "women's rights" and other gender issues are part and parcel of "every" debate and decision in the next Parliament.

"They should not be sidelined or marginalised through the creation of 'special commissions', 'women's desks' or 'lobbying groups'."

Experiences of women, in Africa and overseas, had been that campaign promises to address gender issues were often not fulfilled in the post-election period. "We do not want to repeat earlier global experiments in democracy, where national liberation struggles have failed to effect women's emancipation."

Former Unisa lecturer and "consultant in creative change management", Nina Romm, heads the party.

Her two co-leaders are Koza, a development consultant and educationist with UN experience, and Dora Ndaba, described as a "pioneering businesswomen in the informal sector".

Report by D Greybe, TEL, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

European project to focus | 'Developing countries unite'



STRONG SENTIMENTS . . . An NP supporter demonstrates his feelings towards ANC supporters at a Grassy Park rally addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Clashes with Nats as ANC cars stoned

By CHRIS BATEMAN

CARS carrying top ANC officials and a bus carrying uMkonto weSizwe (MK) cadres were stoned in Manenberg yesterday and police narrowly averted a bloody clash between ANC and National Party supporters.

The Manenberg rally was one of three with big turnouts in a one-day blitz of the Peninsula by Mr Nelson Mandela and senior ANC colleagues.

Angry MK cadres jumped off the bus in Manenberg when a rock smashed the rear window and sprinted for the NP crowd, which scattered. A thin line of policemen prevented them from engaging dozens of defiant youths.

ANC cultural desk head Ms Barbara Masekela and Mrs Elna Boesak were in one car that was stoned. ANC re-

gional secretary Mr Lerumo Kalako was in another.

In Grassy Park dozens of youths in a 1 800-strong ANC crowd exchanged a barrage of rocks with NP supporters, then chased them down a sidestreet.

The ANC's Mr Ebrahim Rassool said several taxis leaving Manenberg for the final, 5 000-strong Kleinvlei rally were stoned, but police "fortunately intervened".

The ANC secured an Independent Election Commission (IEC) tribunal ruling against the NP on Saturday night. An interim interdict was granted ordering the NP to "restrain" members in Grassy Park and Manenberg from assaulting ANC members and defacing or removing ANC posters.

● 'Zulu' blockade disrupts ANC rally — Page 2

The mild cigarette that satisfies



Lessons on voting

By Russel Molefe

urday

21/3/94

THERE were four million disabled people in South Africa eligible to vote in the April 27 elections, the chairman of the Self Help Association of Paraplegics, Mr Friday Mavuso, said at the weekend.

He was speaking at a voter education workshop for the disabled at the association's centre in Mofolo attended by about 2 000 people on Sat-

The workshop was conducted by Matla Trust to enlighten the disabled on election procedures at voting stations.

Mavuso said disabled people could form their own political party and become a government if they wanted to judging from their numbers countrywide.

He appealed to the broader community to respect disabled people as they were also human beings.

(3044)

Volksfront busy with constitution

CT 21/3/94
JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Volksfront on Saturday adopted a constitution for implementation in a planned but as yet unidentified "volkstaat", said leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg.

The constitution provides for a republic and citizenship for "members of the volk".

Non-citizens' rights would be afforded protection by the law between nations. (304A)

The AVF said it will release this week the results of a survey it had conducted among landowners on inclusion in the volkstaat as well its claims on land it wanted included in its republic.

The AVF said its "Christian" republic would be governed by an assembly elected every five years, with a state president and an executive council. More details on the constitution are to follow soon, said Dr Hartzenberg. — Sapa

Tussle in the townships to get those squatter votes



Pictures: PIETER MALAN, The Argus.

POSTER POWER: Second-year advertising students Graham Lang and Peter Jon Kensley show off the posters they designed for a voter-education programme. Their posters will be printed and distributed nationally.

Arty touch puts voting top priority

Staff Reporter

AVOID being an April fool — vote on April 27.

That's the message advertising students from the AAA School of Advertising wants to convey with posters they designed for a voter-education programme.

Graphic arts teacher Terry Levin says the school decided on a voter education poster as a project for students. The Helen Suzman Trust was invited to brief students on the requirements — and to use the designs they liked in their voter-education campaign.

"At first, the students were none too enthusiastic," he said. "But, after Helen Suzman Trust national co-ordinator Tanja Hichert briefed them on the importance of voter education, they started designing in earnest."

Advertising student Graham Lang — who designed the winning poster — said it was good working on a project relevant to every South African's life.

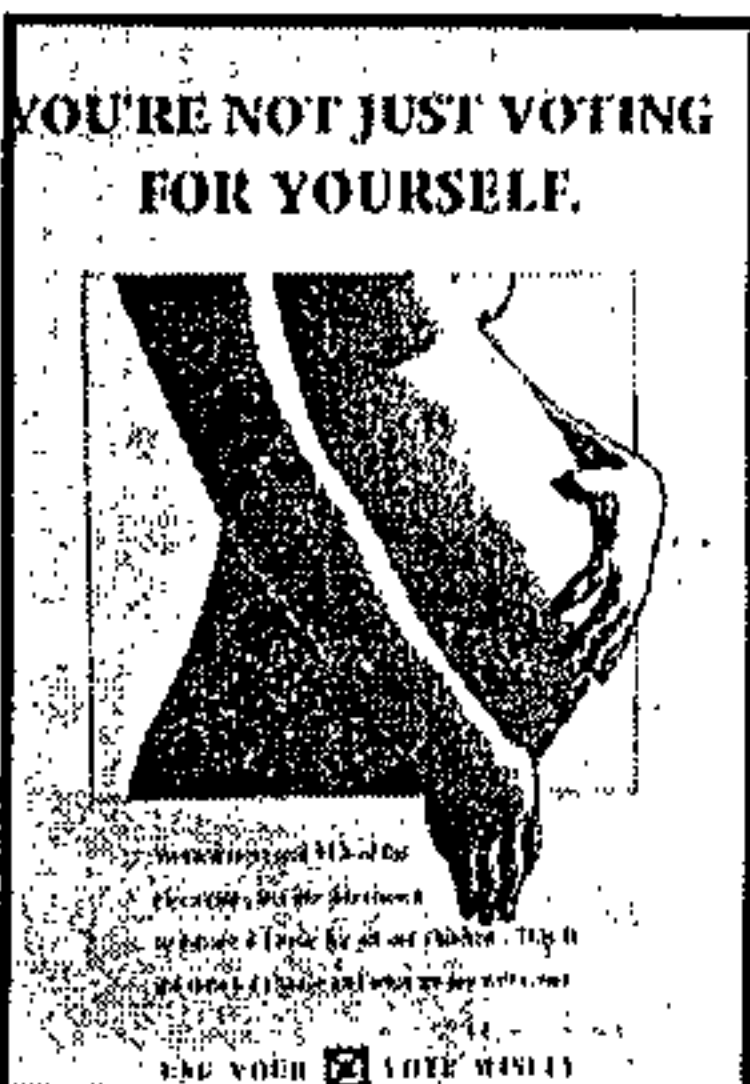
"It is not as if you are advertising a product for a specific market. Voting in April should be important to everyone."

Ms Hichert said the Helen Suzman Trust would print and distribute some of the posters as part of their campaign.

"These posters will really speak to the public."



MIGHTIER THAN SWORD: Artist Graham Lang says this poster is directed specifically at communities which have suffered from violence.



VOTE FOR THE FUTURE: Gavin Mcleod designed this poster with the woman voter in mind.

ANC, PAC ensuring they can contain NP inroads

EDWARD MOLOINYANE
Staff Reporter

WHILE there is a tussle among political groupings for the vital coloured vote in the Western Cape, little attention has been paid to the mushrooming squatter camps, where most potential African voters live.

These areas are equally significant — even more so among black political organisations, which ignore them at their peril.

Until recently, when they were awakened from their slumber by the National Party inroads being made in the camps, election contenders such as the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress seem to have been under the impression that they alone would readily share the spoils in the squatter communities.

The National Party, whose government was responsible in the first place for lack of housing for Africans because of apartheid policies, included in their election list for the regional legislative assembly two of the once most-powerful squatter leaders — in an apparent vote-catching exercise.

Putting former mayors Johnson Ngxobongwana of Crossroads and Mali Hoza at number 15 and 20 respectively in the list shocked their two main election rivals, the ANC and PAC.

Although this is viewed as a ploy by detractors of the Nats, in other quarters it is thought to be a typically clever vote-catching move by any party at election time.

Whether the two men still have clout remains to be seen, but the National Party's presence in the squatter areas and the sudden concern shown by the ANC and the PAC indicates that the men can play a decisive role in the election outcome there.

Rudely awakened by this turn of events, both organisations seem bent on taking their campaigns to the squatter areas.

A fortnight ago, Transkei military leader and ANC election candidate General Bantu Holomisa visited Driftsands, a stronghold of Mr Ngxobongwana and, perhaps, the National Party.

Recently unveiling its plans for the campaign in the region, the PAC said areas of the oppressed, especially

squatter communities, would be high on its agenda.

The organisation said Patricia de Lille, its candidate for the Western Cape premiership, would visit these areas with Philip Kgosana — who, as a student at the University of Cape Town, led the huge 1980 anti-pass campaign from Langa to Cape Town.

But it seems that electioneering in the squatter areas, as in other parts of the country, won't be easy.

Mr Ngxobongwana said General Holomisa would not be allowed to set foot in Driftsands again because of remarks he had made there previously.

Speaking from a construction office adorned with National Party paraphernalia, including a huge picture of F W De Klerk, Mr Ngxobongwana said General Holomisa made derogatory statements against him and was "rude".

He said the ANC had told him three days before that the general would be coming to address a rally on March 6.

"We had no problems with that because our understanding was that there should be free political activity in this country and nobody should be fighting, especially among us because we are brothers."

"We laid for him the few tables and chairs we have as a matter of courtesy. None of my people went there because no one here supports the ANC, but we felt he should be allowed to say his thing," he said.

Mr Ngxobongwana said General Holomisa's security men forcibly removed his men from the tables when they arrived and one was hit with a firearm butt.

He said he arrived later and exchanged greetings with the general and left.

"I understand that after my departure the supporters he brought along with toyi-toyed and chanted slogans hostile to me."

"General Holomisa himself is said to have urged that people should stop following me because the ANC would share all the land among themselves and I would get nothing."

"He is said to have been downright rude and spoke just like ordinary soldiers who know nothing else but bullets... we won't allow him here again," he said.

(News by E Moloinyane, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Party for 'worker control'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Workers' List Party says its programme to renege on South Africa's foreign debt, nationalise big business and bring apartheid criminals to trial will attract millions of votes in the April elections.

The party's list and manifesto were launched here yesterday.

"We do not believe that any of the white or black nationalist parties can solve the crisis of unemployment, homelessness,

~~1234~~ (304A) disease, illiteracy and poverty that afflict the urban and the rural poor," the manifesto says.

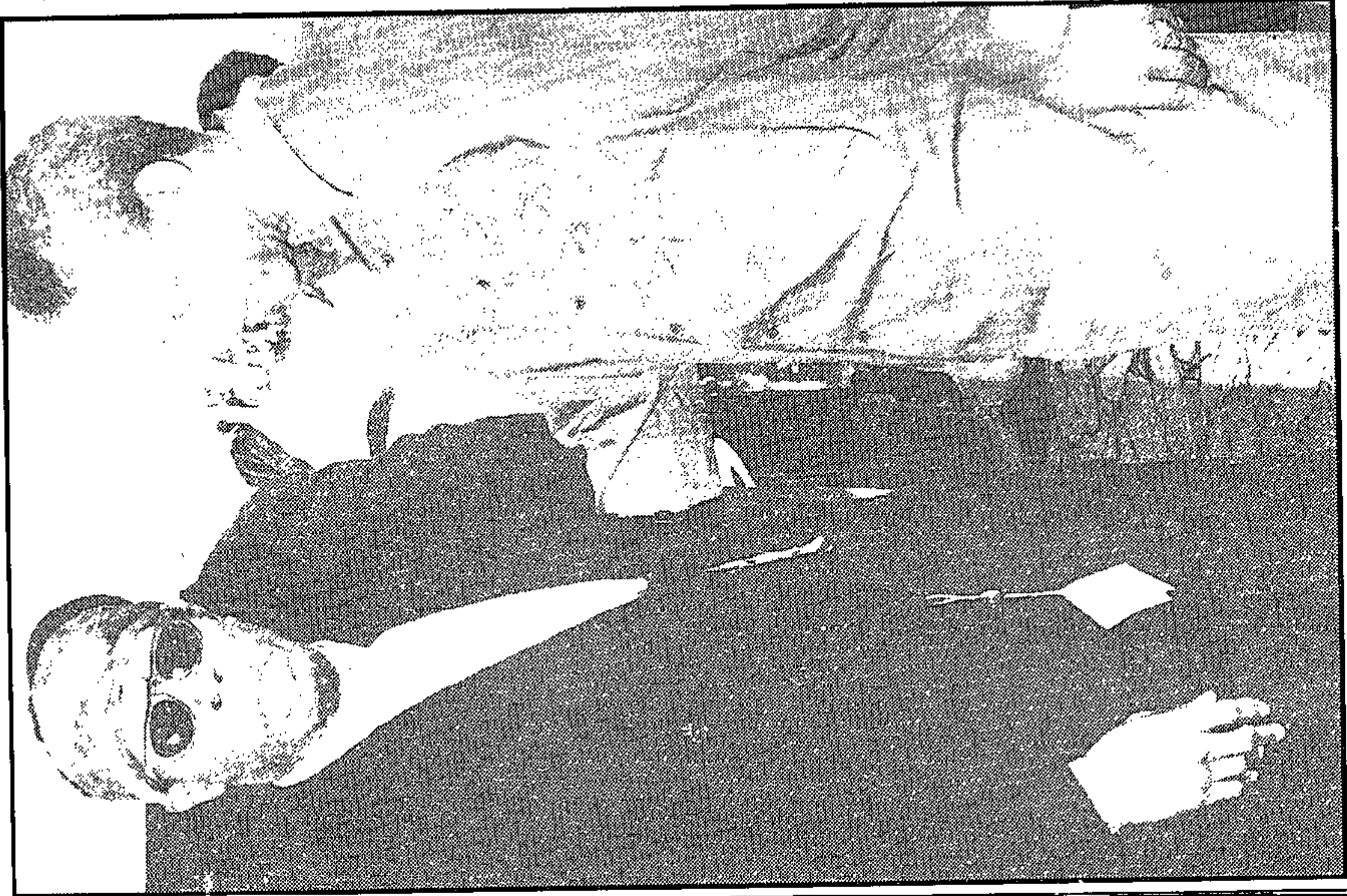
The party stands for the right to work entrenched in the constitution, state provision of social services and a socialist democracy, which includes "nationalisation under worker control of the monopoly companies, banks, mines and land without compensation".

It further calls for the trial of those who defended the "apart-

heid capitalist regime" and the cancellation of foreign debt repayments.

The WLP list includes trade unionists, representatives from the Workers' Organisation for a Socialist Azania and the Independent Socialist Movement, and "grassroots people in grassroots structures".

The party is contesting the election on a national level only. — Sapa CT21/3/94



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.
MANDELA MEETS LOVERMAN: The ANC president greets Rap singer Shabba Ranks at yesterday's election rally in Kleinville.

Manenberg mob stone Mandela's car

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
 Political Staff

NELSON MANDELA ran the gauntlet of angry National Party supporters who stoned his motorcade in the coloured township of Manenberg.

A stone landed on the roof of his car as it entered the sportsground where the ANC president was to address a rally yesterday. He was not injured.

Before his arrival police cordoned off streets leading to the sportsfield where hundreds of residents were waiting for him.

In Manenberg Avenue police armed with shotguns kept NP supporters, some of whom appeared to be under the influence of liquor, behind a barrier.

An NP supporter told an ANC activist: "Your supporters stoned our President (FW de Klerk) in Kimberley."

A placard which read "Stem NP vir werk en vrede" (Vote NP for jobs and peace) seemed out of place in the volatile atmosphere.

Prevented by marshals from en-

21/3/94
 RRG

□ 'Revenge' on ANC for Kimberley stoning of De Klerk

tering the ground, some NP supporters shouted abuse at Mr Mandela and his entourage. Stones were flung at them as uniformed Umkhonto we Sizwe soldiers ran alongside the motorcade.

Later some NP supporters made their way into the ground and passed racist remarks at Mr Mandela.

Referring to the incident at a later rally in the coloured township of Kleinville, which was tranquil compared to Manenberg, Mr Mandela urged ANC supporters to remain calm.

"As my motorcade came in today two of our cars were stoned by NP members. I would like you to remain calm and not be provoked."

He added: "Last night we had to make an urgent application to the Independent Electoral Commission for an interdict restraining the NP from destroying our billboards."

Copies of the IEC's ruling were handed to the media.

According to the order, the NP must appear before the IEC on March 25 to show why it should not be ordered to take reasonable steps to

discipline and restrain its members in Grassy Park and Manenberg from removing, defacing, destroying or damaging ANC posters and placards.

Opening his address in Manenberg, Mr Mandela said:

"I want to tell you I love you. You are my own flesh and blood. You are my brothers, sisters, children and grandchildren."

It was because of his love for his people and his country that he spent 27 years in jail, he said.

Mr Mandela blamed President De Klerk and the NP for the fact

Nelson wins children's sports day popularity race

She said she would be the happiest person in the world if the ANC leader made her dream come true.

In his address, Mr Mandela said: "Every child has the right to love, a home, to be cared for and to go to school."

Mrs Martin said: "It was wonderful to meet him. I wanted to ask him for another wheelchair. But I was too excited."

Political Staff

EXCITEMENT left Fatima Martin tongue-tied and prevented her from asking ANC president Nelson Mandela to get her a battery-powered wheelchair.

Mrs Martin was one of many who attended the Lion Club's Children's Sports Day at Green Point Stadium

'Loverman' bounds up for ANC

Mandela.

He urged thousands at the stadium to vote for the ANC, adding: "The people of Jamaica back Nelson Mandela and all the people here. This is the time for you to get your rights. If you don't take it it's not going to happen again."

Later, scores of fans milled around the stage, waiting for Ranks to leave.

He raised a clenched fist as he was mobbed by fans, but was persuaded not to leave the stage. Minutes later he was whisked away.

(News by D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Political Staff

RAP musician Shabba Ranks almost stole the show from Nelson Mandela at an African National Congress rally in Kleinville.

The Jamaican musician, best known for the rap hit *Mr Loverman*, put in an unscheduled appearance at Mr Mandela's second rally in Cape Town yesterday.

Dressed in a green jacket, gold shirt and black pants, he made his arrival in a white limousine, causing a stir at Kleinville stadium as he bounded on to the stage and hugged Mr

that many Manenberg residents were walking township streets searching for food.

"Many people are living in misery because of the NP's neglect."

He accused the NP of using dirty tricks by saying blacks would take the jobs, homes and pensions of coloureds and destroy their religion.

"It's a member of the NP who led a group of Africans to occupy coloured houses because they wanted to sow fear among coloured people."

He said the NP and Democratic Party never cared about blacks.

"Because they want power they want us to vote for them. Where were they when our people died at the hands of the police?"

These parties and the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging were saying "let's prevent the ANC from winning because they want to cling to power."

Mr Mandela said April 27 was the day of reckoning "when we are going to bury the NP and DP."

The gist of his message in Kleinville was the same.

(News by D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Anglo sets terms for canvassing

SI Times [C1 Metro]

2013/194

BUSINESS giant Anglo American has introduced strict conditions to which political parties have to agree before they will be allowed to canvass for votes on farms belonging to the company.

Anglo American Farms Limited owns two main farms in the Western Cape, one in Somerset West and another in the Franschhoek valley, as well as several others in the rest of the country.

But the ANC's Farm-

By JESSICA BEZUIDENTHOUT

workers Task Group has criticised some of the conditions.

A spokesman said the organisation had been advised by its legal representative that some of the conditions were in contravention of the Electoral Act. (304A)

A number of conditions preventing demonstrations and singing, as well as the display of placards and banners outside an agreed venue

— which Anglo has defined as either a community hall or a vacant shed — were in contravention of free political canvassing and campaigning, an ANC spokesman said.

Another condition, which the ANC says is "unreasonable", stipulates that any political party wishing to campaign on an Anglo farm must first supply the company with proof that they have a minimum of R5 million public liability insurance.

"This could mean no

canvassing work will be allowed on Anglo American's farms," a spokesman for the Farmworkers Task Group said.

The Democratic Party, although critical of the fact that Anglo was attempting to limit the number of people allowed at the meetings, considered the rest of the conditions "quite reasonable", said DP National Executive Director, Mr James Selfe.

One of the conditions stating that the party will not allow more people than the capacity of the venue, was an unfulfillable condition, he said.

Mr Selfe said the R5 million public liability insurance condition was "fairly reasonable" in view of Anglo's right to protect its property.

Agreement

Anglo American Farms Limited spokesman, Mr Don Tooth, said the National Party has already entered into agreement on the conditions. The NP was not available for comment.

"The conditions are open for discussion and political parties are welcome to respond," Mr Tooth said.

He said the conditions were drawn up to protect the company's workers on farms as well as its property.

He said "the draft conditions, drawn up in line with the Electoral Act" were sent out earlier this week, but that no response had been received from political parties.

Eight out of 10 for ANC

By MIKE ROBERTSON

ALMOST eight out of every 10 voters in the new Northern Transvaal province will cast their ballot in favour of the ANC, according to a Sunday Times poll.

The poll, conducted by Markinor in November, had the National Party lying second with the support of 12 percent of willing and able voters and the CP/AVF third with five percent. *SI Times*

If these trends survive the campaign, the ANC will have 32 of the 40 members in the Northern Transvaal parliament.

The NP will have five. General Constand Viljoen's newly formed Freedom Front could get two seats if it is able to attract those who indicated backing for the CP/AVF.

The allocation of the remaining seat will be determined by undecided voters.

Northern Transvaal voters will send 20 people to represent the region in the National Assembly.

Based on the poll, the ANC will win 16 of these seats, the NP two and a right-wing party one. Undecided voters will also determine the allocation of the remaining seat. *(3044)*

Finally, members of the Northern Transvaal legislature will elect 10 people to represent the province in the senate in Cape Town. *2013194*

If the polling trends are borne out in the election, the ANC will have eight senators and the NP one. If General Viljoen is able to attract the support of the voters who said they favoured the CP or AVF, the Freedom Front will win the remaining seat.

(News by Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Cracks starting to show in the DP's big-business base

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

THE first cracks in the DP's traditional big-business support base appeared this week when Anglo American directors Clem Sunter and Michael O'Dowd placed their support for Frances Kendall's Federal Party on the record. *S Times*

Anglo American and De Beers have for years been regarded as the DP's most important business backers. Mr O'Dowd is chairman of the Anglo and De Beers Chairman's Fund, while Mr Sunter is the head of Anglo's Scenario Planning Department.

DP leader Zach de Beer said he would not comment on whether or not Anglo and De Beers continued to back his party. "That is for them to say," he added.

And DP Transvaal leader Tony Leon dismissed the Federal Party, saying it would have as much effect as "a sneeze in a thunderstorm".

Mr Sunter, whose "high road, low road" scenario sketch largely coincided with the views of the DP and its predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party, said he was in favour of the FP's policy of decentralisation of power.

"I haven't seen the (FP's) manifesto,

but I'm betting on the lady. Frances is an outstanding person with a lot of spunk," he said. *2013/94*

In a statement released through the FP, Mr O'Dowd said: "I firmly support the constitutional proposals of the new FP. They are not wildly idealistic, as their critics will claim, but are based on the long experience of some very successful countries. *(304A)*

"Although the FP is obviously not going to form a government, I believe it is well worth voting for."

Miss Kendall said this week her party was aiming for five percent of the April vote.

Meanwhile, uncertainty over the future of Dr de Beer — who recently said he would retire after the elections — continued this week.

"I'm 65-and-a-half, I'm old enough to retire, but it depends on the election results, it depends on the composition of the cabinet, it depends on the rules of the cabinet," he said.

Although Mr Leon was second on the DP's national election list and "a thoroughly outstanding politician", it was by no means certain that he would take over the leadership, Dr de Beer said.

CP's power is bleeding away

THE defection of key members to General Constand Viljoen's fledgling Freedom Front this week ripped the guts out of the Conservative Party and the umbrella right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront.

The further defection of leading grassroots CP members such as mayors and management committee chairmen has laid waste plans by the CP and AVF to exploit their control over 80 rural towns to hinder change and disrupt the elections.

The 36-member CP parliamentary caucus has been decimated by the decision by nine of its members to fight an election under the Freedom Front banner.

Its numbers are likely to dwindle further with the resignation from active politics after the election of seven members who are getting old or disillusioned with politics.

The MPs standing for parliament are Pieter Mulder (deputy Transvaal leader), Corne Mulder (MP for Randfontein), Willem Botha (deputy Cape leader), Joseph Chiole (MP for Pretoria West), Dr Willie Botha (MP for Rustenburg), Pieter Groenewald (MP for Stiffontein), Carl Werth, (Natal CP leader), Leon Louw (MP for Welkon), and Abrie Oosthuizen (Free State leader).

Those likely to retire include frontbench finance spokesman Cas Uys, Willie van der Merwe, Piet de la Rey and Daan du Plessis.

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

In addition to the MPs, General Viljoen also persuaded more than 150 leading grassroots members of the CP to join him in contesting the elections.

They include mayors, councillors and businessmen who were the backbone of the CP in terms of organisation and raising funds.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg and a handful of bittereinder MPs have been left isolated alongside radical right-wingers such as AWB leader Eugene Terre Blanche.

General Viljoen said this week he was pursuing a strategic option to prove support for a volkstaat in the elections, while the CP was pursuing its political option. The two strands could come together again after the election, he said.

He did not think his resignation as co-ordinator of the directorate of generals for the Volksfront had weakened it.

However, the other members of the directorate of generals have thrown their weight behind General Viljoen, further weakening the image and leadership of the Volksfront. Former CID chief General Kobus Visser is also an election candidate.

Sources in the breakaway CP group said this week three representatives had met Dr Hartzenberg and deputy leader Willie Snyman on Tuesday to discuss participation in

the elections. The three were Pieter Groenewald and Pieter and Corne Mulder.

They had advocated that the right wing should follow a dual road to achieving a volkstaat, an objective that both factions are united on.

They had come away with an agreement that they would be free to participate in the elections under the Freedom Front, but that the Volksfront would continue with its strategy to achieve a volkstaat.

"Our supporters do not want a split in the right wing. The proposal was the only way we could see of avoiding this," Dr Corne Mulder said this week.

However, Dr Hartzenberg announced a day later that those that participated in the election would be expelled from the party.

Sources in the breakaway group said they surmised Dr Hartzenberg had been "got to" by hardliners Schalk Pienaar, Kobus Beyer and Charl Hertzog.

Dr Mulder said if they had managed to avert a split there would not be a problem with rank and file CP members, who were now in the difficult position of having to choose between participating or boycotting the elections.

He said the Afrikaner people would only take up arms to achieve a volkstaat if they had no other choice. By participating in the election, the Freedom Front was giving them a peaceful route to the volkstaat.

The DP comes in fighting

By DIRK VAN ZYL

WRITTEN off by opinion polls and many analysts as complete no-hopers a few weeks ago, the Democratic Party has received something of a morale-booster with sorties into the Boland and southern Cape in the past five days.

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and Western Cape premiership candidate Mr Hennie Bester led the charge. 2013/94

People thought the election contest in these areas was between the ANC and NP only. So Mr Bester and his team of strategists devised a simple first-phase approach — make the DP visible.

Dr de Beer, Mr Bester and other leaders boarded minibuses and bakkies and slowly drove through countless suburbs, towns and hamlets with loudspeakers blaring "Vote for the DP, the party of peace" and the party jingle "One nation, one future, one South Africa; DP will fight for your rights".

On the whole the DP received a friendly — if at times bemused — reception, with its central message of peace and human rights. (304A)

The occasional bystander flashed an "up yours" and mouthed an accompanying expletive, and in the JCC squatter camp at Mossel Bay a man was restrained from throwing a stone, but in the final analysis, at least the party was "there" in hitherto largely virgin territory.

— Sapa

(Report by Dirk van Zyl, Press Gallery, Parliament)

12

Southern 23/3/94

By Mathatha Tsedu

mandated to ensure free and fair elections:

move: "The situation in Natal is very grave and unless defused immediately, it may scuttle everything that so many people have worked so hard for."

people have worked so hard for."

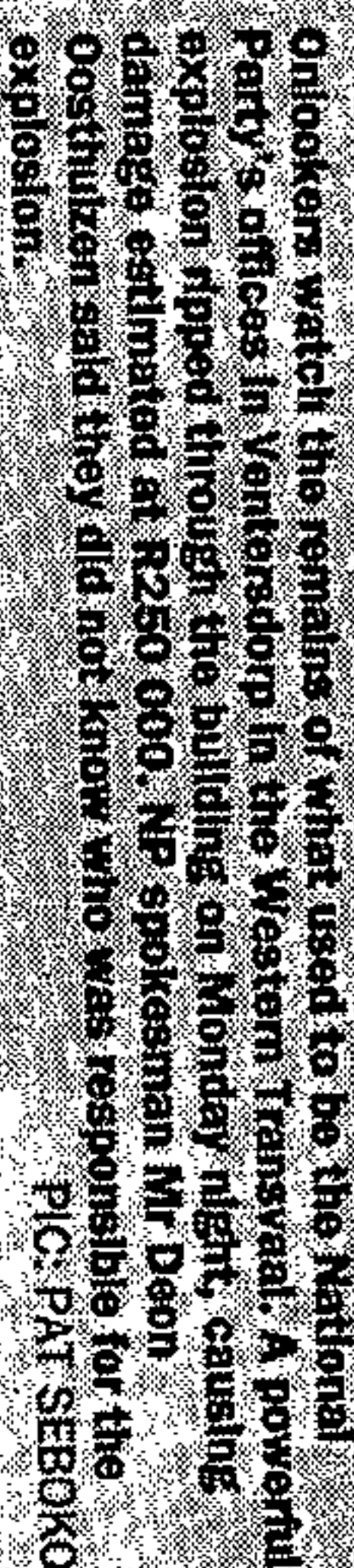
Buthelezi, the source said, could only save himself by allowing free and fair election campaigns in KwaZulu through calling off the campaign that is blocking election rallies of the African National Congress. This is thought unlikely, as Buthelezi has said he has no control over the people concerned.

Kriegler will today meet Buthelezi

and King Goodwill Zwelithini and later address the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in what is seen as a last-ditch attempt to stop all-out war in Natal.

The sources said Krieger was mandated by State President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela on Monday to give Buthelezi a last option before the Transitional Executive Council.

cil and the Government take drastic action", possibly an army takeover.



Onlookers watch the remains of what used to be the National Party's offices in Ventersdorp in the Western Transvaal. A powerful explosion ripped through the building on Monday night, causing damage estimated at R250 000. NP spokesman Mr Deon Oosthuizen said they did not know who was responsible for the explosion.

PI: PAT SEBOKO

to stop his friend Elroy

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304A

CT 23/3/94

All convicts to get to cast a vote

PRETORIA. — All prisoners will be allowed to vote in the April election, the Transitional Executive Council decided yesterday.

The decision was taken in the light of widespread prisoner dissatisfaction at the TEC's original decision last week that prisoners would not be allowed to vote, and subsequent riots at prisons countrywide.

Forty-two prisoners at Helderstroom prison near Caledon set their communal cell alight at about 7.40 last night, before hearing about the TEC's decision. No one was hurt in the incident.

The prisoners were evacuated and the fire extinguished before anyone was injured.

Earlier in the day, about 50 members of the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights protested outside the TEC building.

Members of the SA Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights presented a memorandum to the TEC earlier yesterday calling for the establishment of a multi-party commission of inquiry into the death of 21 prisoners in Queenstown at the weekend.

● The Trauma Centre for Victims of Violence and Torture has asked the International Committee of the Red Cross to investigate reports by relatives that prisoners injured in last week's riot at Pollsmoor Prison have not received adequate treatment. — Sapa

Prisoners can vote in the elections, says TEC

□ New decision made in face of riots, legal action

ALL prisoners can vote in the elections, the Transitional Executive Council has decided.

The decision, made in Pretoria yesterday in the face of riots in several prisons and legal action by two prisoners, was a reversal of an earlier decision by the TEC not to extend voting rights to all prisoners.

Last week the TEC voted to appoint a committee consisting of representatives of the TEC, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and the government to decide on the issue.

African National Congress delegate Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday said the committee had not been able to meet and called for a review of the TEC's earlier decision because "the situation had acquired much more dangerous proportions".

Meanwhile, the Queenstown prison opened its doors yesterday, allowing delegates from organisations and community leaders to inspect the cell where 21 inmates had died in a fire on Monday.

The situation was still tense at prisons in the region yesterday, with more than 900 prisoners embarking on a hunger strike at East London's Fort Glamorgan prison.

In addition, 634 prisoners were taking part in work strikes, refusing to join labour teams outside the prison, a spokesman for the Department of Correctional Services said.

● President De Klerk's action regarding the recent Goldstone Commission interim report, in which some top ranking policemen were implicated in gun-running has been absolutely correct and beyond criticism, National Party Cape leader Dawie de Villiers said.

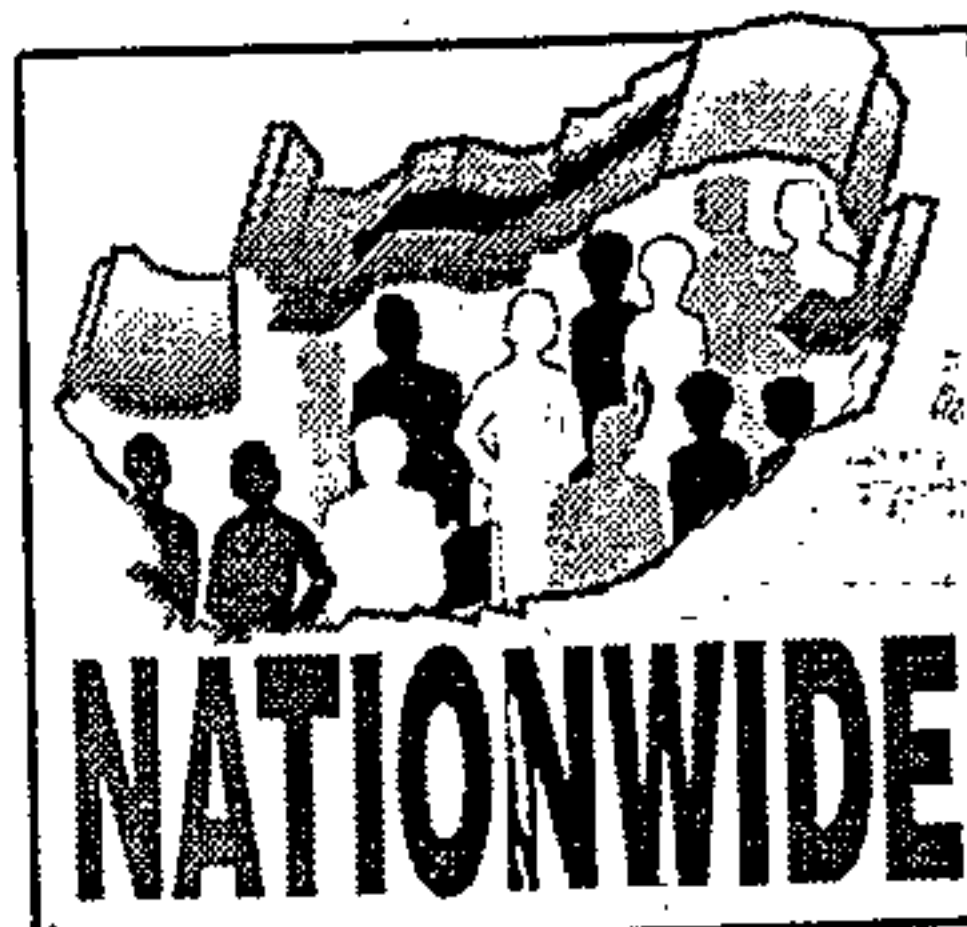
In a statement yesterday, Dr De Villiers said that when such serious allegations were made by a judge of appeal, the state president had a duty to see that such allegations be investigated to dispel charges of a cover-up.

● At a meeting in Pretoria yesterday, the TEC ordered a freeze in the creation and upgrading of all posts in the public services.

● The TEC adopted a resolution proposing that the National Assembly meet for the first time on May 6 in Cape Town to elect South Africa's new president.

The TEC proposal suggested the formal inauguration and swearing-in ceremony be held on May 10 at the Union Buildings in Pretoria.

● The Afrikaner Volksfront plans to ratify its claim to Pretoria as the capital of its planned volkstaat at a mass rally in the city on Saturday.



AVF leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said at a public meeting yesterday in Pietersburg that a draft constitution for the volkstaat would be announced at the rally.

● Unfounded allegations that Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa and senior ANC officials masterminded the elimination of Inkatha Freedom Party officials in 1982 had been the continuation of a "dirty tricks campaign" by the IFP and the government to blacken his name, Major-General Holomisa told the Rand Supreme Court.

General Holomisa made this claim in an uncontested court action in which he has claimed R100 000 from

VOTER SUPPORT: A youth demonstrates for voting rights for prisoners outside the TEC offices yesterday. The protest was called by the South African Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights after 21 inmates were killed earlier this week in a Queenstown prison.

the IFP on grounds that he was publicly defamed by IFP officials.

● The Azanian People's Organisation says a bogus pamphlet calling for the killing of white people is being distributed in the name of the organisation at railway stations in Umlazi, KwaMashu, on the Natal south coast and other areas in Natal.

● The South African Police Union demanded the immediate payout of pensions and leave money, following similar demands by civil servants in Bophuthatswana which eventually led to the downfall of its deposed president, Lucas Mangope.

(Compiled by H S Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

P.T.O

Meeting to be held in Cape Town

New SA president to be elected on May 6

Star 23/3/94
(304A)

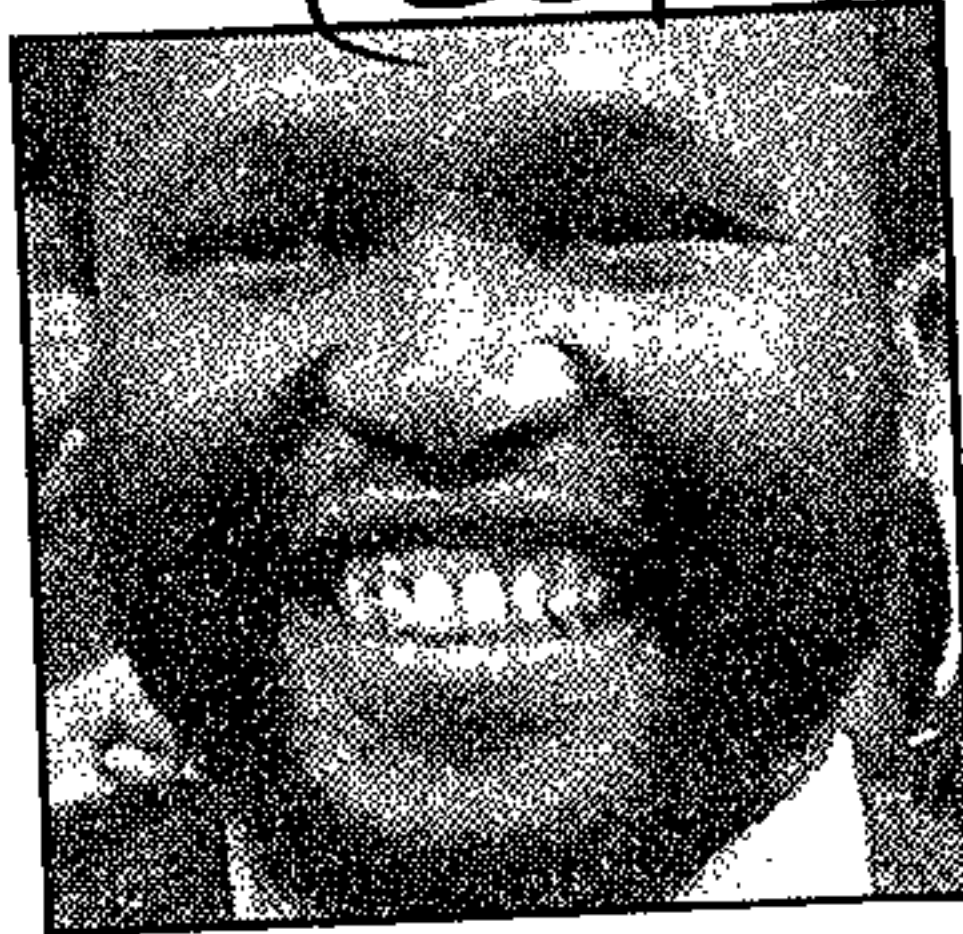
■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The country's first representative government will meet in Cape Town on May 6 to elect the new president.

The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) further agreed yesterday that the formal inauguration and swearing-in ceremony would take place on May 10 at the Union Buildings.

A national inauguration committee is to be established under the chairmanship of the chief justice.

The first meetings of the nine



Murphy Morobe ... appointed provisional secretary.

provincial legislatures are to take place on or before May 5.

The TEC also appointed provisional secretaries for the nine provincial legislatures yesterday. They will facilitate the first meetings of these legislatures.

They are Murphy Morobe (PWV), Zam Titus (Eastern Cape), B Shrosbee (Eastern Transvaal), B Shezi (KwaZulu/Natal), CB Nolte (Northern Cape), MM Tsebane (Northern Transvaal), A Pelsaer (North-West), GL Nordier (Free State), and D du Plessis (Western Cape).

Permanent provincial secretaries will be appointed by the legislatures.

Star 23/3/94
21,6-m can now vote

The Department of Home Affairs said in Pretoria yesterday that 21,6 million people now had the right to vote in next month's elections (304A)

It said that there had been a substantial increase in the number of identity documents sent to applicants this month.

The department said since last week, mobile units had been accepting

applications for ID documents on behalf of the IEC in Bophuthatswana.

People who applied for their IDs more than eight weeks ago and are not in possession of temporary voters' cards must collect their documents at the office where applications were made. — Pretoria Bureau.

(Report by N. Chandler, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

Star 28/3/94

Parties receive share of funds

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The major national political parties contesting next month's election — the NP, ANC, DP, PAC and the right-wing Freedom Front — have each received R1,2 million from the Independent Electoral Commission for their campaigns.

By yesterday, a total of nine parties had received payouts from the Electoral Fund to conduct their campaigns, among them the Minority Front, the Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights (Soccer), the Dikwankwetla Party and the Worker's List Party.

The rest of the parties contesting have been given until 4.30 pm on Friday to supply proper lists of signatures or a scientific opinion poll showing sufficient support.

Parties competing on a national basis must produce an opinion poll showing support of at least 2 percent to get the full R1,259 908 million grant — or 10 000 signatures to get half the grant (R600 000). The amount is reduced for parties competing on a regional



basis.

The Minority Front (competing nationally and in one province) and the Dikwankwetla Party (nationally and in two provinces) have received R48 458 each from the Electoral Fund.

The Soccer and Worker's List parties, both competing nationally and both submitting signatures, have each received R193 832.

An amount of R11 million, half of the R22 million available in the fund, will be distributed among participating parties before the election — and the balance afterwards. The Electoral Fund is made up of State funds and contributions.

An IEC spokesman said yesterday that full audits would be conducted after the election on the political parties' campaign expenditure records.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Right wing fights mixed councils

RIGHT-wing local authorities are united in their determination to resist mixed councils even though they are divided over whether to take part in the April elections. (304A)

CP MP and local government spokesman Pikkie Coetzee said yesterday right-wing councils would not take part in local negotiation forums on a 50/50 basis.

Even those who now agreed to take part in the elections would not join "ANC-controlled forums", he said.

Although right-wingers differed over the elections, they were united in their demand for a volkstaat.

It was unlikely that right-wing councils would subject themselves to an arrangement that removed control of towns from white ratepayers.

"It is not that we want control of the forums. But those towns were paid for and financed over the years by white ratepayers and we do not want to hand them over to anyone else," he said.

Coetzee said government and the ANC had not yet honoured an agreement to exclude CP-controlled towns

of grade nine or more from requirements to form local negotiating forums.

He said it was agreed last year, before the promulgation of the Local Government Transition Act, that towns with CP-controlled councils could maintain their status until local government elections took place later this year.

Affected towns included Krugersdorp and Vanderbijlpark.

The Act stipulated that all towns from grade nine up form local negotiating forums made up of equal numbers of civic and ANC representatives on one side and councillors on the other.

CP towns of grade eight or less could voluntarily be exempted.

The establishment of "burger-rade" to act as shadow councils would go ahead, he said.

Meanwhile, president of the right-wing Transvaal Municipal Association Prof Ben van der Berg said the organisation stood by its refusal to take part in local negotiating forums.

Report by G du Venage, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

SRC agrees

to let DP be

CAPE TOWN - The DP

Youth will set up another information table at the University of the Western Cape on Wednesday after the university's students' representative council agreed not to disrupt DP campaigning on campus.

At an electoral tribunal hearing in the Bellville Magistrate's Court yesterday, the DP Youth withdrew its application for an interdict against the SRC after the SRC undertook to comply with the provisions of the Electoral Act as well as the Electoral Code of Conduct and the university's own code of conduct.

However, DP Youth chairman Colin Douglas claimed DP Youth members were punched, kicked and spat on by UWC students as they left the court building. Charges of assault and contravening the Electoral Act would be laid, he said. - Sapa. (304A)

Report by E Kemp, Sapa, Nedbank House, Strand Street, Cape Town.

Business to draw up election code

ORGANISED business has formed a working committee to draw up a code of conduct for business during the elections.

Foundation for African Business and Consumer Services (Fabcos) public affairs manager Mike Ntlatleng said yesterday the committee, chaired by George Negota, had expressed its concerns about damage to property during the elections to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

"Our members, especially our taxi services, are worried and confused about what's expected of them during the election. They have been hijacked before and forced to take people to rallies."

Although the election should be seen as a necessary sacrifice by business, damage to property should be kept under control, he added.

Fabcos had sent policy guidelines to all members

except those in Natal, where the situation was still unclear.

Sacob and the Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut had also expressed concern. Sacob had drawn up a guideline on security in case there were disturbances during the election. The guideline warned of possible hijackings and advised members to take precautions like installing communication and monitoring systems.

The IEC has been meeting business, agricultural and labour bodies to discuss voter education and voting dates.

The IEC's mediation department said last night that it would intervene in unrest only if it happened during the election period. Fabcos had yet to decide whether its taxi operator members would work during the election.

JOHN DLUDLU

TEC report links Inkatha to hit squads

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — KwaZulu Police members, Inkatha Freedom Party office bearers and government officials within Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi's office were implicated in hit squad activities, says a Transitional Executive Council (TEC) task group report. **BIDay 22/3/94**

After receiving the report yesterday, the TEC mandated its management committee last night to "take whatever steps may be necessary" to ensure free and fair elections in Natal/KwaZulu. **(304A)**

The task group, investigating hit squad activity in Natal, recommended that the KwaZulu government's authority to run its own police force be revoked. **(304A)**

In its preliminary report to the TEC the group said hit squad activity in the province, particularly in the KwaZulu Police's area of jurisdiction, was "rife".

"Several hit squads" were operational and deaths caused by them represented a "significant proportion" of those killed in political violence in the region. Immediate steps were necessary "to curb this activity which has now reached crisis proportions".

The report said documents at Buthelezi's office should be examined, all relevant dockets in the hands of the KwaZulu Police should be handed over to an independent investigation team and a senior SAP detective and international observer should be placed at each KwaZulu Police station.

Investigations indicated the KwaZulu Police was implicated in hit squad activity in several areas throughout the North Coast, in the greater Durban area and in the Midlands, the report said.

The evidence and information in some cases suggested that "resources or directives" appear to emanate from certain officials in Ulundi, allegedly located at the IFP head office and at the Department of the Chief Minister. These resources alleg-

□ To Page 2

KwaZulu

BIDay 22/3/94 From Page 1

Gordhan also said a political decision had to be taken to stop senior members of the SAP from interfering in the duties of local SAP officials. An example was the weekend occupation of a KwaMashu stadium by "the Zulus", which prevented the ANC from holding a rally there. **(304A)**

He said local SAP members "secured" the stadium on Friday when they locked the gates and put up razor wire, only to be instructed later by a senior policeman to withdraw the security measure. **(304A)**

The full force of the TEC plan for KwaZulu was expected to be officially unveiled

only once the "political process" initiated by the IEC had been completed, Gordhan said. "A series of TEC initiated steps will, however, have to start as soon as possible," he said, referring to today's TEC meeting.

The TEC is due to release a report today on alleged hit squads in KwaZulu. The report is the result of an investigation by a TEC task group appointed in December.

Gordhan said he expected the report to "point fingers" at the KwaZulu government, which controls the KwaZulu Police.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● See Pages 6 and 14

NEWS Police generals criticise State President

FW slated over role in gun-running row

Sowetan 22/3/94

POLICE generals yesterday denounced President FW de Klerk's handling of accusations that senior officers had resorted to "dirty tricks" and gun-running to undermine South Africa's march to democracy.

In a rare if unprecedented public criticism of a state president by a senior policeman, Ministry of Law and Order spokesman Major-General Leon Mellett said the force had been demoralised to an "unbelievable extent".

"I'm convinced he's blundered," Mellett said, adding that he spoke on behalf "of the vast majority of police generals and almost the entire police force".

Mellett criticised the timing of the accusations with South Africans due to

vote on April 26 to 28.

"This was an unfortunate moment to go about and make a fanfare of this delicate issue," he said. "This comes only six weeks before the election. The Government will have to rely heavily on the police. Why do this now? Why name these people in public?"

Mr Justice Richard Goldstone, who is charged with investigating political violence, said last Friday he had evidence that Deputy Police Commissioner General Basie Smit was among those involved in supplying guns to the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Smit and other accused officers, including SAP Intelligence chief General Krappies Engelbrecht, were placed on compulsory leave.

The Generals Club, a grouping of serving and retired officers, issued a statement through police headquarters saying the accused officers had not been accorded their civil rights.

Black township warfare has claimed at least 15 000 lives in four years of apartheid reform. (304A)

De Klerk and his senior security men have long blamed the fighting solely on turf wars between supporters of Inkatha and Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

But the ANC for as long has accused a shadowy "third force" of pro-apartheid whites within the security apparatus of fomenting violence to divide blacks as South Africa heads for its first non-racial rule election.

AVF chief stops short of calling for ballot boycott

304A

ARG 22/3/94

Staff Reporter

THE Afrikaner Volksfront will not take part in the election — but will not conduct a witch-hunt against those who do — says AVF and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.

Dr Hartzenberg told about 600 supporters in Parow last night that he would rather die than sign away the freedom of his people.

But he stopped short of calling on his followers to boycott the election.

When he was specifically asked during question time whether Afrikaners should vote, he answered that the AVF would not "hunt down" those who did.

But, he said, the AVF refused to take part in an election just to give it credibility.

Afrikaners had always liked to draw their crosses in an election but there would be other elections after this one,

in which they would win their freedom.

To applause, he said: "We will not be the only nation not participating in the election — the king of the mighty Zulu nation said last week that they will also not take part and I take my hat off to that decision."

History had taught that a nation defeated while fighting always rose again.

Dr Hartzenberg urged Afrikaners to stop quarrelling among themselves and focus on the common goal — true freedom.

Referring to Constand Viljoen's decision to take part in the election, he asked the audience to forgive the general because "we all make mistakes some or other time".

The meeting adopted a motion asking Dr Hartzenberg to try to persuade General Viljoen to reconsider his decision.

(News by P Malan, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)



Picture: PIETER MALAN, The Argus.

NO WITCH-HUNT: Ferdi Hartzenberg tells Parow rightwingers there will be no witch-hunt against people who decide to vote.

Volkstaat election snag for FF

Star 22/8/94

■ BY JOHN SODERLUND

The fledgling Freedom Front's participation in the coming election may be in jeopardy if it feels it cannot effectively test support for its ideal of a volkstaat.

Defecting CP caucus member and Schweizer-Reneke MP Dr Pieter Mulder said yesterday the FF was continuing negotiations with the ANC and the Government regarding principle 34 of the Interim Constitution.

This made provision for the establishment of a 20-member volkstaat council by National As-

sembly members who wished to pursue this ideal.

The FF must get at least one person into Parliament to establish the volkstaat council, he said.

Mulder stressed last week that the Freedom Front would be treating the election as a plebiscite to test support for the volkstaat.

He said one of the issues under discussion with the ANC and the Government was the FF's request that votes be counted at each polling station to gauge support for a volkstaat in different areas.

The Independent Electoral Commission plans to have 1 091 counting stations for the 9 000 polling stations.

Mulder said the campaign would be fought on two legs.

"The main issue will be that of establishing a volkstaat," he said. "Not everybody can be in the volkstaat region and we cannot promise that to everybody. But we can offer them self-determination." (304A)

Mulder added that the FF would also campaign away from its traditional support base.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

9 parties receive campaign cash

IEC election fund begins to pay out

Star 22/3/94

■ STAFF REPORTER

Several organisations yesterday received the first of long-awaited payment to political parties from the State Electoral Fund of the Independent Electoral Commission.

Nine parties received payments of between R48 458 and R1 259 908 after submitting either an acceptable opinion poll indicating their support or a list of signatures from supporters.

The parties that received funds to conduct election campaigns are the NP, DP, ANC, PAC, the Freedom Front, Minority Front, Dik-

wankwetla and the Worker's List Party.

These parties all complied with Section 74 of the Electoral Act. (3044)

The parties that have not yet received any funds have been given until 4.30 pm on Friday to submit lists of signatures as required by the Electoral Act. If they supply adequate and proper lists, money from the Electoral Fund will be paid to them.

An amount of R11 million, half of the R22 million available in the fund, will be distributed among participating parties before the election and the balance afterwards.

(S Makgabutlane, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

FW axes

more cops

Sowetan 24/3/94

■ SHOWDOWN Row between State

President and general's hots up:

Eena and Sowetan Correspondent

EVEN MORE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE officers will be "withdrawn from service" without loss of privilege, State President FW de Klerk announced yesterday.

The action follows the release of Mr Justice Richard Goldstone's report alleging the involvement of top SAP generals in "third force" activities and the suspension of three generals last week.

Addressing a Press conference in Queens town, De Klerk said the names of the other officers would be released by last night. (25) (304A)

However, the new names had not yet been released at the time of going to the press.

Their withdrawal from service meant that they would no longer report to work or be active in the SAP, but they would receive full pay and no privileges would be lost.

De Klerk said if negotiations between Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel and two other generals implicated in the report, Lieutenant-General Basie

Smit and Lieutenant-General Johan le Roux, had not been concluded by this morning, their suspension would also be considered.

The showdown between De Klerk and the two generals yesterday appeared to be irreversibly headed to court in a challenge to the President's authority bordering on the mutinous.

Protecting his men

Following the President's mistake in assuming that he had the authority to place members of the SAP on compulsory leave, he has requested that his Police Commissioner, General Johan van der Merwe, who does have this authority, perform this function.

But so far Van der Merwe is effectively protecting his men. He has argued that he can only withdraw the generals from service in consultation with them.

In a statement on Tuesday night, the President said: "Depending on the outcome of this procedure (General van der Merwe's consultation with his staff), the Minister of Law and Order might have to consider the possibility of suspending the officers concerned."

IFP boycott to aid Front, survey finds

JOHANNESBURG. — Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen could be elected to the cabinet of national unity by Inkatha Freedom Party followers determined to vote, a national survey by the Institute for Multiparty Democracy indicates. (3047)

Explaining the findings yesterday, political analyst Lawrence Schlemmer said the Freedom Front was more likely to benefit from the IFP boycotting the election than the National Party.

The February survey was released in Johannesburg. ARC 24/3/94

Twenty percent of IFP supporters were likely to vote for the Freedom Front compared with 10,5 percent expected to back the NP, the survey found. The African National Congress and Democratic Party could each expect about six percent.

But overall the ANC was still far ahead with support of 60 to 72 per cent.

The NP could expect between 18 and 24 percent, the Democratic Party two to four percent, the Pan-Africanist Congress one to three percent and other parties one to two percent. — Sapa.

(News by D Isaacson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Complaints of violations flood in

IEC beginning to crack the whip

Star 24/3/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

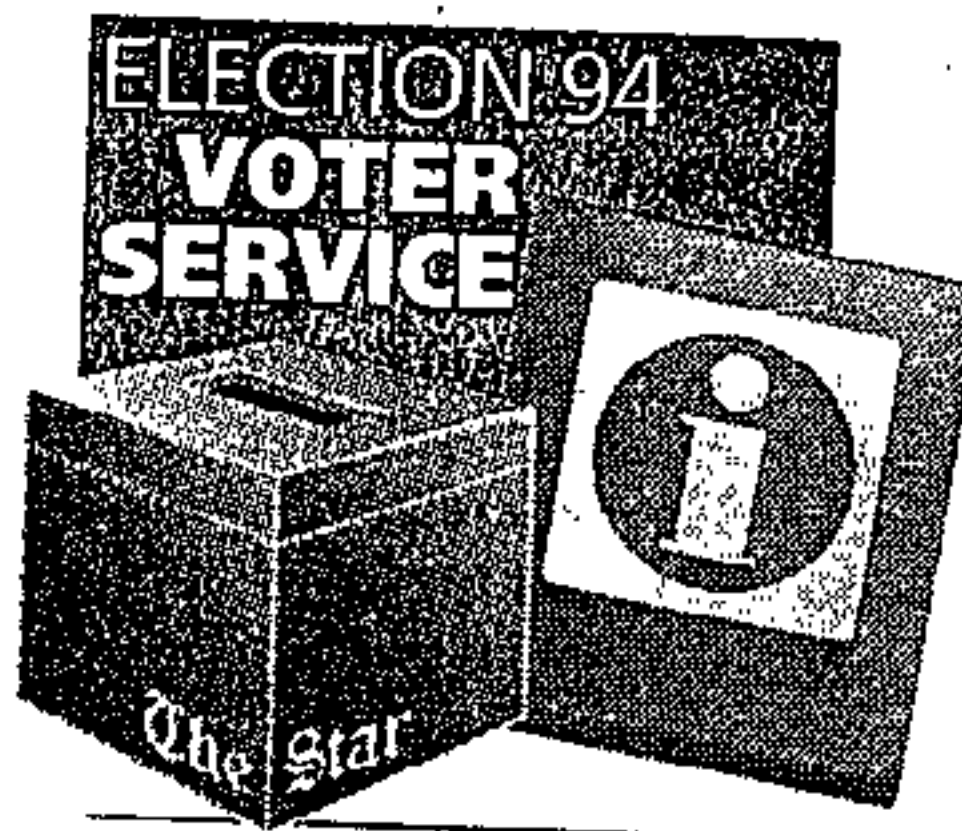
The body charged with the onerous responsibility of overseeing South Africa's first all-inclusive election, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), has received no fewer than 382 complaints relating to a violation of the Electoral Code of Conduct since February 7, alone — and complaints keep piling up.

To date, the IEC has not yet taken any firm action against offenders or their parties, but it has now begun to crack the whip.

By its own admission, Electoral Code of Conduct violations are "increasing every week", and up to 45 complaints were received in the period between March 7 and March 18.

Today, The Star tells you just what powers the IEC has and what punitive measures it can take against those guilty of contraventions of the code.

In terms of the Electoral Act agreed upon in multiparty talks last year and amended a month ago, offences are clearly spelt out, and cover all actions — whether by individuals or



political parties — which can possibly jeopardise a free and fair election. (304A)

This includes "preventing the conduct of any political meeting, march, demonstration or other event of a political nature, or (preventing) any other person from attending or participating therein". Offences falling in this category have formed the bulk of complaints received by the IEC.

People found guilty of the above offences are liable to a fine ranging from R20 000 to R100 000, or a prison sentence not longer than a year, to up to five years or both.

The code is binding on all registered parties and their members and supporters, and the following actions can be

taken against offending parties, depending on the severity of their offences:

■ They may be formally warned, with or without some other penalty or sanction.

■ A fine not exceeding R100 000 may be imposed.

■ They may forfeit the whole or a portion of their deposit for the election.

■ They may have their rights to use media time for electoral purposes — including free party-political broadcasts on public radio and television — suspended, either temporarily or permanently.

■ Their rights to hold certain functions may be curtailed.

■ They may be denied State funding for the election.

■ Offending candidates' names may be disqualified from standing for the election.

■ A party's registration for the election may be suspended, and that party's right to contest any other election may be forfeited if "such party is found guilty of gross and systematic infringement of the code".

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

► Building Rome in a day — or bust — Page 21

Government to act against right-wing radio stations

THE postmaster-general is to take action against two illegal right-wing radio stations operating from the Free State, Radio Koppies and Radio Vryheid.

Postmaster-General Ters Oosthuizen confirmed yesterday that the first steps against the stations had already been taken, but declined to divulge details.

Oosthuizen said his department needed evidence

LOYD COUTTS

before it could act. Radio Vryheid began broadcasting on Saturday, and it is understood the TEC has been requested by the Independent Media Commission to investigate Radio Koppies, which has been broadcasting for a few weeks.

Oosthuizen said his department's action would be carried out in a civilised manner to avoid violence.

While recent court actions against Radio Pretoria had taken time, "we managed to get them back in line", he said.

The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) will assume general control of broadcasting matters, but while the authority's members have been named, the IBA Act has not yet been promulgated.

Until the Act is passed, the Home Affairs Department remains responsible for issuing broadcasting licences, and the Postmaster-General for ending illegal transmissions.

Report by L. Coates, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Political comment in this issue by J. Jones; newswires by D. Armour; headlines and sub-editing by C. Richard-Cambridge; all of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.



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All prisoners may vote, TEC decides

PRETORIA — All prisoners would be allowed to vote in the elections, the Transitional Executive Council decided yesterday.

Sapa reports the decision was taken in the light of widespread prisoner dissatisfaction with not being allowed to vote, and riots at prisons countrywide.

A joint TEC, Independent Electoral Commission and government team was established to finalise the details.

The TEC decision reversed a decision last week not to allow prisoners who were jailed without the option of a fine to vote.

The TEC resolution was possible because the DP reversed its opposition on practical grounds. Government representative Roelf Meyer and Ciskei's Mickey Webb reserved their positions, but did not oppose the resolution.

WILSON ZWANE reports the ANC had supported the call for all prisoners to be allowed to vote next month, but said their participation in future elections could be reviewed "once a fully democratic society" had been established.

The ANC called for an independent commission of inquiry into the 23 deaths in prisons in the past week, saying it believed that the brutality displayed by prison officials "significantly contributed to the deaths and injury to prisoners in the past few days".

The SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights called yesterday for a multi-

party probe into all deaths and human rights abuses in prisons.

It said that such an inquiry would help reform prisons which had been turned into "volksstaats" by their predominantly white and right-wing officials.

Prisoners' organisation spokesman Golden Mles-Bhundu said his organisation, which last week called on prisoners to demonstrate against limits on their voting rights, was not responsible for deaths and violence in prisons.

Mles-Bhundu said prisoners who had committed acts of violence had been goaded into them by prison officials.

He said his organisation had called for "peaceful mass action". But any form of protest by prisoners was met with "brutal" force by prison warders.

He said a multiparty commission of inquiry should be established to look into all deaths and abuses of human rights in prisons. He also called on the TEC to intervene immediately and place the Correctional Services Department under close scrutiny.

Mles-Bhundu also alleged that the 21 prisoners who died at Queenstown Prison on Monday had died from inhaling teargas and not smoke.

Correctional Services spokesman Col Barry Eksteen rejected this allegation.

However, all "allegations, facts and circumstances surrounding this tragedy will form part of a judicial inquiry", he said.

Report by W. Zwane, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Thousands flock to see FW

Sowetan 23/3/94

THOUSANDS of people from the so-called "coloured" northern areas of Port Elizabeth flocked to venues where State President FW de Klerk was speaking yesterday.

Banners were spread across streets and people holding placards welcomed the President to the northern areas, one of many venues the State President visited on his Eastern Cape election road show.

A crowd of about 5 000 welcomed him at Chatty Community Hall and approximately 3 000 waited for him at the Gelvandale Hall. At each venue security officials struggled to control the mas-

sive crowds trying to see and touch De Klerk. (3044A)

At both meetings, De Klerk said the apartheid policies that had brought pain to thousands of people had been buried by the National Party.

In place of the old policies he promised more jobs, better housing, education and health services in a new South Africa.

Affirmative action

De Klerk accused African National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela of speaking like an "old Nationalist" in his speech to the coloured community in

Cape Town recently, where he (Mandela) promised that the ANC would in the future start an affirmative action programme for the coloureds.

He also said the ANC were "experts at breaking" things.

"They have a sorry history of breaking up the lives of millions of students by breaking up the education system."

Labour leader the Reverend Allan Hendrickse was also criticised by De Klerk. He said Hendrickse "thought he could play with the ANC" but now the LP had been "swallowed up", while his son (Peter Hendrickse) "sat on Mandela's lap". — *Ecna*.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY *Sympathetic to the demands of the liberation movements*

(3044A)

DP has not changed any of its old spots

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party is sympathetic to demands made by liberation movements for greater access to land as the pattern of South African history has resulted in its distorted distribution — and this has to be corrected.

But it is fundamentally unjust to rob people of land they had legitimately bought and looked after well, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer says.

Land which has been taken away from black people through the Land Acts and apartheid legislation should be given back if it is still in State hands. But where land has been shared by individuals and sold over and over again, other forms of compensation should be explored.

Great sentimentality

This could be done by providing alternative land or cash payments. Robbing whites because some had robbed blacks was not a feasible policy.

There was a great deal of sentimentality and emotionalism attached to the land issue, although the agricultural sector's contribution to the gross domestic product was considerably less than the manufacturing, mining and service sectors. De Beer said in an interview.

policies, not power and personalities.

LEOPARD CRAWL *Principles and*

Land...taken away from black people through the Land Acts and apartheid legislation should be given back if it is still in State hands. But where land has been shared by individuals and sold over and over again, other forms of compensation should be explored

viding labour intensive employment in such areas as the provision of housing.

Uhuru election

Asked why the DP, if it believed it had a saleable policy to both black and white, was not winning a substantial number of black votes, De Beer said the April election was an uhuru election "and therefore it's inevitable the liberation movements will do well".

However, if they failed to produce the goods before the next election in 1999, there would be an awareness that free-market economies outperform State-run economies and liberal democratic views will come into their own.

The DP had already begun to feel a surge in support from a very low base in the polls. This was because it lacked staffing and finances and the party had decided to begin its campaign only in the new year.

Rich party

While it had been accused of being a rich party, the DP had never been a wash with funds. This perception had arisen because the DP had tended to represent



Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer

DP leader Zach sticks to his guns

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party leader Zacharias (Zach) Johannes de Beer (66) has led the

the PFP in 1988 he resigned several directorships of companies. He had variously served as chairman of LTA, Southern Life Association and Anglo American Properties. He was also a

be looked at closely. The government of national unity should consider subsidising black people to acquire land. Land was property and it should be paid for on a "willing buyer, willing seller" basis.

There were plenty of white commercial farmers who would love to sell off their land, emphasised De Beer. However, he was not sure what demand there was among blacks to go into commercial farming which was capital intensive and risky.

Property ownership

The DP believed that property ownership was the basis of a prosperous state. But there were dangers in encouraging the concept of a small-holding which can provide the needs of a family as the Pan Africanist Congress was doing. Subsistence farming was problematic because of drought and poor soil quality.

In most areas of the country pastoral farming was more productive than crop growing and it required large tracts of

with homes and jobs.

Housing subsidies

Schemes such as that negotiated by the National Economic Forum providing housing subsidies to lower income groups were pointers to a successful formula. Homes should be owned rather than rented.

While redistribution of wealth was understandably a demand which would be made on the new government after April, nationalisation was not the route to follow to create jobs.

Greater ownership by workers in the mining industry, for instance, was necessary. Already through company pension schemes workers were gaining a greater stake. Industry was better served if ownership was in the hands of the people directly rather than in that of the politicians.

The economy should be freed of red tape to allow individuals to use their talents to bolster the economy. The State, however, must play a role in pro-

sense that the better educated, better-heeled whites had voted for the party as they were not threatened by competition. "Indigent people are less likely to want it," he said.

With the growth of the black middle class the DP would come into its own. It was neither the party of apartheid or, like the ANC, in bed with the communists, said De Beer.

The NP was engaging in reward politics and that was why they had achieved some success in wooing black support. When it was out of power, however, it would not be able to exchange privilege for votes. It was also appealing to "authoritarian" elements, such as the widoeke (war lords) who sensed "an imminent loss of their mafia-style domination over chunks of the population".

The DP had always defended human rights and the free market and it had not changed its spots. "We're a party of principles and policy, not of power and personalities," he said.

(D Pressly, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)

troika leadership of himself, former SA Ambassador Denis Worrall and former National Party MP Wynand Malan disintegrated.

He was born in Cape Town and educated at Diocesan College (Bishops) in Rondebosch. He read for an MB ChB at the University of Cape Town and graduated in 1951.

After six years as a general practitioner, he joined PN Barrett Advertising as a director. After five years he joined Anglo American Corporation, rising to head of Anglo American Corporation Central Africa Limited, Zambia, in 1972. In 1974 he was appointed an Anglo director.

He was elected MP for Maitland under the United Party in 1953 but lost the seat under the Progressive Party's banner in 1961.

He returned to Parliament as MP for Parktown in 1977 but left politics in 1981 to devote himself to his duties as Anglo director.

When he assumed the leadership of

gle Insurance and the Urban Foundation.

De Beer re-entered politics after a break of seven years in 1988 when the Progressive Federal Party suffered an ignominious setback — losing 10 parliamentary seats — in the 1987 general election.

Taking over the leadership mantle from Mr Colin Eglin, now co-chairman of the Transitional Executive Council, De Beer went on to merge the PFP with Malan's National Democratic Movement and Worrall's Independent Party.

The three-man leadership, while it was effective in the election campaign, led to caucus problems in Parliament leading to the party opting for a single leadership under De Beer who was DP parliamentary leader and senior troika partner.

De Beer has stuck to his guns and carried the party through thick and thin — overcoming several challenges to his leadership.

Consistent liberal voice DP trademark

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE DEMOCRATIC Party trades on its position as the only liberal voice which has remained consistent since the formation of the Progressive Party, its predecessor, in 1959.

The PP was born out of dissatisfaction by a group of United Party MPs who felt the UP had failed to make a concerted stand against human rights abuses by the ruling National Party.

All PP candidates, however, lost their seats in the 1961 election — except Mrs Helen Suzman, Houghton MP, who fought the anti-apartheid struggle in parliament alone for 13 years.

The PP stood for a common voters' roll, federalism, a bill of rights and free market economics — policies not dissimilar to those of the present-day DP. In 1974 the first big breakthrough

came with the election of six more Prog MPs — from Johannesburg and Cape Town.

By the 1977 election the once powerful United Party had collapsed and further groups of UP MPs had moved over to the Progs — to form the Progressive Federal Party, which became the official opposition.

PFP leader Colin Eglin lost the leadership to Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert in 1979 who took the party into the 1981 election.

Slabbert, however, left parliamentary politics in 1986, citing failure to force changes from within the system against the NP's increasingly sophisticated separate development policies.

The 1987 election under Eglin's leadership saw the PFP lose 10 seats. Dr Zach de Beer was brought in as leader and the PFP later merged with Dr Denis Worrall's Independent Party and Mr

Wynand Malan's National Democratic Movement.

After a successful 1989 campaign the new DP won 36 seats in parliament.

Its party's 1994 manifesto outlines the following policies:

Economic Solutions

- The State must strictly control its expenditure and live within its means. Government expenditure must not increase as a percentage of the GDP and budget deficits must move down to 3 percent;
- Lower taxes better spent. The system of taxation must be streamlined;
- Key State assets must be privatised to raise revenue, promote efficiency and roll back the budget deficit;
- Waste and corruption must be eliminated by establishing an open Government free from patronage;
- The financial rand and exchange

controls must be phased out;

- Massive labour-intensive housing and development programmes in partnership with private sector;
- Private sector developmental potential must be unlocked;
- Export processing zones must be established;
- Compulsory State-administered pension and medical schemes for those who do not contribute to their own.

The final constitution

- The DP will ensure it is based on the protection of basic rights in a Bill of Rights; that judges are free from pressure by any political organisation;
- Property rights, Press freedom and women's rights will also be protected;

Peace and stability

- The DP will implement a tough law and order campaign which puts crimi-

nals in jail.

- Politically motivated amnesties will be opposed;
- Guerilla armies should be incorporated into a larger community-based police force;

National priorities

- Support schemes to provide food relief for children, the aged and pregnant women.
- Primary health facilities will be developed and clean drinking water provided.
- Free and compulsory education for 10 years.
- The country needs 350 000 housing units per year. The State had a role in providing homes.
- Jobs will be created through individual initiative and by the State playing its role in creating the right environment for economic growth.

24/3/94 2047

Hopes of an election fade

Sowetan 25/3/94

URGENT MEETING Natal IEC meets

after the Buthelezi-Kriegler encounter:

Sowetan Correspondent

HOPES of an election in KwaZulu have waned following Wednesday's meeting between Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly. (3044) (S)

The IEC in Natal went into an urgent meeting yesterday morning and sources said the Buthelezi-Kriegler meeting had "just not come close enough to addressing the situation in KwaZulu".

IEC sources added that their doubts remained despite an announcement by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi that government buildings could be used as voting stations.

In another move aimed at drawing Buthelezi into the electoral process, former US Secretary of State Dr Henry Kissinger and former British Secretary of State Lord Carrington have agreed to mediate in the constitutional dispute between the ANC and IFP if all three main parties in SA agreed to mediation and if the terms of reference gave some promise of success.

IEC hopes, however, have dimmed following the hostile reception accorded to its chairman, Justice Kriegler, at Ulundi on Wednesday.

The judge was repeatedly jeered in the KLA when he appealed for co-operation to make a free and fair election possible.

The ANC, meanwhile has urged a TEC-Government takeover of the administration of the KwaZulu government to ensure free political activity in the province on the eve of ANC mass action plans to show support for the election.

Cutting off of funds

ANC candidate premier for Natal, Mr Jacob Zuma, and ANC Southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe, said although the ANC did not want to prescribe to the TEC, actions which could be taken against KwaZulu included the cutting off of funds to Buthelezi's administration.

The two leaders confirmed they would lead a protest march to CR Swart police station in Durban today to demand the creation of a climate of free political activity in KwaZulu-Natal.

(V Angamuthu, 18 Osborne Street, Durban.)

ANC pamphlet blitz presses Kriel to quit

Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress has distributed 10 000 pamphlets in Cape Town calling on Minister Law and Order Mr Hérnus Kriel to resign. **CT 25/3/94**

The pamphlet blitz is in response to the interim Goldstone report on alleged police involvement in a "third force".

"Cape Town is already

the crime capital of the world and the minister has done nothing to reduce (the crime rate)," Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, the ANC's Western Cape publicity chief, said yesterday. **(304A)**

"Now we have the Goldstone report.

"There is no way we can allow someone like (Mr Kriel) to become prime minister of the Western Cape."

'DP should cease racist rhetoric' (304A)

CT 25/3/74
CALEDON. The Democratic Party's Western Cape leader, Mr Hennie Bester, should clean up his own backyard and stop anti-black rhetoric within his own party, ANC MP Mr Jan van Eck said here last night.

The growth of racism in the Western Cape threatened the electoral process, he said. It also posed a threat to the long-term prospects of peace in the region.

While "swart gevaar" tactics could be expected from "the so-called new NP", it was disappointing to see the DP whipping up anti-black sentiments in a desperate attempt to woo scared coloured voters, he said. — Political Staff

TRYING to find logic amid the air of acrimony in the Cape Flats coloured townships is a task best left to the extremely patient. Nothing there makes much sense during this election period. Which is perhaps why the African National Congress' appeal to the logic of the voters will not rescue it from almost certain defeat at the hands of the National Party on April 27.

While the ANC is fighting its election campaign on issues, with carefully devised policies and persuasive arguments, the Nats are using the much more effective weapon of rumour, fear and mass hysteria.

For a large portion of the working-class population of the Cape Flats, this election is not about jobs, peace and freedom, as the ANC would have it. It is about whether the "kaffirs" should be allowed to rule, in which case coloured people will supposedly lose their jobs, their houses and — God forbid — the blacks may even want to marry their daughters.

This is territory where the word "kaffir" is bandied about more liberally than in ultra-conservative Ventersdorp. Numerous stories abound about how "they" will storm across the railway line from Gugulethu, Crossroads and Nyanga immediately after the elections to take coloured homes. And everyone swears their uncle or brother overheard "them" making these plans at their workplaces.

"Julie gaan shit daai dag (You're going to shit that day)," a not-too-sober Manenberg resident warned me on Sunday. Just in case I was also eyeing his house.

When Nelson Mandela joined other ANC heavyweights such as Trevor Manuel and Jay Naidoo in a blitz of Western Cape townships last weekend, he tried to send a message of reason and to calm the hysteria that is reaching a crescendo in the coloured townships. Your houses will not be taken away, he told them; instead a million more will be built. Affirmative action does not mean coloured jobs will go to blacks; more

In the coloured Cape Flats, Mandela's just a 'kaffir'

WM 25-30/3/94

(30/4)

In the coloured townships of the Cape Flats, FW de Klerk is definitely the main man and the idea that 'kaffirs' may rule the country is the cause of much hysteria. **Mondli waka Makhanya** finds out why



Ons stem ... Police struggle to hold back NP supporters carrying Nat election posters during Nelson Mandela's visit to Manenberg last weekend

PHOTOGRAPH: NIC BOUTHMA

than two million jobs will be created and affirmative action will advance coloureds, blacks and Indians.

This appeal to reason went down well with the already converted who had come to hear Mandela speak. But for the rowdy, drunken crowds of NP supporters, the ANC president may as well have been speaking to the mountains.

The NP supporters, who dogged

Mandela wherever he went, were not going to buy any assurances from this "gangster who should be grateful to De Klerk for releasing him". In Grassy Park they chanted "coloured stranger!" and in Manenberg they brought him a plate of dog food.

The Nats have taken the lead in the area simply by using bush telegraph. Word has spread that die kaffirs gaan Julie huise wegwat (the kaffirs are going to take your house away) — and rumour and fact have become inseparable.

"You see," one Manenberg resident told me, "if we let Mandela get power in the Cape, that will be the end of the coloured nation." To which his friend added emphatically: "Julie kaffirs moet terug Transkei toe gaan. Die is nie Julie land nie. (You kaffirs must go back to Transkei.

This is not your land!)"

Another resident said she would never vote for Mandela because the next thing the blacks would want to marry her daughters. She would never allow that to happen because "Julie mense het te groot dingies (you people have things that are too big)". This question of size, she further volunteered, was the reason she would not sleep with me.

ANC branches in the coloured townships have been hard at work distributing copies of a Mariké de Klerk newspaper interview in which she called coloureds "non-people" and "fifovers", but this has been to no avail. Most residents refuse to make the connection between Mariké and FW de Klerk.

Annetta, a resident who said she was forcibly removed from District Six by the boere, admitted dislike for Hendrik Verwoerd and BJ Vorster because "they were terrible men", but said De Klerk is the man who can be trusted to protect the coloureds from the blacks.

"You see," she explained, saliva spraying through a gap between her front teeth, "we cannot vote for the blacks. Blacks cannot rule. Look what happened in Bophuthatswana. And you can't trust the coloureds either. *hulle is almal skelmis* (they are all rascals)."

Even the Democratic Party, which is selling itself to coloureds as the white alternative to the Nats, seems incapable of displacing De Klerk's mythical status here. "The DP have been coming and asking us to vote for them. But most people don't even know what DP is. I don't like them because they are too rich."

Which is why Annetta's vote is going to De Klerk: "You can trust a boer. If a boer promises you something, he will give it to you. So I trust that man."

When De Klerk tours the Cape Flats in the next few weeks, he is likely to get a much better reception than Mandela did from the coloureds. And he need not promise them houses or jobs, just protection from the people across the tracks.

One in four voters could fight results

By T. Cohen 24/3/94

NEARLY one in four voters could respond with "militant action" if their party gets fewer votes than expected in the elections, according to the results of an opinion poll released yesterday.

The Markdata and Human Sciences Research Council poll found that 42% of respondents would accept the outcome of the elections even if their parties got fewer votes than expected.

About 6% said they would mount peaceful protests, and 23% said they would respond with "militant action" (304A).

The organisers of the poll, which was conducted in February, said the responses should not be taken as a prediction of what might happen, as they reflected sentiments rather than strategies.

"Nevertheless, the results are disquieting. Only three parties have majorities of supporters who would accept a disappointing outcome," said one.

At least one third of supporters of the ANC, the right wing and some small parties said their feelings would be militant.

The poll also attempted to measure constraints on freedom of choice. It showed that the Eastern Cape, Natal and the Northern Transvaal were particular problem areas. Seven percent of whites said they would be pressed into voting for a party they did not support.

Asked whether groups controlling an area would make sure people voted a particular way, 26% of respondents in the Eastern Cape agreed, along with roughly the same number in Natal and the northern Transvaal.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

New survey finds 72% will vote for ANC

B1 Day 24/3/94
TIM COHEN

THE ANC will win 72% of votes in the elections, the NP 19% and the Freedom Front 5%, a survey by the Human Sciences Research Council and Markdata has found.

Poll leaders Lawrence Schlemmer and R'W Johnson stressed the "highly tentative" nature of the estimates, which factor in the survey results, likely numbers of valid identity documents, the percentage of the population likely to vote and distribution of support for the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is not standing. The pollsters calculated that Inkatha's 3% support would be distributed largely to the Freedom Front (1,4%) and the NP (0,7%), while the ANC and DP would both get 0,4%.

The estimates confirmed the pattern of previous surveys that the ANC had the potential to achieve a clear two-thirds majority, allowing it to write the new constitution without consulting other parties.

The NP would have no competition for second place but could end up a long way behind the ANC, the report said. The Freedom Front could be the only other party with sufficient support to claim a place in the new Cabinet. (304A)

However, without filtering of the results, the survey showed a statistically insignificant drop in support for the ANC from 70,3% to 69,4% from the previous survey in October/November and an increase in NP support from 15,5% to 16,9%.

If allowance for non-quantifiable distortions was included, the safest expression of the probable outcome of the elections would show a range of ANC support between 60% and 75%. The range of support for the other parties would be between 18% and 24% for the NP, 4%-9% for the Freedom Front, 2%-4% for the DP, 1%-3% for the PAC and 1%-2% for the rest.

The HSRC and Markdata are scheduled to release results of regional polls soon and the pollsters said these would make dramatic reading, including a rise in support for the NP in the Western Cape, giving the party a good chance of winning the region, and a doubling of support in the same region for the PAC.

☐ To Page 2

Survey

B1 Day 24/3/94

☐ From Page 1

Less than two-thirds of the population said they would definitely vote, with a surprisingly large number of right-wing party supporters indicating a willingness to vote. About 74% of CP respondents, 52% of Volksfront members and 63% of AWB supporters said they would definitely vote.

The report noted a stark contrast in mood between the races, with 70% of blacks saying they were "excited or hap-

py" about the election, and between 20% and 37% of other races agreeing.

Sapa reports that the report found that 25% of blacks believed there would be no free choice, and the same percentage might alter their votes because of constraints or perceived constraints. (304A)

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● See Page 6

Prisoners demand to vote at home

BISHO — Long-term prisoners at Ciskei's Middledrift Prison went on the rampage yesterday, insisting they be allowed to vote at home, not in jail.

Sapa reports a Middledrift officer said prisoners grabbed a master key and opened all cells in the jail. Prisoners gathered in a courtyard and set their cells alight.

"They know they are going to vote, but they are still burning and breaking. They say there is no voting ballot behind bars. They want to vote at home," the officer said, adding that prison staff were trying to negotiate with the inmates.

Warders expressed fears that similar uprisings had occurred in Mdantsane, but this could not be confirmed.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports from Pretoria that the situation in other prisons was still tense yesterday with inmates continuing their hunger and work strikes despite the TEC's announcement on Tuesday that all prisoners could vote on April 26.

At least 23 prisoners were killed when violence erupted in cells following a call by the SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights for prisoners to begin protest action to demand the vote in the elections.

The organisation yesterday called for an end to protests.

However, it would present further demands to the authorities to ensure that "brutality by warders" was ended and prison conditions improved.

Organisation spokesman Golden Miles Bhudu said one of the demands was the immediate establishment of a national prisoners' welfare and release forum aimed at preparing and reintegrating inmates into society.

"We are envisaging that the future government builds halfway houses near the 210 prisons around the country," he said, adding that most prisoners were released without jobs or accommodation and that halfway houses would help them back into society.

He also called for a multiparty commission of inquiry into the deaths arising from the recent protest — including the incident in which 21 prisoners were burnt to death at the Queenstown Prison after setting fire to their cell.

"We are deeply saddened that it has taken such tragic loss of life and brutality in the prisons to achieve voting rights," Bhudu said.

Meanwhile, the CP has strongly condemned the recent violence in prisons as well as the TEC's decision to give all prisoners the right to vote.

Report by S MacLennan, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb; and S Bothma, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pretoria.

FW warns of more police suspensions

THE crisis in relations between the police and government has deepened with President FW de Klerk saying that more policemen implicated by the Goldstone commission in gun running will be suspended.

The original group of 10 policemen suspended last Friday did not include two of the three police generals implicated in the report. De Klerk had said that they would be put on compulsory paid leave.

Since then, Police Commissioner Johan van der Merwe has apparently backed the generals instead of complying with De Klerk's instruction, saying he is obliged to

provide the three men with hearings.

Van der Merwe asked colleagues for their formal response to the situation. He is to inform De Klerk of their replies today. His response has enraged the President's office, with senior officials describing his actions as tantamount to challenging De Klerk's authority.

Sapa reports that De Klerk said the 10 people named in the report were withdrawn from service yesterday. They would not lose any of their privileges or leave

rights but would be "inactive". They included counter-intelligence chief Maj-Gen "Krappies" Engelbrecht. (304A)

Generals Basie Smit and Johan le Roux have sought legal advice since being implicated by the commission. There have been negotiations on their withdrawal from service. A decision is expected today. (251)

De Klerk said that if negotiations did not lead to the generals' withdrawal after laid-down procedures, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel would suspend them.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and J Saunders, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

TIM COHEN

NP 'has right to campaign' in Transkei

CAPE TOWN — The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) told the Transkei government yesterday that all parties, including the NP, had every right to campaign in the homeland.

IEC mediators met a Transkei government delegation yesterday about an NP complaint that it had not been allowed to establish an office in Transkei.

Transkei's government, whose leader, Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, is a prominent ANC national assembly candidate, has told the NP that it cannot open an office because its safety cannot be guaranteed.

"During the meeting it was established that any refusal of registration of political parties in Transkei is invalid," the

Political Staff

IEC said.

B/Dog
The Transkei government representatives undertook to co-operate and the matter would now be discussed with other parties. *24.3.94*

Sapa reports the IEC said yesterday the Western Cape Agricultural Union had agreed to the principle of political parties having access to farms for electioneering. The commission met the union on Tuesday and it was agreed farmers be given five days' written notice of a visit by politicians. *(103) 304A*

Report by B Strack, TML, 122 St George's St, Cape Town; and P Bulger, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

THIS WEEK'S SESSION OF the Transitional Executive Council in Pretoria was one of the busiest to date with important decisions taken just 33 days

before the election.

As predicted, the TEC had to tackle developments of the past few days, including the fall from grace of the second homeland ruler in less than two weeks.

● The Ciskei civil turmoil topped the agenda. The TEC decided to appoint two administrators for the territory when Brigadier Oupa Gqozo "voluntarily" stepped down as leader.

Events in the area came to a head this week when police embarked on a pay strike and the civil servants expressed dissatisfaction over pension fund payouts.

TEC management committee members joined by a two-person task force

TEC's thorny task

Sowetan 24/3/94
BUSY SESSION Watchdogs

on the civil service and a Department of Foreign Affairs representative visited Ciskei yesterday to assess the situation.

The TEC felt it might be necessary to deploy the South African Defence Force there but that the Internal Stability Unit be withdrawn.

● Another thorny issue was KwaZulu-Natal — its persistent anti-election stance and a report the TEC received from its task group on alleged hit squad activity in the province.

The TEC decided to approach the United Nations to submit names to constitute the international component of experts to complement a local team

tackle crucial problems in the fast lane:

which would investigate allegations.

Regarding the lack of free political activity and escalating violence in KwaZulu-Natal, the TEC called on the KwaZulu government and Natal Provincial Administration to co-operate with the Independent Electoral Commission in putting into place structures for elections in the region. This means the authorities should make available

buildings and facilities, including schools and police stations, under their control, for election purposes.

The TEC noted that the lack of political activity in the region had seen a sharp increase in violence and tension and widespread intimidation. Meanwhile, IEC deputy chairman Mr Dikgang Moseneke led a delegation which met Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

and King Goodwill Zwelithini regarding free political activity pending international mediation demanded by the national mediation Freedom Party.

● The TEC also agreed that all prisoners should be given the right to vote. This followed the countrywide prisoners' strike during which 23 inmates died.

However, the National Party-South African Government reserved their position on the prisoners' right to vote, but agreed to the appointment of a three-member committee from the TEC, IEC and Government to urgently investigate the implementation of the decision.

The prisoners' question was dealt with against the background of the strike involving 3 000 inmates and which was spearheaded by the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights. (T. Moitefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

THE FREEDOM FRONT *Viljoen driven by good intentions* • *Struggle for a homeland*

Sweeten 25/3/94

Naïve political novice

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

GENERAL Constand Laubscher Viljoen was born in Standerton in 1933 and grew up there on a farm owned by poor parents.

He matriculated at Standerton High in 1951 and joined the SADF on a voluntary basis for one year before enrolling at the University of Pretoria to study military science.

He graduated in 1955, joined the SADF as a member of the permanent force and became an artillery officer and later a paratrooper.

He rose through the ranks and became a lieutenant-general in 1976 when he was made chief of the army. Four years later he became a full general and head of the SADF.

He retired in 1985 and went back to his farm in Standerton where he continued with what he calls his favourite pastime — farming.

His involvement with the farming

community in the area led to his entry into politics last year when the Afrikaner Volksfront was formed to protect the interests of the Afrikaner in the ongoing negotiations. Viljoen confesses to being a novice in politics, admitting that he is sometimes "naïve" and tends to be a "stupid politician" driven by good intentions.

Political arena

His entry into the political arena at the side of more radical rightwing elements has drawn him into controversies, such as his march on the World Trade Centre last year which was hijacked by the AWB and turned into an assault on the negotiating forum.

He recently moved out of the AVF and formed the Freedom Front with fellow generals and CP members of parliament, a move that has split the far right further.

Viljoen holds no brief for the AWB, which he blames for the Bophuthatswana debacle in which he had been asked for help by Chief Lucas Mangope,

then ruling the bantustan.

He believes in the idea of an Afrikaner *volksstaat*, which is an area, he says, in which the majority of Afrikaners who support such a concept reside.

His idea of an Afrikaner is any Afrikaans-speaking person whose ancestors moved out of the Cape to escape oppression by the English and in search of freedom.

He believes that the *volksstaat* should come about by negotiation and constitutional means, a position not shared by other ultra-rightwingers such as the AWB and the CP.

It was this difference in approach, and not in the demand for a *volksstaat* itself, he says, that led to the parting of ways last week.

As a result the Freedom Front was formed, with Viljoen as its leader.

A lover of the outdoors and a man who hates offices, he complains of not finding enough time for his farming activities anymore because of his heightened political activities.

He is married and has five children.

Volksstaat's series of 'white spots'

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

■ **MAIN DEMAND** *Any area or areas*

where Afrikaners are the majority:



General Constand Viljoen ... top military man turns to politics.

THE FREEDOM Front was formed two weeks ago after the Afrikaner Volkfront rejected participation in the elections as a means of attaining the Afrikaner's dream of a *volksstaat*.

Led by General Constand Viljoen, its birth brought with it huge chasms in far rightwing politics, splitting the Conservative Party almost down the middle.

The FF's main demand is the creation of a *volksstaat*, which is defined as any area where Afrikaners are the majority and they express their support for a *volksstaat* by voting for the FF. In terms of this approach, the

volksstaat could be anywhere in South Africa. It could be one geographic unit, or it could be scattered bits and pieces, depending on proven support.

Black people who reside in such an area would not be forced out, but would be denied voting rights in local-regional elections, while they could participate in the national vote.

Discrimination

"There will be no discrimination. Everybody will be equal but there may be differences in citizenship, as happens in other countries," Viljoen says.

Its reasons for participation in the

election is twofold — to prove support for the *volksstaat* and also to participate in the drawing up of the final constitution of the country.

The FF rejects the present interim constitution as it does not include guarantees of a *volksstaat* but believes in using constitutional means.

The latest opinion poll by the Human Science Research Council shows that the FF might poll between 4 and 9 percent of the vote, mainly from disgruntled National Party supporters who feel sold out, and from supporters of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which is not participating in the elections.

'Afrikaners are not racists'

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

AFRIKANERS are not racists but nationalists who believe in the freedom of all nations to rule themselves.

This need can only be guaranteed when each nation has its own geographic area in which to rule and practise its own language, culture and religion.

This, according to Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen is the basis of their demand for a *volksstaat*.

Viljoen defines the Afrikaner as the "only white tribe that can be called a nation. The Afrikaner is that group of people whose ancestors left the Cape in protest against English oppression to look for freedom."

"They occupied unoccupied land and bought other land from the local black people and established the Boer republics."

"The Afrikaner has to speak Afrikaans as his first language but being white alone is not enough to be an Afrikaner. It is not race but other factors such as language, culture and religion that count," he says.

The FF, Viljoen says, shares the same belief as the AVF in regard to a *volksstaat* but wants this to come about through constitutional means.

"We realised the importance of participating in elections and using that to prove support for a *volksstaat* as required by the constitution."

"We are serious about the need for a good constitution and we therefore see a need for participation even in the drawing up of the final constitution, which you can only do if you go into the present elections and win some seats," he says.

The rift caused by the FF move will not lead to brother fighting brother among Afrikaners, he says, because they all believe in the same ideal but differ on how to attain it.

The party is contesting nationally and in all regions, with its regional votes also used as a barometer of support for the *volksstaat* in each region.

No support

Viljoen confesses to finding himself in a difficult position. Having moved into politics only last year, he has no support of his own nor a national infrastructure to mobilise.

The AVF has utilised the CP and others but now that it is on its own, it does not even know who will vote for it as the AVF is encouraging a boycott.

The FF was worried about the "hyper-intimidation of conservative parties within the black communities by the ANC."

He says the country is going through mini revolutions in which Bophuthatswana has fallen within two and half weeks, Ciskei in less and that KwaZulu is next.

"After the Ciskei thing Joe Slovo pointed out that with two down there was only one left to go. But blood is going to flow in Natal, because while Bophuthatswana had the guns it did not have the heart to fight."

"In KwaZulu they have no guns but they have the heart and they are strong. The only problem is that they are divided," he says.

In this atmosphere, Viljoen says, the idea of a free and fair election is "impossible to imagine" but his party will still remain inside and contest it.

That is if they are able to get enough candidates.



Political Editor Mathatha Tsedu interviews General Constand Viljoen on the future of the Freedom Front.

POLLING IS OPEN TO THE BLIND

BY JOSEPH ARANES

Blind people enjoy the same rights as all South Africans — including the right to vote in the April elections.

The League of Friends of the Blind (Lofob), is making sure they take up their rightful place in society and cast their votes in the election.

The organisation is offering voter education for visually impaired people at their premises

Southester (suppl. to South)

on the corner of Klip and First Road, Grassy Park on April 9.

Director of Lofob, Mr Phillip Bam, said the workshop is free of charge and any visually impaired person may attend.

(30417)

Prosperous

"The future of a prosperous post-apartheid South Africa lies in the hands of each and everyone of us, including the visually disabled," Mr Bam said.

"It is our duty at Lofob to protect the rights of visually-impaired people

and enable them to reach their optimal potential through independence, development and education."

The workshop will be divided into two sessions with the first beginning at 9 am and dealing with issues such as electoral rights, voting and intimidation, procedures at polling stations and confidentiality.

The second session begins at 1pm and will give those attending an opportunity to raise questions and express their personal feelings regarding issues.

More than 9 000 places to vote

South Easter (Suppl. to South) (304A)

A Voting Station is where people cast their votes for the election of a government. It is controlled by a presiding officer who works with party agents, local and international monitors and observers. Their aim is to ensure that elections are free and fair.

In preparation for the election, the IEC appointed Chief Director. He with the assistance of the provincial electoral officers will determine the number and location of voting stations/centres.

Forty-five days before the first day of the election, he shall publish in the government gazette a list of locations of all voting stations and additional or alternative voting stations. There will be more than 9 000 voting stations all over the country.

A voting station will be an area with a radius of 100 m or less within which a voter shall be allowed to cast his/her vote. The surrounding area of 1100



Every voter marks their ballot paper in a private booth

Officials will check IDs, check hands, mark hands, issue ballot papers and help voters who need assistance.

2513-2913194

Mobile voting stations

under the supervision of the district electoral officer may be provided.

These will also be treated as special votes and voting will take place on the 26 April.

SPECIAL VOTES

Special voters will have to apply for special treatment as

be located at any premises occupied or controlled by defence, armed forces, police or any political party.

If the IEC feels that there cannot be free and fair election in an area because of violence, intimidation or other

MATLA TRUST

Voter

Education

Eastern Cape

THEATRE

PERFORMANCES:

Date: 22/03/94

Time: 15:00

Venue: Kidd's Beach

Time: 17:30

Venue: Shelford Farm

Hall, Kidd's Beach.

Date: 23/03/94

Time: 10:00

Venue: Willowvale

Community Hall,

Willowvale.

Date: 24/03/94

Time: 10:00

Venue: Community

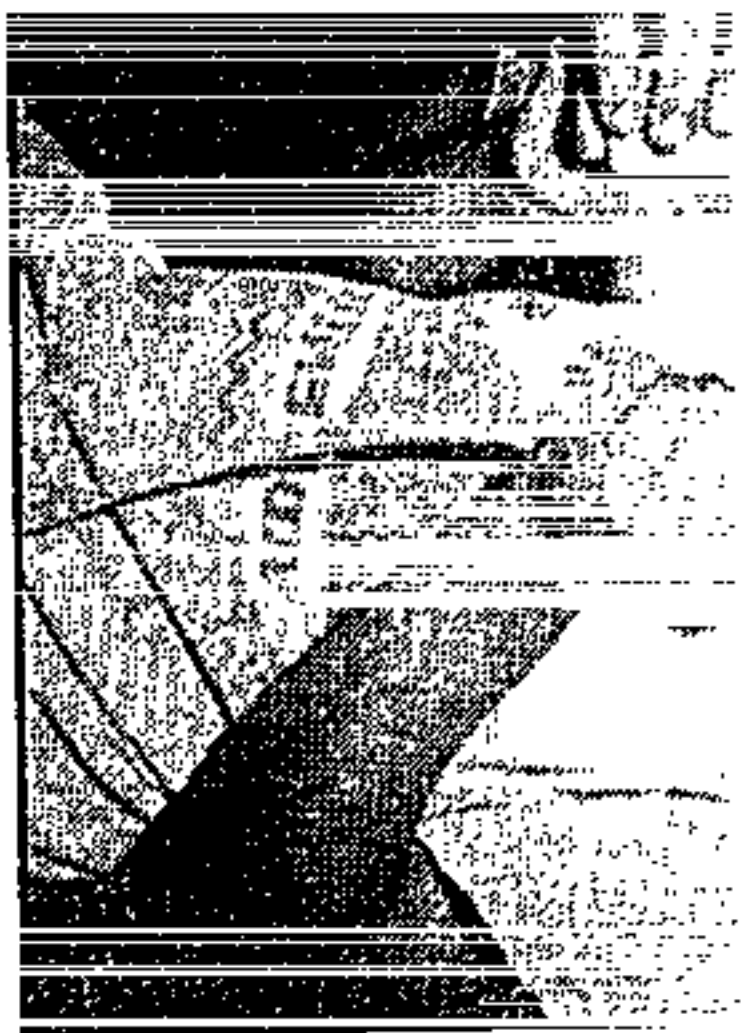
Hall, Ngqeleni.

Date: 25/03/94

Time: 10:00

Venue: Community

Hall, Libode.



VICTIM OF VIOLENCE:
Aswaal Stoffels, 4, nearly
choked to death on teargas

Court is the large numbers of children, who obviously belong in school, hanging around the courtyard and playing games in the street.

Mrs Noleen Poggenpoel said: "The gangsters are cowards and are always shooting our children. We can't send the children to the shop or to school because it is too dangerous for them.

South East 15 April 1984

'It's hard, living with the law stacked against you'

BY JOSEPH ARANES

RESIDENTS of Erica Court may not agree on the reasons for the recent spate of shootings, but are united in their belief that the police are not doing enough to protect their lives and property.

Mrs Willemena Lakay said she believed the police were in cahoots with the Hard Living to control severely

Manenberg.

gangsters although we make statements and tell them the names of the gangsters who run through our court with their guns blazing," Mr Snipper said. "It seems as if the police just don't want to listen to us and never arrest any of the offenders. But they always blame us for not co-operating with them. "Like us, the police know who is doing all the shooting and killing — people who don't live here bring gangsters from other areas to shoot and terrorise us. "The police don't care because many of them take bribes from these gangsters and turn a blind eye to their crimes. Manenberg police station is the biggest smokkelhuis in the area."

squeal on us to the H.L.'s and the our homes become targets when they raid Erica Court. "I have lived here for many years and never before have our lives been so disrupted by these gangsters.

"It seems as if the police are either unable to stop them or don't want to stop them harassing us."

Mrs Willemena Lakay's four-

The residents are convinced the police can't stop or don't want to stop gang fights and most support the ANC call to bring in the army to Manenberg.

Many admit they are too scared to take statements to the police because they fear the gangsters they are implicating will know about it by the time they get home.

"There are far too many corrupt policemen in Manenberg and most of us don't trust them enough to co-operate with them," Mrs Noleen Poggenpoel said.

Liaison officer at Manenberg police station, Sergeant Jannie Grootboom, said it was hard for police to follow up leads without information from the community.

to raise children in Manenberg. "The gangsters shoot at our houses and children and when the police come, they behave just like the gangsters and shoot our homes in jail," Mrs Lackay said.

PANDIAS SUPERMARKET

cnr Lugmag Ave & Typhoon St, Faceuton

750ml Fish Oil Golden Drop	R2.69
2.5kilo Sugar	R5.89
500gm Marvello Margarine	R2.59
410gr Helderberg Peas	R1.89
900gm Apricot Jam (fif)	R3.79
1lit Summerbreeze Syrup	R2.49
410 gm F.F Baked Beans	R1.29
Dairybelle long life milk 6 x 1 litre	R11.89
2kg Freezer bags chicken	R14.99
10kg potatoes	R6.99 pocket
1 litre sachet milk	R1.69
8 pack toilet rolls	R3.99
Nestle Condensed Milk	R2.79
2 litre Gattis Ice Cream	R2.99
750 gm Van Riebeeck Coffee	R9.99
Hot spice Fruit Chutney	R2.99

Negotiators set to sign volkstaat deal

3 Day

25/3/94

DAVID GREYBE

THE ANC, Freedom Front and government are set to sign an accord on an Afrikaner volkstaat as early as next week.

Negotiators agreed this week on a final draft of the accord, after more than a dozen attempts. Principals were studying the draft for final agreement.

The proposed accord sets out the conditions and the process under which a volkstaat would be established.

"The accord takes the whole matter further than in the constitutional principle, in terms of what process should be followed. It also says how it will be taken further once we have proven support," Freedom Front negotiator Corné Mulder said.

The proposal states that a volkstaat will be pursued if there is "substantial support" for the demand. Mulder said there was an understanding that between 30% and 49% in any given region would be sufficient to secure it as part of further negotiations on a volkstaat.

The accord makes provision for voting in the elections to be counted "according to localities", so that volkstaat areas could be defined, Mulder said.

The accord also spells out the role of the volkstaat council which, according to the interim constitution, will look after volkstaters' interests in the constitution-making process — on condition they take part in the elections and win seats in the national assembly.

Mulder said the accord with the ANC and government would make it possible for the Freedom Front to give supporters of a volkstaat "more assurances".

He expected a public signing of the accord "early next week" (30/4/94).

However, one of the three "facilitators" said the deal had not yet been wrapped up.

He said ANC negotiators had informed one of the facilitators that the ANC wanted to make some changes to one section of the final draft, "but they indicated the proposed changes are not substantial".

"Once before (last December) we thought we had it wrapped up only to be proven wrong."

The ANC will provide details of its proposed changes at a meeting today with the facilitators. "If the accord is wrapped up this weekend it will definitely be signed by all three parties next week," he said.

Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen said after he had registered his party for the elections that participation would finally go ahead only if there was an accord on a volkstaat because the constitutional principle on self-determination was too general.

ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki has said previously that the ANC's main concern was how to achieve a volkstaat without discriminating against people in the area who did not support the Afrikaner demand.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Temporary broadcasting licences about to lapse

THE Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) Act will come into operation at midnight on Tuesday next week, and temporary broadcasting licences will lapse on Sunday night.

The IBA said that in terms of temporary licence conditions, radio stations would be required to cease broadcasting 48 hours before the Act came into operation.

"The IBA council, at its first meeting on Tuesday,

LOYD COUTTS

will discuss the issue of temporary community broadcasting licences, and more particularly, how to deal with this matter as a matter of urgency," the IBA said.

"The IBA will seek to address the concerns of temporary sound broadcasting licensees, who will be required to apply (anew) for licences, and all other potential applicants for temporary community broadcasting licences."

Postmaster-General Ters Oosthuizen said it was in the interests of temporary licensees and illegal broadcasters to cease transmissions, work within the parameters of the Act and apply for permits through the IBA.

Maverick station Radio Pretoria was to decide last night whether it would stay on the air.

Radio sources said it appeared that most independent stations would comply with the requirements.

Solid Gold FM spokesman Tony Sanderson said any decision to ignore the IBA request would cause further delays.

However, the decision not to allow transmissions to continue until the IBA was in a position to investigate broadcasting and issue temporary or permanent licences could end the fragile peace between independent broadcasters and the authorities, he said.

"We now feel that this could be delayed by many weeks while this investiga-

tion takes place and that free voices before the most important election in the history of SA will be silenced."

However, he hoped common sense would prevail.

"Should certain radio stations ignore the request to curtail their broadcasting, it will return this industry to the situation it was in a few months ago, creating more delays for the industry while the IBA has to take action resolving illegal broadcasting."

He said the station welcomed the IBA but trusted that it would stay out of politics and concentrate on broadcasting as a whole.

"Solid Gold FM Stereo welcomes the implementation of the (Act) and wishes the board well," he said.

Home Affairs forfeits holidays for IDs

PRETORIA — Home Affairs regional and district offices will be open on two public holidays next month — Family Day and Founders' Day — to enable as many potential voters as possible to get identity documents or temporary voters cards before the election.

The department said yesterday that it would be "business as usual" at their offices on April 4 and 6.

The move followed a request from the Independent Electoral Commission that Home Affairs offices should be open to the public on those days.

The department had employed more than 2 000 temporary workers country-wide to help process the increased number of applications for identity documents. "Several offices are working extended hours and are also open on Saturdays," a spokesman said.

STEPHANE BOTHA

Home Affairs had also launched a comprehensive awareness campaign and more than 100 mobile units had been set up to reach applicants in the "outermost corners" of the country.

The department urged people not yet in possession of a document enabling them to vote to visit regional and district offices on April 4 and 6.

The department also pointed out that any of the following documents would enable people to vote:

- ☐ Blue or green identity documents previously issued;
- ☐ Old green identity cards;
- ☐ All identity documents issued by TBVC countries;
- ☐ Reference books previously issued;
- ☐ Temporary identity certificates; and
- ☐ Temporary voters' cards.

De Huizemarm guilty of trust fund shortages

THE Estate Agents' Board has found De Huizemarm and its MD Piet Hamman guilty of trust fund shortages and has withdrawn their Fidelity Fund certificates, suspended for three years.

ROBYN CHALMERS

"The evidence further revealed that the withdrawals had not been effected indiscriminately or recklessly and that in each



CURRENT AFFAIRS

ELECTORAL FUNDS

Credit campaign

The use of R22m payable from the State Electoral Fund to parties participating in the election must be audited in terms of procedures laid down by the Independent Electoral Commission and may also be scrutinised by the Auditor-General.

The first payments from the fund were made this week to eight of the 27 parties registered for the poll. They were: the NP, DP, PAC, ANC, Freedom Front, Minority Front, Dikwankwetla and the Workers' List Party. The amounts ranged from R48 458 to R1,26m and determined on the basis of recognised support for the parties. The 18 parties that did not receive funds have until 4.30 pm today to comply with the conditions set out in the Electoral Act to qualify for funding.

Half the R22m will be given to parties before the election and the balance afterwards. Parties may not use the money for entertainment or to buy immovable property.

In terms of the Electoral Act, the first 50% of the funds are allocated "on an equal basis and without discrimination" if the parties can demonstrate at least 2% support in opinion polls "recognised and accepted" by the

25/3/94 (204A)
IEC or if they submit lists of 10 000 supporters' signatures. The opinion polls must show support of at least 2% of potential voters either nationally, if a party is contesting seats for the national assembly, or in a particular province or provinces if the party is contesting provincial elections only.

Alternatively, parties can submit lists of 10 000 signatures, of which at least 1 000 must be from voters from each of at least five provinces if the party applies for a grant to contest seats in the national assembly.

But if a party cannot manage to collect 10 000 signatures, even if it is contesting the national assembly election, it can apply for a grant at provincial level — in which case it must submit a list of 3 000 signatures from each province for which it applies for a grant.

For example, a party may be registered to contest elections for the national assembly and all provinces, but might not have 2% support in opinion polls and cannot collect 10 000 signatures. But it may be able to collect 3 000 signatures in one province in which case it can apply for funding at a lower scale.

This is clearly what happened in the case of some of the first recipients of grants because all of them are registered to contest seats in the national assembly.

Half of the R11m that will be distributed after the election will be paid in equal

amounts to all parties that win at least one seat in either the national assembly or provincial legislatures. Distribution of the balance will be determined on a proportional basis relative to the number of votes cast for each party. ■

FM 25/3/94
THE WHITE RIGHT

Nothing is final

The struggle for the political hearts of an estimated 1m rightwingers will reach a watershed next week when the Afrikaner Volksfront (AFV) proclaims "Freedom Day" and symbolically unveils its self-declared *volkstaat*.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg — new head of the AFV following the resignation of Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen — has set March 29 as a day of mass rallies in rightwing towns that have been identified as the core of the *volkstaat*. The rallies will also be a measure of rightwing resistance to the general election on April 27. The CP is not participating in the poll and has condemned Viljoen and a breakaway group of CP MPs for doing so under the Freedom Front banner. (3044)

Hartzenberg still hopes to pressure government and the ANC into conceding a *volkstaat* before the election.

But Pieter Mulder, newly elected chairman of the Freedom Front's executive committee and former CP MP, says this will not happen. He argues that unless rightwingers participate in the election and demonstrate support for a *volkstaat* by voting for the Freedom Front, a new government might reject further pressure for rightwing self-determination on the grounds that it has no backing.

Both the AFV and the Freedom Front are apparently still hoping to reconcile their differences before the election. Significantly, Hartzenberg stopped short of calling for a boycott of the election when he spoke at a

FM 25/3/94
public meeting near Cape Town this week — and fudged the issue when questioned directly by a member of the audience. Equally significant was a warning by Viljoen in an interview with *Rapport* on Sunday that unless government and the ANC provided sufficient assurances by April 1 on the establishment of a *volkstaat*, the Freedom Front would not participate in the election.

There is clearly still considerable uncertainty in both the AFV and Freedom Front camps over their chosen strategies; major developments before election day cannot be ruled out.

Mulder is still pushing for the two-pronged approach that was rejected by the CP just before he and seven other caucus members walked out to join the Freedom Front. The plan calls for continued "pressure and resistance" coupled to a parliamentary presence to force government to allow a *volkstaat*. Mulder says neither strategy will work on its own.

Votes for the Freedom Front will be considered as votes in favour of a *volkstaat*. With two ballot papers it will also be possible to isolate support down to provincial level, which will indicate where the *volkstaat* should be established, says Mulder.

Hartzenberg disagrees and believes unilateral action is the best strategy. Apart from next week's initiative, the AVF has accepted a constitution for its *volkstaat*, but not yet given it geographical definition. The constitution provides for "citizens" and "noncitizens." Citizenship will be accorded to "members of the *volk*." There will also be a Bill of Rights.

A possible result of action next week to claim rightwing-controlled towns as part of a *volkstaat* could be black consumer boycotts and work stayaways. Their success, if they occur, and how the AVF deals with them could be an important factor in swinging even more support behind the Freedom Front. ■

NEWS FEATURE May 10 will see the biggest bash yet in this country — and continent

Welcoming a new State President

Sowetan Correspondent

TUESDAY May 10 at the Union Buildings is the proposed date and venue for the inauguration of the new State President.

It is will be the first time the inauguration of a South African president will take place on such a large scale — probably be the largest gathering of heads of state since the funeral of United States President John F Kennedy in 1963.

Along with the heads of state, their entourages and local dignitaries will be representatives of the media. One source speculated that more than 3 000 members of the media would be in the city keeping the world and South Africans informed of the events.

It is expected that there will be live television and radio broadcasts on SABC stations and for those fearing that they will miss the action, there is speculation that May 10 may even be a proclaimed a public holiday.

Even if it is not, record crowds are already being forecast for the event.

To accommodate the crowds, proceedings at the Union Buildings could be carried to the lawns and surrounding areas by public addresses systems.

There is also speculation about a parade, along the lines of the opening of Parliament with a march past by the National Defence Force and backed up by a 21 gun salute and fly past.

Arrangements

The task of making arrangements for the foreign dignitaries has fallen on the Department of Foreign Affairs and more than 180 countries have been informed of the intended inauguration.

Final invitations will be sent out by the National Inauguration Committee, which is expected to be announced this week.

FULL HOUSE People

will seek accommodation

far outside Pretoria:

The awesome task of planning will fall the shoulders of this committee which, with the help of advisers, will have to decide on the nature of the entertainment, the programme and even where the reception following the inauguration will be held and who will do the catering.

The May 10 celebrations will be vastly different from President FW de Klerk's inauguration on September 20 1989.

It was in the Neddruits Gereformeerde Kerk Universiteitsoord that De Klerk took the oath before heading to the Union Buildings where he gave his inaugural speech.

At this stage it is not even clear if the new President will take his oath at a church or if the taking of the oath will form part of proceedings at the Union Buildings.

In the past the buildings were adorned with orange, white and blue, Silver Falcons streaked orange, white and blue across the sky and even flowers at the Union Buildings were orange white and blue.

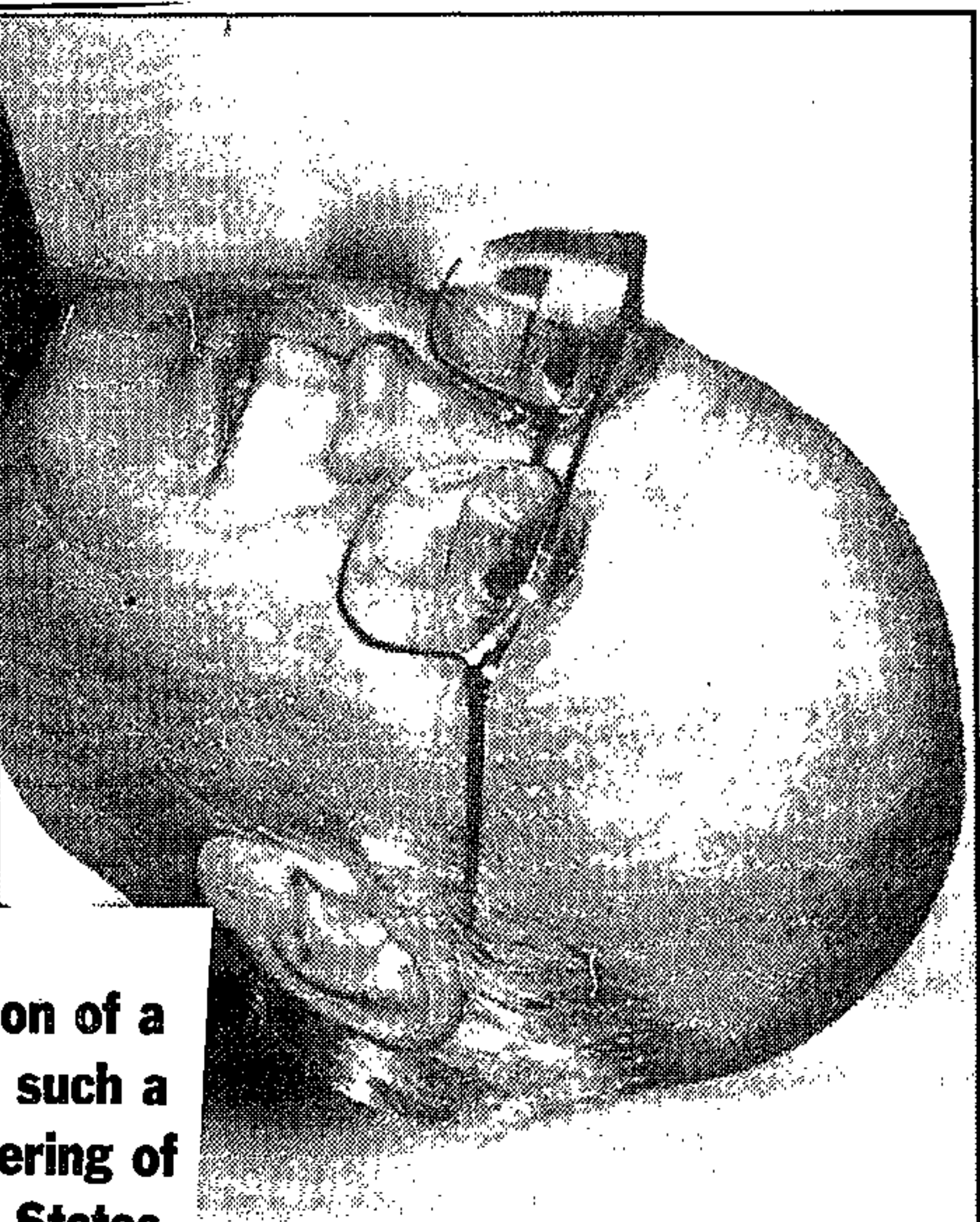
Interim flag

The traditional orange, white and blue will have to make way for the new black, green, gold, white, red and blue of the new interim flag.

Although Pretoria will welcome all the visitors, it is impossible for the city to accommodate everyone.

Deputy chairman of Mitra Tour Mr Pieter Engelbrecht said the city's major hotels only had about 1 200 rooms between them and only two of the hotels had four stars.

He said people would have to take what they could get and visitors would have to look wider than Pretoria for



The May 10 celebrations will be vastly different from Pretoria inauguration on September 20 1989.

accommodation.

While many of the dignitaries will probably be accommodated at embassy guest houses, others looking for five-star accommodation will have to book in Johannesburg and as far afield as Cape Town and Durban.

One source pointed out the flight duration between Cape Town and Pretoria was only two hours and Durban only one hour. With many heads of state having their own planes, it was not impossible that they would fly in to Pretoria from other centres.

Other practical arrangements which will also have to be made are matters like toilet and water facilities for the crowds; security, emergency services and traffic control.

Price tag

A major question which is yet to be answered is the cost, and more important for city ratepayers is how much the inauguration in their city is going to cost them?

At this stage no price tag has been put on the party to welcome South Africa's first freely and fairly elected President, but it is likely that the Central Government will pick up the tab for the occasion which is already building up to the biggest bash not only in Pretoria's, but South Africa's history.

It is will be the first time the inauguration of a South African president will take place on such a large scale — probably be the largest gathering of heads of state since the funeral of United States President John F Kennedy in 1963

THE TRANSITION

Take nothing for granted

But the centre should be strong enough for the election to hold

With the general election just four weeks away there are serious problems.

The situation in Natal is explosive and only courageous political leadership will prevent it degenerating into utter chaos. Campaigning in the province is clearly impossible; so is a free and fair election at this stage.

But Natal's agony is far outweighed by what is happening in the rest of the country. Except for a few Reef townships, which tend to mirror the conflict in Natal, the campaign is rolling forward with remarkable success when judged against the original potential for disaster. There is good reason to believe that free and fair elections will be held in most areas and that the results will be judged free by the Independent Electoral Commission and accepted by all participating parties.

The mere fact that we can sit back a month before polling day and take stock of the campaign, on the basis of how the parties are performing rather than the rate of decline towards chaos, is evidence of how well we are doing.

Of course things could change dramatically before April 27. A month is a long time in SA politics and much will hinge on how the Natal crisis is resolved. But right now the outlook is promising, thanks largely to the political sophistication of the main contesting parties and an awareness by their leaders of the need to preach moderation and tolerance rather than resistance and revenge.

In addition, the parties have accepted the authority of the IEC and are using its mechanisms to resolve disputes rather than resorting to retribution. The ANC, in particular, clearly wants the campaign and the election to be seen by SA and the world to be legitimate and is doing a remarkable job under the circumstances of keeping its disparate and volatile supporters in check.

Though the main parties formally launched their election efforts in early January, preliminaries began last year when it was clear that the multiparty talks would

produce a firm election date. The campaign is now in full swing with public meetings, door-to-door blitzes, whistle-stop tours, lunches, dinners, press conferences, TV debates, talk shows and all the other elements that make up democratic election campaigns elsewhere in the world. (304A)

There has been disruption of meetings and other activities; rivals are generally intolerant of one another. But this was to be expected, given the background against which the elections are taking place and the distinct lack of a democratic culture in SA. None of these incidents, even collectively, has come anywhere near to threatening the election. There is no doubt that the overall situation is far better than pessimists were predicting when the date was announced last year.

Head of political studies at the University of the Western Cape, Vincent Maphai, believes the campaign is less acrimonious than it might have been because the main parties realise the need to underpin the reform agreements and protect them from conservative opposition groups. The leaders also know that they will serve together in a government of national unity after the election, and that what they say and do now may come back to haunt them later.

In addition, says Maphai, the differences between the ANC, the NP and the DP have narrowed considerably in the past few months, not ideologically but in their acceptance of broad democratic principles based on federalism.

The campaign so far has lacked any real surprises, except perhaps the decisions by the CP and Inkatha not to participate. Most CP supporters are expected to back Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front, as are many Inkatha supporters. Neither the CP nor its militant allies on the



Leon

Right are expected to be a major threat to the holding of the election.

It is significant that all communities and ethnic groups are represented on the ballot paper. Inkatha's boycott is based on political rather than ethnic Zulu factors; there is strong evidence to suggest that the ANC in fact represents more Zulus than Inkatha. There is still no doubt that the ANC will win well, with the NP coming a poor second. The third largest number of seats will probably now go to the Freedom Front, followed by the DP and PAC.

The biggest potential surprise among the smaller parties is likely to come from the Luso SA Party (Lusap) which claims to represent the interests of 750 000 people of Portuguese origin. Other fringe parties that have an outside chance of winning one or more national assembly seats are the socialist Workers' List Party, the Africa Muslim Party, Dikwankwetla Party from QwaQwa and Amichand Rajbansi's Minority Front. A total of 27 parties are registered to participate in the election.

A guesstimate of the outcome at this stage would be 220-240 seats for the ANC, 60-80 for the NP, 15-20 for Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front, 10-12 for the DP, 8-10 for the PAC and 6-8 for Lusap.

As a rule of thumb a party will need to win about 41 000 votes in a 75% poll to get one seat in the national assembly. Parties with at least 80 seats in the national assembly will be entitled to nominate one of two deputy presidents. If only one party has 80 seats or more, the second largest party will be entitled to the second deputy president's post. Parties with at least 20 seats in the national assembly will be entitled to at least one Cabinet seat.

The NP is expected to win control of the western Cape and the northern Cape.

The outcome in Natal is unclear. If a free election is held in the province the ANC will probably receive more votes than any other party, but will not win an outright majority. The NP is likely to hold the balance of power. All other six provinces are expected to be won comfortably by the ANC.

However, neither UWC's Maphai nor Human Sciences Research Council political analyst De Wet Schutte expect the ANC to win an overall two-thirds majority. Maphai says the party will be "extremely lucky" to get 60%. "A proportional representation system makes it very difficult for a party to win a landslide. To get two-thirds of the vote the



Posters ... up the poll

ANC will have to win substantial support in the white, coloured and Indian communities, which is unlikely."

Maphai expects the ANC to perform poorly in the western Cape, where most coloureds will support the NP. The PAC should also do reasonably well in the province because the ANC is, to an extent, neglecting African voters in preference to battling with the NP for coloured support.

Maphai is surprised that the NP has not exploited the divisions between the ANC and the PAC to further split the African vote. A possible reason is that the NP no longer controls the SABC. The PAC has failed to exploit its potentially powerful position by being unable to produce clear, coherent policies. The party has not progressed beyond sloganeering and is totally unconvincing as a potential government.

Maphai says Inkatha is a major threat to the election in Natal. A massive security force operation will be necessary to contain the situation in the province. However, the collapse of Lucas Mangope's government and the decline of the white Right makes Mangosuthu Buthelezi's position vulnerable. He is no longer assured of civil service and police support. The Freedom Front should do reasonably well at the expense of the NP; the party will also probably draw votes from Inkatha supporters.

Schutte says the political situation is so fluid that opinion surveys have become meaningless as tools to predict the election result. A critical factor is whether blacks will be influenced by the "uhuru sentiment" and vote en masse, or be so wary of the situation that they stay away in equally large numbers. "My impression is that there is not a great deal of interest in voting among blacks, and it would not surprise me if the percentage poll is low."

Schutte says the annual Easter pilgrimage next week by about 3m black members of the Zionist Christian Church to Moria near Pietersburg could significantly influence the election. The power of ZCC leader Bishop Barnabus Lekganyane should not be underestimated. "He has enormous authority and even a rumour of how he thinks his followers should vote could have a significant influence on the election."

The ZCC is regarded as traditionally conservative. The Easter gathering at Moria was addressed by former President P W Botha in 1986 and by former Minister Piet Koornhof in 1980. Schutte believes Lekganyane will try to remain neutral, but "between the lines" his



Sexwale

for disruption is under-rated. He does not expect any major new issues to be introduced into the campaign before polling day. If anything, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and his NP counterpart President F W de Klerk

message is likely to be conservative. (30/4/94)

The influence of Inkatha is another important factor. Though it is clearly too late for the party to participate in the election under current regulations, a compromise to draw it into the process should not be discounted.

Schutte has been unimpressed by the performance so far of the smaller parties. The DP has been unable to improve its attractiveness, and PAC support is highly over-rated — though its potential

fully portraying the ANC as a party fit and ready to govern." De Klerk, on the other hand, has been relatively successful in shedding the NP's historic image as the oppressor and presents the party as a realistic alternative to the ANC among conservative blacks. The style of the campaign is also new to South Africans. The focus is on the media and, in particular, the all-important 30-second TV "sound bite." Debates and interviews ranging across the political spectrum are also playing an important part in the campaign. Individuals like the ANC's Tokyo Sexwale and the DP's Tony Leon make an impact.

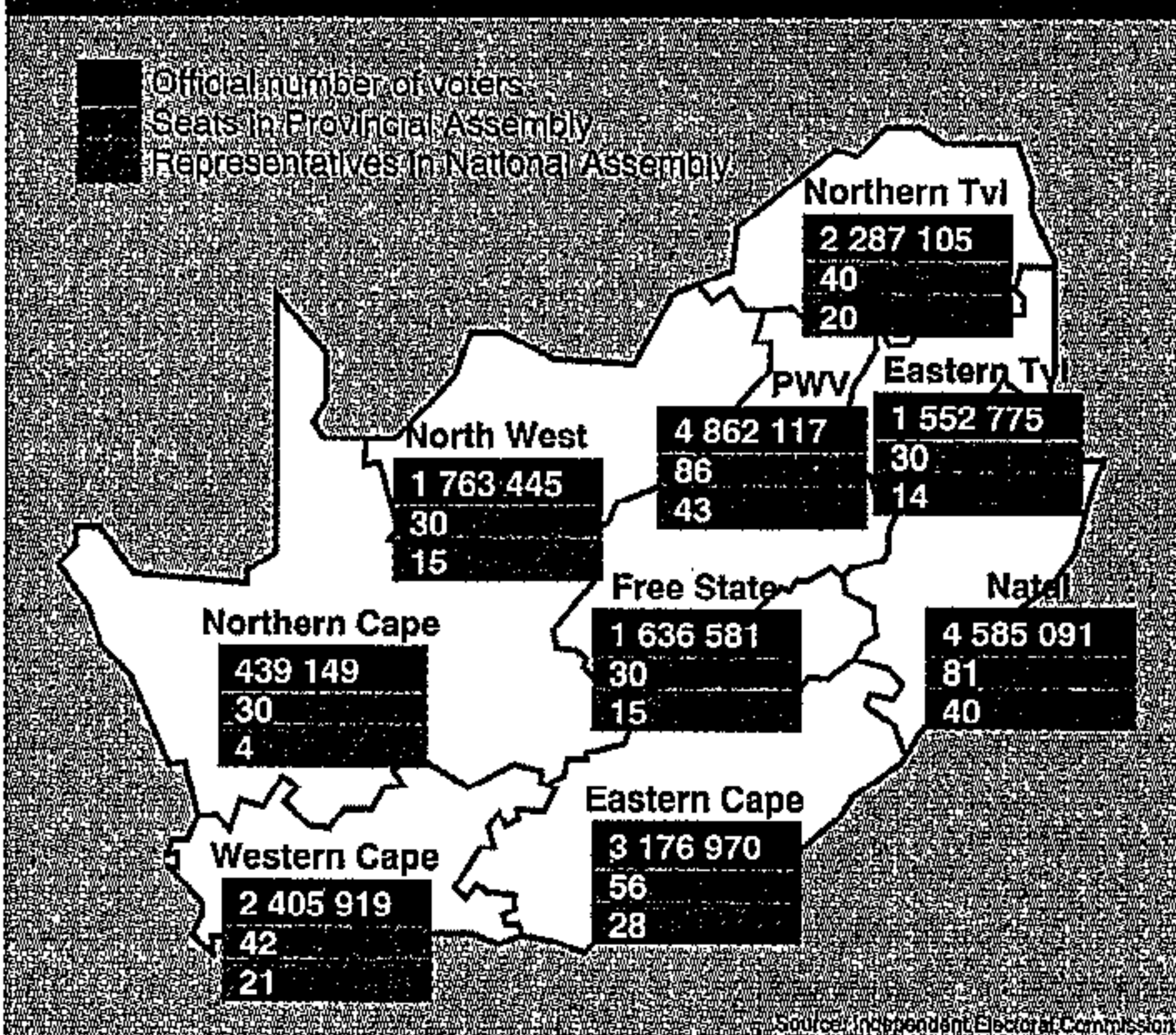
But saturation coverage poses the real threat of a mass switch-off in the final four weeks. Policy, while important, tends to be dull and difficult to understand, so parties are relying on image to win over voters.

For a small party the DP has been remarkably successful in this area. It has cultivated an image as the underdog suffering at the

hands of intolerant ANC bullies on Cape Town college campuses. Maphai believes this image has actually saved the DP's campaign from fizzling out and created a focus on which the party will concentrate.

Unfortunately for the DP, its successful crusade for two ballots may backfire badly in the western Cape, where there is growing evidence that many of its supporters will vote for the NP in the provincial election simply to keep the ANC out, and for the DP at national level. If there had been only one ballot, the voters would probably have

Regions and voters



will further moderate their rhetoric in preparation for serving together in a government of national unity.

Says Schutte: "There is still a lot of goodwill in SA as shown by the agreement on a new flag and dual national anthems. The political leaders are determined to make this work. No party can afford instability in the country."

As was expected, the ANC and NP are relying heavily on the magnetic personalities of Mandela and De Klerk to spearhead their campaigns. Maphai regards Mandela's performance in particular as outstanding. "He looks strong and confident and is success-

backed the DP at both levels.

The NP has also scored underdog points from ANC disruption of its township activities, but the gains may have been neutralised by the stoning of Mandela's motorcade in the Cape Flats by people identified as NP supporters. The impact of the latest Goldstone Commission report into hit squads could also hurt the NP, particularly in the western Cape where Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel heads the party's bid for power. In the main, most voters have probably made up their minds by now. Campaigners will need to concentrate on reinforcing decisions already made and winning over waverers.

Barring a major calamity it seems that there will be a free and fair election in most parts of the country on April 27 and that a new government will take office in Cape Town, as planned, early in May.



Viljoen

WITH South Africa's first democratic election just a month away, large numbers of voters still appear to be hedging their bets on which party to back.

MANDY JEAN WOODS reports on the findings of a Star readers' survey.

A SURVEY conducted earlier this month shows that 22 percent of The Star's readers are undecided about who they will vote for in next month's election.

According to a survey conducted by Marketing & Media Research, 23 percent of The Star's readers would vote for the ANC, 22 percent for the NP, 11 percent for the DP, 2 percent for the IFP, 1 percent for the PAC and 1 percent for the CP/Volksfront.

Sixteen percent of respondents did not indicate which party they would vote for.

The survey was conducted telephonically among 304 eligible voters living in the Greater Johannesburg area, including Sandton, Randburg, Alexandra, Tembisa and Soweto.

While fewer African Star readers are undecided about who to vote for, nonetheless, this translates into large numbers of voters whose vote could be an important boost to the ANC in particular, as the major player in this sector.

Quotas on gender and race were imposed to ensure an adequate representation of The Star's readership as defined by AMPS '93.

Significant demographic differences identified in the survey include:

- A larger proportion of African readers expressed an intention not to vote (5 percent against 2 percent).
- Many more females than males were undecided who to vote for (31 percent as opposed to 15 percent).
- The older the respondent, the more

noncommittal they were.

■ By race, 56 percent of Africans indicated they would vote for the ANC compared to only 1 percent among whites, coloureds and Asians (WCA), while 36 percent of respondents in the WCA group indicated they would vote for the NP compared to 1 percent of Africans.

Twenty percent of Africans surveyed did not indicate which party they would vote for, compared to 12 percent of respondents from the WCA group.

Nearly nine in 10 respondents were very sure they would vote for their stated party, but 10 percent were waverers.

"ANC support seems to be the most entrenched, but more than 15 percent of NP supporters can be classified as waverers, as can nearly a quarter of DP potential voters," the survey report says.

Three-quarters of the respondents said nothing would dislodge them from voting for the party of their choice.

This was particularly true for ANC-supporting Star readers, with 93 percent of them giving this response, as against the NP's 61 percent and the DP's 58 percent.

A further 10 percent of the total sample could change their minds if their party of choice said or did something with which they strongly disagreed.

No ANC supporters gave this response, while 17 percent of NP and 18 percent of DP supporters said they felt this way.

There is potential for erosion of 15 percent of the DP vote if another party makes promises or policies with which they strongly agree.

Uncertainty

Seven percent of ANC supporters can be deterred on the basis of a number of factors, from intimidation and doing something against the law, to being talked into voting for another party by parents, partners or friends.

"It is clear from the research findings that a great deal of uncertainty is evident in the voting intentions of The Star readers surveyed," the report says.

"While fewer African Star readers are undecided about who to vote for, nonetheless, this translates into large numbers of voters whose vote could be an important boost to the ANC in particular, as the major player in this sector."

It is clear, the report says, that The Star has an important agenda-setting role to play — editorially and in the advertising it carries — in the pre-election period.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Many Star readers on

Survey reveals 22 percent are still unsure who to vote for

Star 26/3/94

3044

poll fence

Giant bureaucracy nightmare faces new government

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

ONE of the biggest headaches awaiting the new government after next month's election is to restructure a giant bureaucracy of more than a million public servants.

Not only must the expanded army of state employees — including those from homeland administrations — be accommodated in new integrated administrations, but they must be assured of continuing salaries, wages and pension benefits.

In a move towards paving the way to the new order, the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) this week ordered a freeze on the creation and upgrading of all posts in the public services.

The TEC also set conditions for filling posts in any public service above the level of assistant director. These moves were said to be aimed at limiting the impact of a rationalisation process on serving personnel.

Meanwhile, public servants have made it clear they will expect their political leaders to deliver on election promises made of a secure future for all state employees in the new South Africa. People are asking if there will be enough money and where will it come from.

Such fears have been expressed amid signs of corruption and mounting debts in homeland administrations.

The latest promises have come from the ANC/SACP/Cosatu alliance. At a Johannesburg conference last week the African National Congress said civil servants — including those in the TBVC states — would have a secure future under the new government.

ANC working committee spokesperson Cheryl Carolus told the conference there was a lot of insecurity among civil servants about the payment of their pension and provident funds.

She said: "We, as the ANC, will make sure that civil servants are paid and that their jobs are secured. Under a future government, all the homeland administrations and pension funds will be merged into one, thereby guaranteeing continued benefits for all workers. Irregularities in people's pensions will be strongly dealt with."

A similar assurance that public servants would be looked after was given by ANC president Nelson Mandela during his visit to Bophuthatswana last week. And, in February he told a public meeting in De Aar that no democratic government would ever dare to throw civil servants out of their jobs.

The ANC's decision to make a firm pronouncement on the issue followed increasing signs that homeland-based civil servants were apprehensive about their future.

They are reported to be in the grip of uncertainty and confusion about plans to restructure the public service under one central and nine provincial governments. Hundreds of thousands of public servants in South Africa and the homelands are to be transferred to the new provincial governments.

Not only are they concerned about their jobs, but they also fear their pension funds may not be guaranteed under a new dispensation.

Ms Carolus said the ANC would embark on a campaign to reassure civil servants that their benefits would not be compromised.

Nearly 1.2 million public servants are involved in the reshuffle. There are 222 000 public servants in 76 departments in Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei, and 220 000 in 62 departments which administer the seven self-governing territories.

The central government comprises 38 departments and administrations employing 745 000 people.

The interim constitution is claimed

to guarantee continuity of service and jobs, although widely differing interpretations are placed on these provisions.

Discontent among civil servants stretches from formerly independent homelands such as Bophuthatswana and Ciskei — now administered by South Africa — to other independent homelands such as Venda and Transkei, and self-governing states such as KwaZulu and QwaQwa.

Meanwhile, research by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) found a near doubling in the number of public servants taking early retirement between 1987 and 1992. The trend was strongest among managers.

A year ago, it was estimated that taxpayers would have to fork out R850 million for golden handshakes and pensions of tricameral politicians. And, this was described as "a mere drop in the ocean" compared with payouts for retiring civil servants.

Democratic Party pensions expert Brian Goodall said bureaucrats and senior civil servants making way for the new political order could lay claim to payouts of up to R21 billion.

He confirmed that increasing numbers of civil servants, worried about the new dispensation, had been taking early retirement.

The enormity of the task of restructuring the public service is indicated by the fact that, in addition to the existing central government and provincial administrations, there are 10 other largely autonomous public services, namely those of the TBVC states and the self-governing territories.

All this adds up to 176 departments with a personnel complement of about 1.2 million people.

It has been estimated that South African taxpayers contributed nearly R14 billion in grants to the 10 homelands in 1992/93, much of which was spent on salaries and fringe benefits for expanding bureaucracies.

The National Party government has already taken the first steps in the restructuring process by initiating the dismantling of the own affairs administrations. This process is scheduled to be completed by April 1.

But, there is much more involved. In terms of the interim constitution, nine new provinces are being created, each with its own parliament and regional government. Existing homelands are to be integrated into the provinces.

Democratic Party spokesman on homeland affairs Peter Soal told Weekend Argus that provision already had been made for all the public servants and administrations to be amalgamated.

He envisaged that in due course there would have to be a degree of rationalisation. Although public servants might have to be transferred to do jobs in areas where their skills were needed most, and some administrations might have to be trimmed, assurances had been given "all round" that no public servants would lose their jobs.

What could happen was that, in the process of rationalisation, some public servants might be offered early retirement, but in such cases they could be assured of acceptable retirement packages.

The Democratic Party has also indicated that it expected some fundamental shifts in the public service structure.

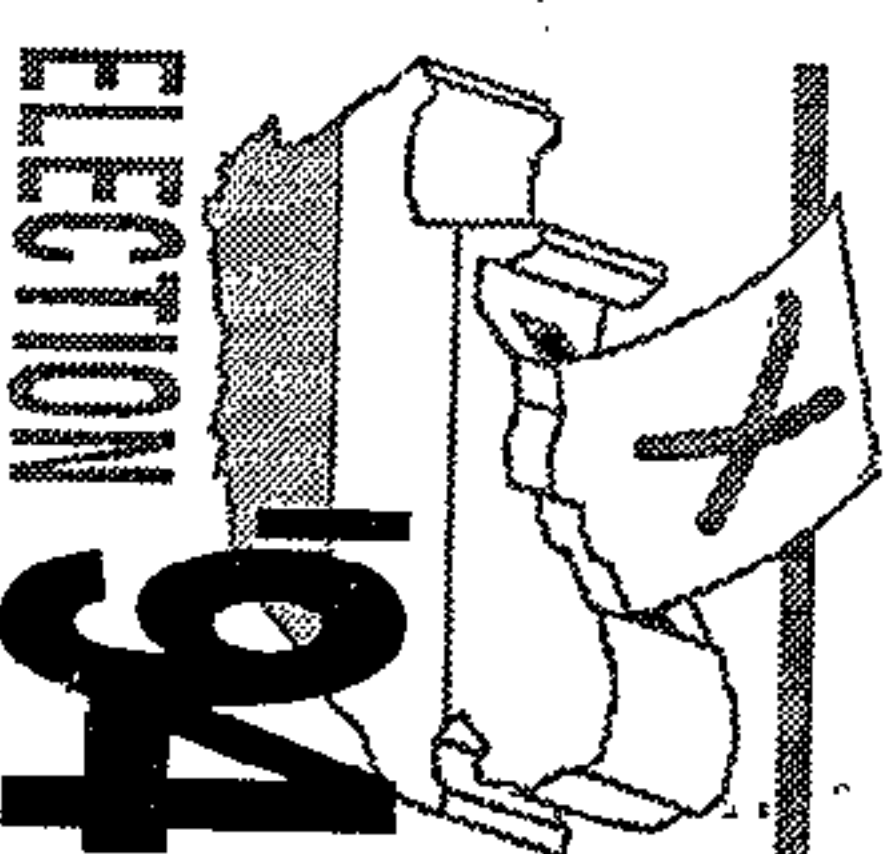
It has been pointed out, for example, that in the upper structure of the public service, 90 percent of the posts are held by white males. This, in a country where such people represent less than six percent of the population and in a public service where 70 percent of all posts are held by people of colour.

(News by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town, and Abdul Milazi, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Government accuses TEC of following ANC agenda

AK4 26/3/94

(30419)



DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

It is a "travesty" that the Transitional Executive Council favours Transkei while pushing for the downfall of other homelands to suit the African National Congress, says the government.

This week, Minister of Foreign Affairs Pik Botha accused the TEC of flagrant bias in acting against other homelands, at doing nothing about Transkei, which has prevented the National Party from opening an office or campaigning in the homeland for the elections.

Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa, who is an ANC election candidate, says the security of an NP office cannot be guaranteed because Transkei people are still angry over last year's SA defence Force raid on Umtata.

He wrote to Minister of Law and Order Errus Kriel: "The opening of NP offices in Transkei shall be an added workload for our stretched police force. I have ap-

pealed to you to assist Transkei police with vehicles. Were you to agree to this request it would facilitate the task of our police to guard your offices and rallies."

TEC sources said General Holomisa, in effect, was blackmailing the government for police vehicles before he would allow the NP into Transkei.

Meanwhile, chief ANC representative on the TEC Cyril Ramaphosa is demanding that administrators be sent into KwaZulu to topple Mangosuthu Buthelezi's anti-election rule.

South Africa has been asked to submit a memorandum with its interpretation of General Holomisa's letter, but the issue appears to be bogged down in red tape.

Administrators already have been sent into Bophuthatswana and Ciskei where

■ The ANC-dominated TEC is accused of favouring Transkei, where the Nats cannot open an office, while plotting the downfall of other homelands to suit the ANC before the elections.

anti-ANC governments have collapsed.

The TEC's main task is to level the playing fields for the elections, but it is heavily dominated by members of the ANC alliance.

Government representatives on the TEC Roelf Meyer and Dawie de Villiers have been totally overshadowed on the council.

TEC sources said they were amazed at the apologetic way in which Dr De Villiers raised the matter of the NP's inability to open an office in Transkei.

As the government is part of the TEC, it has not been able to launch an all-out attack on it. But, government sources are furious at what they call the clearly one-sided TEC protection of Transkei.

The TEC should insist on sending administrators to take over from General Holomisa in Transkei and also in Venda

where the NP was unable to campaign properly, said the government sources.

They pointed out that no action had been taken against Transkei after Goldstone Commission findings that Pan Africanist Congress armed wing Apla operated from Transkei.

But, a TEC spokesman maintained Transkei was different to Bophuthatswana and Ciskei where rule had collapsed, making it essential for administrators to ensure elections took place. He said no such collapse had taken place in Transkei.

Mr Botha told Weekend Argus that Transkei "stands out like a sore thumb". He vehemently attacked the TEC's protection of Transkei in spite of its refusal to allow an NP office.

Mr Botha said he had asked Mr Meyer

to raise the matter at the TEC as a matter of urgency.

He disclosed that after raising the issue on the *Agenda* TV programme this week, General Holomisa telephoned him and suggested a meeting to discuss it.

"I indicated this was a very serious matter which would have to receive urgent attention. He said he agreed it should receive attention," said Mr Botha. But, he said General Holomisa had still not guaranteed the NP's safety if it opened an office.

General Holomisa said in an interview that the NP had put up billboards which had not been vandalised in Transkei. He said the NP also had asked for, and been given, permission to drop pamphlets from the air.

But, he said that if the NP wanted to hold rallies or open offices in Transkei, it would have to talk about security.

He said administrators had been sent into Bophuthatswana and Ciskei which had lost control. "In Transkei we have not lost control. That is why we are worried about the security of NP campaigners," he said.

"Every Saturday we bury people here from Natal and the PWV who are killed because of Kriel's generals," added General Holomisa. He was referring to the recent Goldstone report implicating SAP generals in hit-squads.

General Holomisa has proposed a "serious public relations exercise between the NP and Transkei Government to soften anti-NP attitudes in Transkei.

"There is a burning need to discuss these issues at the highest level so that NP officers and supporters working in Transkei are not rendered victims to the hostility of Transkei people on the ground.

"If this matter is not approached with care and caution, the peaceful area of Transkei can be turned into a boiling cauldron of violence and blood-letting," he wrote in his letter to Mr Kriel.

"As things stand now, no NP offices can be opened until the security risk has been adequately addressed by both sides," he concluded.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Nats to win most votes in W Cape poll

TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff

ARG 28/3/94
A NEW opinion poll shows that the National Party will win most of the votes in the Western Cape region in next month's election — but that it will not have an overall majority.

A feature of the poll is that 24,2 percent of eligible voters say they will not vote, are not sure that they will vote or say they will "try their best" to vote.

According to a Market and Opinion Surveys poll done for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, the NP will gain 35,5 percent of the vote, the African National Congress 27,5 percent, the Democratic Party 4,7 percent, the Pan Africanist Congress 3,7 percent and the Inkatha Freedom Party 1,1 percent.

The results have been analysed by the political science department of the University of Stellenbosch.

The National Party is likely to gain 52,4 percent of the white vote, 42,5 percent of the coloured vote and 1,3 of the black vote.

The ANC is given 3,7 percent of the white vote, 72,5 percent of the black vote and 18,4 percent of the coloured vote.

For the DP support in these groups is 11 percent white, 0,6 black and 4,1 percent coloured.

For the PAC there is no white support, 0,3 percent coloured and 15,3 percent black support.

The IFP is given 4,2 percent white, no black support and 0,4 percent coloured support.

A sample of 2 500 voters in the Cape Town metropolitan area stretching as far as Atlantis, Wellington, Stellenbosch and Strand was interviewed.

The poll showed that voter apathy, uncertainty and confusion were most clearly present in the coloured community.

While almost 90 percent of whites and 94 percent of blacks indicated that they would vote or try to, this figure was 76 percent among coloured people.

Violence and intimidation could have the most immediate effect on the turnout of voters. Nearly 20 percent of the total electorate would not go to the polls because of this.

The drop in turnout is more steep in the coloured and white communities, from 82,8 to 57,5 among whites and 65,4 percent to 45,5 among coloureds, than in the black community — from 85,7 percent to 74,1 percent.

Most coloured and white voters see the ANC as the most likely source of violence.

The analysis says a disconcerting observation is the high election expectations of a victory among PAC supporters. In the present survey this is the case among 50 percent of PAC supporters.

"It is conceivable that the election result might come as a rude shock to them and there is no way of telling what the armed members might get up to under those circumstances."

A feature was the weakness of rightwing groups in the area — no more than 1,5 percent of the total population and 5,4 percent of the white group.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

Volkstaat

apartheid
in reverse

PRETORIA. The Afrikaner Volkfront's plan to establish a volkstaat before the election was unrealistic and lacked imagination, the National Party said yesterday.

It was reacting to AVF transitional president Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg's announcement here on Saturday that his party intended establishing an Afrikaner homeland and that it would use any means at its disposal to ward off "threats to its supporters' right to freedom".

The NP statement said: "It must be clear to right-wingers that there is no plan to rescue them. The plan does not even conform to the basic demands of the right-wing as the AVF envisages a charter for black people in the volkstaat."

"This is apartheid in reverse. The right-wing is taking the risk of getting nothing in their greedy attempt to keep everything."

On Saturday Dr Hartzenberg attached a petition to the old Raadsaal's doors in Church Square stating the AVF's intention to establish a volkstaat before April 27. — Sapa



HEATED DEMO . . . Protesting right-wingers burnt an election poster of President F W de Klerk at a Conservative Party rally in Pretoria on Saturday. AVF transitional leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg demanded a volkstaat, produced a map of the Afrikaner homeland boundaries and declared Pretoria its capital.

Picture: AP

Rightwing wants Pretoria to be Volkstaat capital

PRETORIA. — Rightwingers plan to establish Pretoria as the "volkstaat" capital at a rally in Church Square today.

The AVF's transitional president and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg would attach a declaration of intent to the historic Raadsaal's front door facing Church Square, CP chief secretary Lem Theron said.

He denied speculation that rightwingers would try to physically secure the city as their volkstaat capital.

AVF media chairman Koos Kemp said thousands of people would attend.

The Pretoria City Council said serious traffic disruptions could be expected when an estimated 10 000 AVF supporters converged on the city.

Pretoria Boer Commando

members would mass at the Union Buildings and at the Pretoria West showgrounds from 6 am before moving to Church Square.

He would make announcements on the Afrikaner volkstaat's borders, national symbols and constitution, Mr Kemp said. A Press conference would be held afterwards.

Notably absent would be the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging because the AVF's executive council had ruled AWB uniforms must not be worn to the rally.

Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen would address Boere Commando troops today, spokesman Stephen Maninger said, adding that the front urged its supporters to attend the rally.

Sapa
(Report by N. Patterson, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Nats 'waging racist campaign'

□ Effects will be felt after ballot, says Ramaphosa

(304A)

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

AFRICAN National Congress chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa has accused the National Party of running a racist election campaign, the effects of which would be felt in the Western Cape after April 27.

He told journalists at a media briefing yesterday that ANC leader Nelson Mandela was worried that the NP was "whipping up racial feelings" in the region.

As an example of the NP's racist campaign, Mr Ramaphosa said that a Nationalist Party MP, whom he did not name, had urged voters at a meeting not to vote for "kaf-firs".

Another NP election ploy was a claim that the slogan "kill a boer" would be changed to "kill a coloured".

In spite of this "racism", the ANC was "confident of winning in this region", Mr Ramaphosa said.

He hoped that political initiatives started after talks between Mr Mandela and President De Klerk would bear fruit and get full co-operation from the KwaZulu government.

Of the chances of having free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal, he said the Transitional Executive Council would discuss a report by the Independent Electoral Commission.

The TEC would also have to discuss the fact that bands of armed men were attacking people in Natal.

"It's one of the things the TEC has to come to grips with. We can't have a situation where people armed to the teeth are going through that province and the security forces don't take any action," said Mr Ramaphosa.

Law and order could not be allowed to break down in a visible way. Many people in Natal wanted to vote and most people in the province were determined to go to the polls.

"But there's a cloud of fear and uncertainty permeating the community. The threats made by the Inkatha Freedom

Party are meant to scare people from going to the polls."

The ANC believed that measures taken between now and the election should give people in Natal the "maximum reassurance that voting will be free and fair".

He denied that the ANC's mass action campaign would exacerbate an already tense and dangerous situation.

"Our rolling mass action has only one objective — to restore peace in Natal."

Mass action would continue "unless Chief Buthelezi and the government agree that our people will be given the political space, and agree with the TEC to ensure free and fair elections are held".

Mr Ramaphosa said Chief Buthelezi would cease to be Chief Minister of KwaZulu on April 27.

However, what would happen between now and then was not clear.

"We expect the KwaZulu government to co-operate in holding free and fair elections."

(News by D Cruywagen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

REMEMBERING THE PAST: African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, left, and historian, author and academic André Odendaal at the Mayibuye Centre for History and Culture at the University of the Western Cape. Mr Ramaphosa officially opened the centre yesterday.

THE SMALL PARTIES which party stands for what ● Traditional chiefs have a tricky task

Election who's who

Sowetan 28/3/94
POLITICAL PUZZLE Excerpts

from manifestos of some of the small
parties contesting the national elections:

THE Federal Party upholds liberty, the rights of the people and the principles of federalism. It is led by Mrs Frances Kendall.

It stands for:

- Community Power — Power which is now concentrated in the central government should be entrenched in the provinces;

- Direct democracy — People are entitled to the right to vote on all legislation and the right to unseat politicians who are ineffective, corrupt or no longer representative of their constitution;

- Bill of rights — Everyone is entitled to the right to life, liberty, fair trial, private property, freedom of speech, language, religion, movement, Press and association.

- The Soccer Party was formed in February and is led by former Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre Mr James Mange, who served 12 years on Robben Island.

Healing rifts

It is dedicated to:

- Healing rifts and divisions in society by finding common ground and by building national spirit on the emotionally bonding elements of sport, music and the arts.

- Addressing specific needs of the workers in sports, arts and the entertainment arena.

- Addressing the pressing issues of education, housing, peace and job creation.

- The Keep It Straight and Simple (Kiss) Party was formed in February this year and is led by Claire Emary, a Heidelberg businesswoman.

It has a one-page constitution, which chiefly propagates the following:

- To limit the size of government and its powers to tax by imposing a flat 10 percent value added tax.

- To create a police force sufficient to protect the rights of all citizens

- To create an independent judiciary, and

- A defence force sufficient to protect citizens from invasion.

- The Women's Rights Peace Party was founded in February and came as a direct result of academic Nina Romm's

"Women for Women in Government" campaign which she initiated early last year.

The party is led by Romm and two co-leaders, development consultant Ms Dora Ndaba and leading businesswoman Ms Constance Khoza.

Gender

The main aim of the party is to ensure that all policy decisions made by the Interim Government of National Unity address gender inequities and women's rights.

The party also seeks to ensure that "affirmative action" programmes will redress the injustices of sexism as well as racism in all spheres of society — economic, domestic, business, education, defence etc.

It is registered to contest the PWV and National Assembly seats.

- The African Christian Democratic Party was formed in Johannesburg in December last year.

Dogged by accusations of being associated with military intelligence through national co-ordinator Mr Johan van der Westhuisen, who once worked for MI, the party believes in a federal system.

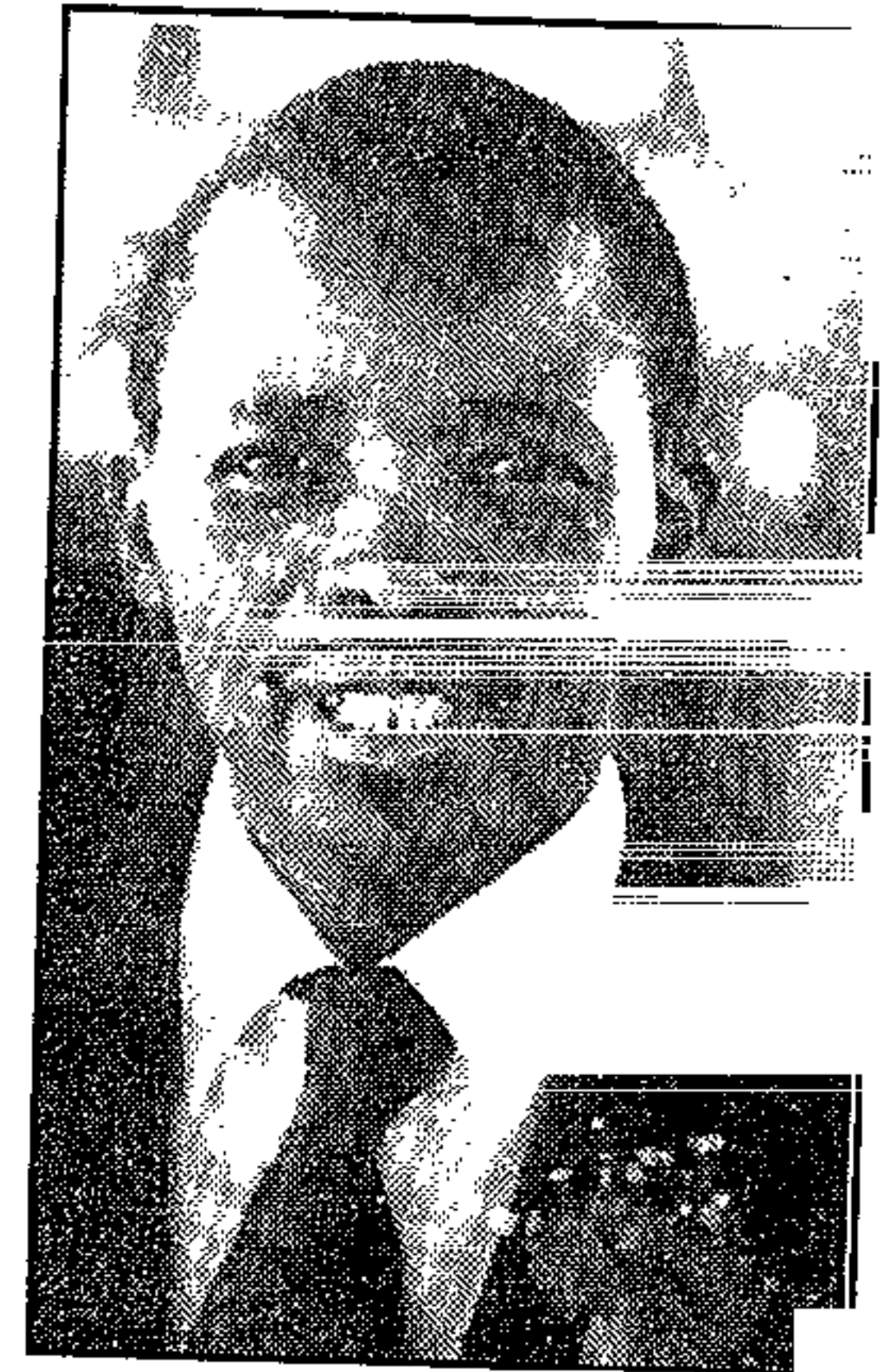
The party argues that its policies, which call for devolution of power and a strong stand for capitalism, are based on the Christian doctrines.



Frances Kendall



Claire Emary



Oupa Gqozo



Kenneth Meshoe



Nina Romm



TK Mopeli



James Mange

Led by the Reverend Kenneth Meshoe, the party is contesting elections nationally and in all regions.

- The Dikwankwetla Party is registered to contest the PWV, Orange Free State and National Assembly seats. Established in 1974, it is led by QwaQwa Chief Minister Dr TK Mopeli.

A former schools inspector, Mopeli became chief minister of the homeland

in 1975.

His party believes that federalism is the only viable policy "for the heterogeneous population of South Africa".

It also believes in a free and equitable economic system in which individuals would have the right to own property, the introduction of a Land Reform Programme and the abolition of restrictions on the ownership of the land.

- The African Democratic Movement is led by former Ciskei military leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

Strongly capitalist and federalist, the ADM is contesting nationally and in all regions.

Gqozo reportedly formed the ADM on advice from former South African Defence Force officers seconded to the notorious International Research Unit.

Kriegler spells out criteria

Free and fair poll a matter of opinion

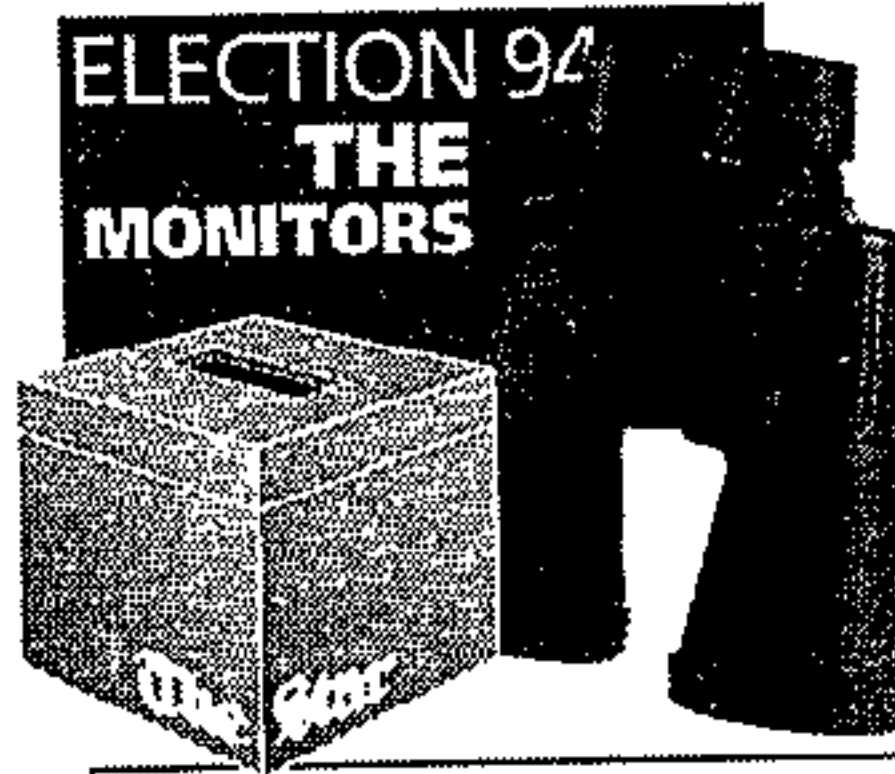
Star 30/3/74
(304A)

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The question of whether next month's election will be free and fair rests on a host of factors, but ultimately, the answer will depend on a value judgment by the Independent Electoral Commissioners, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said yesterday.

Sketching the factors to be considered, he said technical and practical impediments, vote-counting, fraud or discrepancies, mishaps during transportation of ballot boxes and intimidation would impact on the decision of freeness and fairness.

Technical impediments might be a shortfall in qualifying documents issued, while practical impediments could be the inaccessibility or untimely close of



voting stations.

"If technical problems were limited to particular areas only, this would impact to a lesser extent on the judgment than if the problems were widespread," he explained.

The IEC was empowered to declare any part of the count in a voting district to be partially or wholly excluded from the tally as a result of persistent intimi-

dation by a political party.

This discretion could ultimately be used to disqualify a political party from the count.

According to an IEC statement, the general guideline to what was free and fair is whether the electoral environment and the election itself was substantially free and fair.

The IEC has a maximum of 10 days to make a declaration of the election result and its freeness and fairness.

Judge Kriegler said that if, for instance, one province needed to be repolled, the allocation of parliamentary seats to the rest of the provinces would go ahead and be adjusted if necessary after a second election was held in the outstanding province.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Support for volkstaat displayed

Star 30/3/94

Lichtenburg — This sleepy little western Transvaal town in the heartland of the proposed volkstaat saw a mass display of Afrikaner power when hundreds of volkstaters took to the streets yesterday. (30/3/94)

The rally, led by CP chief Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, was a mass demonstration by the "boerevolk" to pledge allegiance to the volkstaat.

Although business in the town went on as usual, scores of flag-waving Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) members and children took part in a peaceful demonstration.

A huge convoy, consisting of 10-ton trucks, bakkies, minibuses and motor vehicles, drove through the town.

Various other rallies to celebrate the volk's "freedom day" were held throughout the day by the AVF and "burgher councils" in several western Transvaal towns. — Own Correspondent.

IEC probes under-18s with voting cards

Star 30/2/94

The Independent Electoral Commission has begun an urgent investigation into reports of people apparently under the age of 18 years possessing temporary voter cards (TVCs). (304A)

Irregularities are said to have occurred in Natal, the IEC said in a statement yesterday.

"According to Robin Palmer, head of investigations in the Natal region, the full extent of the irregularities will be known only once investigations has been completed. Two officers from Scotland Yard are assisting in the investigation."

The IEC added that steps had

been taken in co-operation with the Department of Home Affairs to tighten procedures for the obtaining of TVCs. "Possible strategies are being investigated to filter out under-age TVC holders before the election," the IEC said. — Sapa.

(141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)

Transkei yes to NP offices

UMTATA — The Transkei government has given the NP the go-ahead to open election offices in the territory. 29/3/94

The breakthrough came after talks yesterday between NP representatives and the Transkei government. The talks were mediated by the Independent Electoral Commission.

NP Border chairman Manie Schoeman said his party would open offices in Umtata and Butterworth "as soon as possible".

Transkei has guaranteed security for the offices and personnel until April 4, when the situation will be reviewed. — Sapa 304A

Report by S. MacLennan, 28 Carlton St, EL.

The elections depended solely on the NP's manifesto and the ANC's

NP to scrap election magazine

CAPE TOWN — The NP will withdraw all undistributed copies of a picture story magazine described by the ANC as "provocative and inflammatory".

Appearing before an independent electoral tribunal yesterday, the NP agreed to stop printing, copying, publishing or distributing the publication pending a full hearing on April 8.

Adjudicator Lee Bozalek also authorised the Independent Electoral Commission to confiscate any copies of the publication found in the possession of NP officials, candidates or supporters.

The commission will make an inventory of all copies returned to the NP's Cape Town head office by 5pm today.

The magazine, entitled *Winde van Verandering* (Wind of Change), had been distributed mainly in townships on the Cape Flats. It features a discussion between a student and his parents on whether to vote for the NP in the election.

The ANC had earlier applied for an interdict preventing the NP from printing

and distributing the magazine, and compelling it to retrieve all copies circulated. The ANC also asked that the commission be authorised to enter any premises to confiscate copies of the publication.

These requests were made an order by Bozalek.

ANC provincial party agent Essa Moosa said in an affidavit the magazine was intended to "promote tension, division and hatred between the coloured and African communities".

He said the publication contained "provocative and inflammatory statements, including a statement that the slogan: 'Kill a coloured... kill a farmer' could easily be used under an ANC government."

Moosa described as "untrue, defamatory and inflammatory" the impression created that the ANC had misappropriated poverty relief funds to arm children.

He said the NP, through the magazine and various statements by its leaders, was using "swartgevaar" tactics to attract coloured voters. — Sapa.

Report by EHKamp, Sapa, Nedbank House, Strand St, Cape Town.

NP leads race in the western Cape

CAPE TOWN — The NP was leading the election race in the western Cape with 35.5% support, according to a report released yesterday by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

The ANC had 27.5% support, while support for the PAC had increased from 8% to 14% since the last survey conducted by the institute in November/December.

The report, the sixth in a series on issues relevant to free and fair elections, found the NP had strong support in rural and urban coloured communities.

The report, based on 2,500 interviews, found no evidence that white farmers were pressing farmworkers to vote for a particular party, despite the ANC perception that it was not allowed to canvass on farms.

Support for the ANC and the PAC was strongest in the townships, but the PAC's campaign had been hampered by a lack of funds. Many PAC branches were not operating or non-existent. — Sapa.

Report by M Martin, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

(P.O. Box 61051, Marshalltown, 2107)

Freedom Front states case for self-rule

DAVID GREYBE

THE Freedom Front yesterday unveiled its manifesto, stating that its aim was a confederal dispensation for SA.

It said the "fundamental" right of the Afrikaner Volk — and any other nation that so desired — to self-determination was inalienable and non-negotiable.

The one-page manifesto, containing seven principles, defined self-determination as a people's right to govern itself.

"A unitary state, or any other form of state wherein another nation will govern the Afrikaner Volk and like-minded patriots or wherein the Afrikaner Volk is subjugated to others, is unacceptable to the Freedom Front," the manifesto states.

Freedom Front parliamentary candidate Corne Mulder said as far as Gen Constand Viljoen's party was concerned, the interim constitution would result in a unitary SA.

However, the Freedom Front had decided to use parliamentary politics to oppose the constitution. The party's future after the elections depended solely on its per-

formance in the polls, Mulder said.

The manifesto said the Freedom Front rejected any form of communism, and would oppose it with "all the power at (its) disposal".

The manifesto states that the aim of Viljoen's party "is to provide proactive and positive political leadership and co-operation on the political front to promote the security, freedom and peaceful co-existence of the Afrikaner Volk and those patriots who associate themselves therewith".

Mulder explained: "We are reaching out to our own constituents, and to others who we think will support our cause."

He said the Freedom Front wanted to set an example of "positive leadership" among Afrikaners. Another principle was to foster unity "among our people".

Violence and crime would be "vigorously controlled" so that peace and personal safety were guaranteed, it added.

The manifesto said the Freedom Front

would dedicate all the economic and technical expertise at its disposal to achieve a confederal SA.

The first principle states that all Freedom Front members had to accept that God "determines and decides over the fate of nations and people, and that we as people undertake to honour God".

In a separate development, an Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman said yesterday Volksfront bodies in more than 100 towns would hold rallies and marches today to demonstrate their support for the Afrikaner Volksfront cause.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that the spokesman said the mass action had been organised by the Volksfront and local civic councils.

The campaign follows the Volksfront's transitional "president" Ferdi Hartzenberg's publication of a petition in Pretoria on Saturday saying the Volksfront intended to establish a white homeland before April 27.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and N Penman, Sapa, FNB Building, Church Square, Pta.

THE PWV REGION *Major battlefield of big political guns in shaping nation's future*



Zach de Beer ... DP



Benny Alexander ... PAC



Olaus van Zyl ... NP



Tokyo Sexwale ... ANC

Key Points

Composition: The PWV province comprises: Alberton, Benoni, Boksburg, Brakpan, Germiston, Heidelberg, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Krugersdorp, Nigel, Oberholzer, Randburg, Randfontein, Roodepoort, Springs, Vanderbijlpark, Vereeniging, Westonaria, Bronkhorstspuit, Cullinan, Pretoria, Soshanguve, Wonderboom.

Population as at June 1993: Total (of persons 18 years and older): 6,7 million. Whites — 2,1 million; Coloureds — 273 000; Asians — 159 000; Blacks — 4,2 million.

● Figures supplied by Development Information. Government: There will be 86 seats in the provincial legislature, a 10-member senate and a premier. The PWV provincial government will have considerable powers to make laws.

Bidding for biggest region

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

■ DAGGERS DRAWN *Four parties battle for control of South*

Africa's industrial heartland and economic nerve centre

DAGGERS have been drawn in the biggest electoral region in South Africa, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vaal, where the most important players each hope to win the biggest number of the over six million potential votes.

The PWV is the most densely populated area in South Africa, with more than nine million people. It is home to 23 percent of South Africa's population.

The parties bidding for control of the nerve centre of South Africa's economy are the African National Congress, National Party, Democratic Party and Pan Africanist Congress.

With only 30 days left to election day the four most prominent parties in the province — one of the nine regions on the country's new map — are campaigning on the issues closest to the heart and are targeting the black vote.

Although the April poll is not necessarily an issues campaign but a constitutional exercise, the four parties are focusing on violence, jobs and the much-needed houses.

Figures show that the PWV has a potential labour force of 4,5 million and a participation of 70 percent.

At least 200 000 houses will have to be built in the next 10 years to beat the backlog.

The campaigns of the ANC and the NP are much the same.

NP premier candidate for the PWV Mr Olaus van Zyl said in a radio interview yesterday that his party would provide 500 000 houses in the next five years. The ANC's Mr Obed Bapela said in the same talk show that the organisation wanted to eliminate the housing shortage which he said stood at 40 percent.

The PAC's campaign is for what it says is the return of the land to indigenous Africans and as such does not focus on the same issues as the ANC and NP.

The PAC thus has a common strategy in both its provincial and national election drive.

The DP's campaign is pointed at human rights rather than material issues.

One of its slogans is: "We never killed people, only apartheid."

The PWV is an industrial complex where the illiteracy rate as a percentage of the economically active population of 12,5 percent is much lower than in other provinces (with the exception of the Western

This suggests that the PWV province has adequate human resource potential to sustain development. Also, it has a strong sense of identity as a highly urbanised region with a high level of language heterogeneity.

The PWV contributes 40 percent of the Gross Domestic Product with economic activity centring on manufacturing, finance, commerce and mining.

It has historically formed the backbone of other economic sectors.

Politically, the PWV is where it's happening, as the saying goes, because it is where the most important electioneering takes place.

For instance, the position of Pretoria caused some heated debates at the Multiparty Negotiating Council sessions at Kempton Park. Argument was that it was in the national interest to create as many economically viable provinces as possible and inclusion of Pretoria in the Eastern Transvaal would help in that regard.

Apart from the fact that the Independent Electoral Commission has allocated more provincial parliamentary seats (86) to the PWV than other provinces, the four contending parties have also fielded "giants" for their PWV premier candidates.

The ANC's man is Tokyo Sexwale, the organisation's PWV firebrand chairman who is popular among followers and non-members alike.

The ANC has fielded 86 candidates and should it win, it will fill all the seats in the provincial parliament plus the 10-member senate.

The NP has an experienced government administrator in Olaus van Zyl. As a former MEC in the Transvaal and leading NP campaigner, Van Zyl is also in the party's election team that advises leader FW de Klerk.

The DP has chosen youthful and flamboyant MP for Houghton Tony Leon. His slogan is: "The Tony Leon team fights for you."

The PAC has its fiery secretary-general Benny Alexander as its man for the premiership, whose nomination for the candidacy was seen as an attempt to blunt Sexwale's thrust in the province.

However, as about four weeks remain to countdown, the ANC is still ahead in the campaign and enjoys successful penetration of all areas except in the farming

community.

The NP, which ironically has not met fierce resistance in black townships in the PWV, saw De Klerk launch a successful campaign in the biggest township in the

area, Soweto, two weeks ago.

The DP's campaign has met opposition wherever it goes in black townships.

The PAC's crusade in the PWV has been, like in other areas, low key.

‘The campaigns of the ANC and the NP are much the same’

NP ordered to recall 'inflammatory' mag

(304A)

Political Staff

THE National Party has been ordered to recall some 80 000 "swart gevaar" propaganda picture-magazines it has distributed throughout the Western Cape's coloured community.

The magazine, allegedly "aimed at driving a wedge between the African and coloured communities", was described to the Independent Electoral Commission by the ANC as "inflammatory".

IEC tribunal chairman Mr Lee Boza-

lek ordered the NP yesterday to stop printing, copying, publishing or distributing the magazine, entitled Winds of Change Blow through South Africa — Will You Make it through the Storm?

NP leader in the Western Cape, Mr Hernus Kriel, said last night that he had not seen the controversial mag.

However, he added that the National Party had confidence that its information service "will do the right thing" and for this reason had decided to contest the issue. CT 29/3/94

Poll gives Cape Nats an absolute majority

CT 29/3/94

~~26.5~~

30.4%

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National Party could win an absolute majority in the Western Cape in the April 26/28 election with one survey showing more than two-thirds of coloured voters backing the NP.

On the basis of the second Institute for Multi-Party Democracy

survey, which polled 2 500 people in the region in February, it was calculated the NP would win 52,2% of the actual vote, with the support of 72% of the whites, 68% of the coloureds and 1,6% of blacks.

The ANC was backed by 34,5%, with 81,4% support from blacks

and 25% of coloureds and only 3,6% of whites.

The DP was supported by 6,3%, the PAC by 4,2%, the IFP by 0,8% and the right-wing by 1,6%.

In the coloured community, the ANC attracted the most opposition while the DP was a clear second choice behind the NP.

Rift with CP widening

Constand to start canvassing

Star 29/3/94

■ JOHN SÖDERLUND

While the Conservative Party was drawing volkstaat boundaries and drafting a volkstaat constitution, General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front (FF) was drawing up vigorous campaign plans for an election it now looks certain to contest. (304A)

Speaking at the release of the FF's manifesto yesterday, Viljoen said yesterday's carnage in Johannesburg had highlighted that the two main problems — those of the Zulus and the Afrikaners — had to be solved before an election could be held.

"I warn that there will be a terrible escalation of this security problem — on account of the government and the ANC and its mass action programme," he said.

But he confirmed that ongoing negotiations with the ANC, the Government

and the Independent Electoral Commission were likely to be concluded with the signing of an agreement within days.

The agreement would guarantee, among others, the right to have votes counted by polling station as opposed to region, which would enable the FF to determine the extent of support for a volkstaat town by town.

Meanwhile, the rift between the CP and the FF seems to be widening, with FF members expressing concern that they may clash on the campaign trail with CP members campaigning to have the election boycotted.

The FF is beginning its campaign today with small, private gatherings in a number of towns which are likely to offer strong support for the volkstaat.

Viljoen is holding his first public meeting in Potchefstroom tonight.

Star 29/3/94
Court rules on NP magazine

Cape Town — The NP must withdraw all undistributed copies of a picture-story magazine designed to encourage coloureds to vote for the NP.

Appearing before an Independent Electoral Commission tribunal in the Cape Town Magistrate's Court yesterday, the NP agreed to stop printing, copying, pub-

lishing or distributing the publication, pending a full hearing on April 8.

(304A)
ANC provincial party agent Essa Moosa said it contained provocative and inflammatory statements, including the slogan "Kill a coloured, kill a farmer" — Sapa

(E H Kemp, Nedbank House, Strand St, Cape Town)

STAR
30/3/94

304A



which achieves less than 50 percent of the vote. Minority interest parties are those which claim to be appealing to a specific part of the electorate.

Apart from the ANC, PAC, DP and NP, no party is really claiming to be standing on a national platform.

The other parties are small, relatively new and without any historical following. They have wisely focused on a small, already or potentially disempowered part of the electorate with particular needs or interests.

This strategy of selective marketing is far more likely to give the fringe parties their percent or two than would tackling the ANC or the NP head-on.

Wits University's Professor Tom Lodge argues that the minority parties will probably achieve around four percent of the vote collectively. Welsh says if they get more than two percent he will be surprised.

All the fringe parties are seemingly aware that they form part of the mad scramble for the scraps of votes of those who feel that none of the big four can look after their unique interests.

But how effectively they can protect their supporters in parliament is dubious.

"I suppose their capacity to exert any political pressure is minimal," says Welsh.

Lodge points out that the DP has proven that the contribution of a small party is more in formulating policy than it is in voting them in. In this lies the minority parties' value to their voters.

One of the smallest and most focused minority parties is Lusap, a two-candidate party which, says deputy president Antonio Gouveia, aims to protect the particular interests of the roughly 700 000 Portuguese in the country.

"The major political players and commentators... had written off this sector of the South African community as a political constituency of any importance," he says.

The Islamic Party has clearly defined aims in its protection of the Muslim community. Two of the most pressing are to have Muslim marriage and inheritance traditions recognised by law. In the longer term the party hopes to promote the benefits of the high moral standards propounded in the Koran, says a party spokesman.

But even some of the formerly mainstream parties are becoming more focused in their campaigns. The DP has defined its role as that of a watchdog party.

More cynical commentators have argued that the DP is looking after the interests



Specific appeal . . . James Mange's Soccer Party and Frances Kendall's Federal Party, like the other minority parties, are focusing on fringe groups in the electorate. MAIN PICTURE: RUVAN BOSHOFF

of a diminishing minority — the yuppies.

In that basket some might also have wanted to put Frances Kendall's academically-dominated Federal Party — that is, until she concluded an alliance with a handful of other minority parties, including the Realist Party, the Western Cape Federalists and the Islamic party.

She herself had attempted to climb on board the more established DP wagon, offering votes in return for some of the top 10 DP candidate positions. She was turned down by the DP.

She now boasts candidates who represent the gay community (theologian Hendrik Pretorius), the disabled (Sandra Heyman), the agricultural sector (Eckard Kassier), col-

oureds (Carter Ebrahim) and adherents of Islam (Ali Khan — Islamic Party general secretary).

Something of a shot-gun approach?

"No. We are taking people from the DP, the CP, the Nats and the IFP," she vaunts, denying they might have differences over her staunch federalist ideals.

The other more obviously minority parties include the Africa Muslim Party, the Minority Party and the Keep it Straight and Simple Party.

The controversial Soccer Party is a minority party promising to unite South Africans around cultural, artistic and sporting interests.

Amijand Rajbansi's minority party might

secure his future career in parliament if he can attract enough of the 900 000 strong Indian vote. But he has also spent some time canvassing support from the Greek and coloured communities in Natal.

The future of minority parties as individual parties after the election looks even bleaker than their prospects in the election, says Welsh.

For survival they would have to rely on alliances, and the Constitution's clause which requires resignation from political office by any Cabinet member's change of party affiliations effectively freezes political alliances, he says.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Next month's election will be characterised by the large number of small parties participating in it. John Soderlund looks at the likely performance of these parties in the poll and their impact on post-election politics

Star 30/3/94

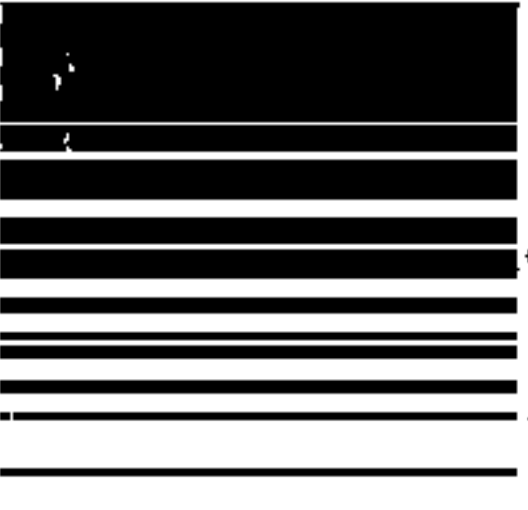
30/4/94

Tailor-made for fringe groups

The extensions of deadlines for parties to register and submit candidate lists did less to draw in the big boycotters than they did to attract a motley crew of minority interest parties.

That is hardly surprising when a political system like ours holds its first democratic election guaranteeing government representation to any party achieving at least a quarter percent of the vote.

"These elections are tailor-made for the small fringe groups," said University of Cape Town politics lecturer Professor David



BUSINESS DAY, Wednesday, March 30 1994

3

Probe into KwaZulu election viability

AN INDEPENDENT Electoral Commission committee, which will include members of the KwaZulu government and the SAP, is to investigate whether it will be possible to mount a free and fair election in KwaZulu.

KwaZulu.

Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler told a news conference the committee, which began its work yesterday, would report back before April 5.

If the committee concluded an election was not possible in KwaZulu, it would be up to political leaders to find a solution. The commission would continue planning for an election in the whole of Natal. However, Kriegler expressed confidence that an election in KwaZulu/Natal could be held.

TIM COHEN

Committee members would include the four Natal representatives of the Independent Electoral Commission, KwaZulu government department heads, a Home Affairs Department representative and a senior SAP member.

The commission's Natal office said it had received reports of people apparently under 18 being in possession of temporary voter cards. It said this was confirmed by a team of monitors sent to watch over the production of the cards at Home Affairs Department mobile units. Steps were being taken to tighten up procedures and filter out underage card holders before the elections.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Disraeli St., Jnb.



Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday with commission adjudication division representative Kgomotso Moroka.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Accord on volkstaat is to be signed tomorrow

B Day 30/3/94
DAVID GREYBE

THE ANC, Freedom Front and government are scheduled to sign tomorrow an accord on an Afrikaner volkstaat which will necessitate the revision of the Electoral Act.

This breakthrough, after months of on-off talks between the Afrikaner Volksfront, the ANC and government, will lead to Gen Constand Viljoen's breakaway Freedom Front's full participation in the elections.

Viljoen said after he had registered his party for the elections that participation would go ahead only if there was an accord on a volkstaat, because constitutional provisions were too general.

The accord sets out the conditions and the process under which a volkstaat could be established.

Freedom Front parliamentary candidate Corne Mulder said the Electoral Act would have to be changed soon after the accord was signed to accommodate some of the details. He said this would be done by proclamation.

The accord made provision for voters' second ballots to be used to determine how much support the volkstaat commanded and where it lay.

The proposed changes to the Electoral Act would specify that at certain polling stations, the volkstaat

votes would be recorded separately.

The three sides had agreed in principle to the accord and only some fine-tuning remained, one of the three facilitators, Jurgen Kogl, said yesterday. Kogl is a political analyst and adviser for stockbroking firm J Solms & Co. (304A)

Pressing national issues prevented the ANC from putting its official stamp of approval on the accord until the meeting today of its national working committee, Kogl said.

"There is still a little bit of work to do, but there is nothing major preventing the signing going ahead," he said. "The three sides have agreed in principle to the accord."

In terms of the ANC's position, insisted upon by president Nelson Mandela and chairman Thabo Mbeki, who headed the ANC team on volkstaat talks, the accord specified non-racialism and did not discriminate against non-supporters of a volkstaat living in the area.

Mulder said the details of a future volkstaat would be worked out only if it was proved that there was "substantial support" for an Afrikaner homeland. If subsequent negotiations on the details of a volkstaat got bogged down, the accord made provi-

sion for international mediation.

He said there was an understanding that between 30% and 49% support in any given region would be sufficient to secure the region as part of further negotiations on a volkstaat.

Sapa reports from Bloemfontein that SA's new flag was burned and a wreath laid at an Afrikaner memorial in the city yesterday after about 200 right-wingers gathered to declare the city part of an Afrikaner volkstaat. An alternative "burgerraad" was introduced, with organisers saying it would serve as an interim command structure for the Free State capital, pending democratic elections for a volkstaat.

Afrikaner Volksfront regional chairman Manie Malan said similar declarations to join the volkstaat were under way in other Free State and Transvaal towns.

Hundreds of people took part in a procession through Lichtenburg in the western Transvaal yesterday in support of an Afrikaner volkstaat.

In Port Elizabeth about 100 right-wingers gathered outside the city hall to protest against the one-city concept, which combined the city's formerly racially divided administrations.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; J Rees, A Thomson and J Saunders, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

TEC task force to allay public servants' fears

PRETORIA — The Transitional Executive Council's civil service task force will meet the heads of all government departments next week in an attempt to resolve the growing crisis in the public sector.

Task force member and Nehawu general secretary Philip Dexter told the TEC yesterday that current problems, particularly within the civil services of the TBVC and self-governing territories, were of an "incredible magnitude".

Department heads would be reminded that the new constitution provided for job, salary and pension security. They would be asked to communicate these assurances to all staff.

The two-person task force, which includes Administration Minister Sam de Beer, visited Lebowa earlier this week following the "almost total collapse of service provision" in the area.

It recommended the appointment of two administrators to take total control of the self-governing territory.

TEC joint executive secretary Fanie van der Merwe said, however, the administrators, unlike in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, could not be given legislative powers.

The TEC's management committee

ADRIAN HADLAND

agreed yesterday to meet the Lebowa cabinet to discuss the task force's proposal.

It was mandated by the TEC to "ensure that an effective administration is established as soon as possible, which could include the appointment of administrators in Lebowa".

The TEC also heard yesterday that calm had been restored to Ciskei following the collapse of that homeland's government earlier this month. TEC delegate Zam Titus, one of the TEC's team sent to deal with the Ciskei crisis, said full control had been assumed by the administrators.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that QwaQwa MPs agreed after a meeting yesterday to meet the demands of striking public servants by April 1.

A Nehawu official in the homeland said its government had signed an agreement with the union in which it agreed to the unconditional reinstatement of workers dismissed during the strike, the creation of permanent posts for casual workers, promotion of public servants and the payment of all outstanding nightshift allowances.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pts; and J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Poll in Natal will go Sowetan on 30/3/94 — IEC

**By Donwald
Pressly**
Political Staff

THERE was no suggestion that preparations for the election would be terminated in Natal, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.

This was the view of IEC chief, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, who announced that a joint working committee had been established to assess the dangers "under the current political climate" to free and fair elections in the KwaZulu administered areas of the province.

The four-party committee includes the KwaZulu government. (30/4)

There were areas in the world with far more troubled histories than KwaZulu-Natal which had held substantially free elections, the judge said.

They included Angola which had held an election after a long civil war.

"If they can do it in Angola we can do it anywhere in this country, including KwaZulu and Natal," he said.

Asked if he would support troop deployment in KwaZulu and the takeover of the area by the TEC, Justice Kriegler said this was a political question.

"However, if I did not believe the problems could be solved, I would not have supported the establishment of the committee," he said.

(D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

Star 30/3/94

Little dissent at meeting

From Page 1

Potchefstroom Banquet Hall.

"We must keep our military might but we must also put on the armour of God," began FF leader General Constand Viljoen after a standing ovation.

"The same God of Blood River and Majuba will be with us now and if we feel weak we must put our hand in his. So long as we honour God we will survive as a volk."

Asked why the volkstaat could not be taken by force, Viljoen said: "Before I commit myself to violence I must be able to stand before God, sure that I have tried all other options."

Militarily, he said, it would be easy to take the volkstaat but

more difficult — legally and logistically — to keep it.

He said he would approach the Goldstone Commission to investigate Operation Sunrise, an alleged SACP plot to take effective control of the army from the ANC through the promotion of violence in communities. Viljoen said he had copies of the Operation Sunrise planning documents. (304A)

He also said he would approach Independent Electoral Commission head Mr Justice Johann Kriegler to determine whether a free and fair election could be held. If the judge felt this were not possible, he should recommend to the Government that the election be postponed by at least two months.

(47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Star 30/3/94

Little dissent at Constand's first meeting

BY JOHN SODERLUND

The Freedom Front kicked off its election campaign in the heart of right-wing election-boycott territory last night with talk of an SACP plot and a commitment to the peaceful route before the military alternative. (304A)

Apart from the single cry of "traitor" and some pointed questions about the splitting of the Afrikaner community, there was little dissent in the

► To Page 3

Star 30/3/94
**Nat advert is a
dirty trick - DP**

Cape Town — A National Party newspaper advertisement displaying the identikit of Cape Town's "Station Strangler" has been criticised by the Democratic Party.

DP leader Zach de Beer accused the NP of a dirty tricks electioneering campaign, saying the party was trying to exploit the fears of communities.

The advertisement blamed the DP and the African National Congress for giving the vote to rapists and murderers.

Dr de Beer said the DP, for "practical reasons", had supported an urgent request from the Independent Electoral Commission to give voting rights to all prisoners.

The DP, he said, "nevertheless remained opposed to all prisoners having the vote".

(D Isaacson, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

Star 30/3/94
**Union Buildings become
a national monument**

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Pretoria's Union Buildings, completed in 1913 from a design by Sir Herbert Baker, have been declared a national monument in terms of a notice to be gazetted tomorrow.

Said Sonette Bezuidenhout of the National Monuments Council: "It is not only its historical and symbolic importance which gives the Union Buildings its unique status, but it is also one of the most important and impressive buildings in South Africa, and the culmination of Sir Herbert Baker's design art."

Combining various architectural trends and modifying the Italian Renaissance style to suit planning needs, national sentiments and the climate, Sir Her-

bert created a masterpiece in red and black granite, said Bezuidenhout.

Sir Herbert, despite criticism, chose an unused brick quarry "which dominates the city as did the Acropolis in the city of Athens" for the site, in preference to Meintjieskop, Pretorius Square and Muckleneuk Ridge.

The cornerstone was laid by the Duke of Connaught in November 1910. The building cost £1,3 million, with another £35 000 spent on the layout of the grounds.

Sir Herbert, who never went to university and was articled in London under an architect to whom he was related, was given the commission while waiting to proceed with plans for Pretoria Station.



In . . . Soweto Youth Dancers dance to "Special Star", performed by Mango Groove at the launch of the al Party at the Johannesburg City Hall last night.

PICTURE: KAREN SANDISON

Inkululeko needed, says Federal Party

Star 30/3/94

All the razzmatazz which traditionally accompanies politics — entertainers, coloured lights and balloons, balloons, balloons filled the Johannesburg City Hall at the launch of the Federal Party last night.

But, while all the paraphernalia was there in abundance, the support did not follow the lead. Organiser Des Lindberg attributed this to the violence which had racked the city centre on Monday. (30/4)

Undaunted by the poor turnout — about 200 people — FP leader Frances Kendall reassured the loyalists who did brave the dark and the muggers that opposition politics had a vital role to play in South Africa over the next five years.

Her party hoped to reap the fruits of the 20 to 30 percent of the voting public that was still undecided about which political party to vote for next month.

If the party made it to the National Assembly, it would press the ANC into adopting proper checks and balances on central government via direct democra-

cy based on a true federal system.

Kendall attacked the present political system for its lack of federalism.

All regional powers could still be overridden by central government, she said.

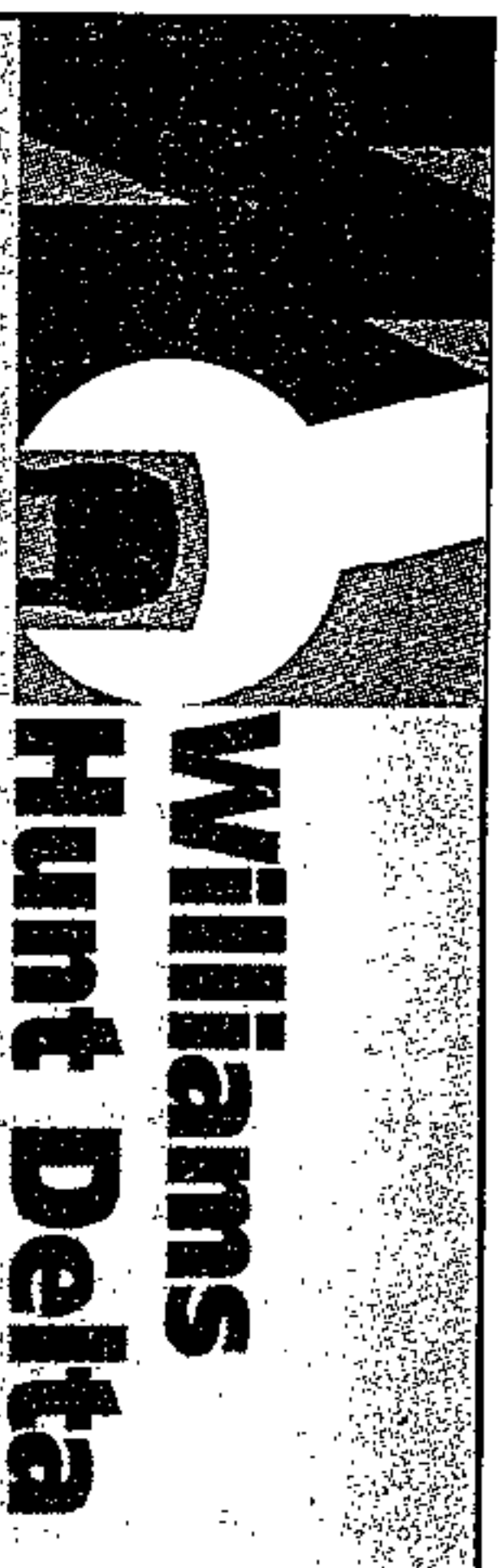
And the new constitution contained a vague limitations clause on the Bill of Rights "big enough to drive a bus through" which effectively meant the interim government would be able to do as it pleased.

It was up to opposition parties to ensure that this did not continue when the final constitution was adopted in five years' time.

"When the NP says we need a strong opposition to the ANC, I say: 'What opposition?' I haven't seen them opposing the ANC."

Saying that the FP's philosophy was based on a "devolve it and solve it" principle, she added: "We are based on a distrust of politicians. What we want isn't amandla (power), it's inkululeko (freedom)."

(Brendan Templeton, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)



Relocation of Randburg dealership

Popular motor dealer Williams Hunt Delta Randburg has moved to new premises this month, having outgrown its previous facilities in a few years. The supplier of Opel, Suzuki and Suzuki vehicles boasts new services and sales facilities that make it one of the most competitive dealerships around.

Reports: Lynn Carlisle Advertising: Niki Hart
A Star advertising feature

Big improvement in parts department

A major feature of Williams Hunt Delta's new Randburg premises is its much-improved parts and accessories department. It caters for individual customers, fleet operators, motor dealers and panel beaters.

Parts manager Eric Ackerman said management wanted to create a department that would become one of the largest Delta parts wholesale distributors in the country.

Not only are the facilities being extended to meet growing demand for all Opel, Isuzu and Suzuki spares, but parts department staff are to be increased to 20 people from three — (and those three have, until now, served mainly the workshop).

He says the bigger team will handle counter sales as well as

CONGRATULATIONS & GOOD LUCK FROM

CONVOY ASSOCIATION
AUTO AIR CONDITIONING

"une la différence!"

Ready for an even better year

Newly appointed Williams Hunt Delta MD Geoff Smith (45) has accepted the challenge of running southern Africa's largest Delta Motors franchise, and expects to succeed — thanks to having a good team behind him.

Smith operates from Durban, where numerous transport companies have their head offices. He has only been in the driving seat a matter of weeks, but has already has a good idea where the company is heading.

Like his predecessor Ian Bell,

now MD of the holding company Venture Motor Holdings, he is a "people person" and believes:

- The customer is not only most important but is the reason for the company's existence;
- Staff must be motivated so that pride reigns supreme while an attitude of "ownership" is adopted towards the business;
- Every employee is a stakeholder and should benefit in profitable situations.

Smith's appointment, says Bell, is in keeping with one of

the company's goals: that of building upon its core strengths and thus delivering added benefit to its customers.

"1993 showed positive growth and was an extremely successful year for us. I have no doubt this pattern will continue with my successor at the helm," he said.

In response, Smith is grateful that his predecessor prepared such a sound platform for him and has established a good team of people at all 11 Williams Hunts dealerships since 1992.

A graduate of the Institute of Administration and Commerce, Smith's experience has been predominantly financially inclined. Responsible for initiating the Mr. Exhaust franchise nationally, he later joined Williams Hunt in 1974 and also served with Natal Cables and Combined Motor Holdings.

It was on an award-winning trip to Brazil that he met Bell who invited him to re-join the William Hunt Delta team.

Smith is determined to con-

tinue the company on its growth path and to ensure that all dealerships (under the leadership of their divisional directors) mature into a position where they treat the company as their own.

He says the people at the dealerships and the people they serve will ensure the company's shareholders are kept happy.

"With the opening of our new Randburg dealership and our increased parts department, I believe we have the makings of a sizable growth area."



Geoff Smith, new MD of Williams Hunt Delta

Dedicated people are behind success story

Professionalism is the key to any successful operation and this is behind the growing demand for the products and services supplied by Williams Hunt Delta Randburg.

With management and staff geared to the needs of the individual motorist and fleet owner alike, it is interesting to take a glimpse at some of the people behind the growing success of the dealership.

Donald Christy was appointed dealer principal at the Randburg dealership in 1982, after serving as national sales director at Williams Hunt head office for 18 months.

The position was familiar to him in that he was also dealer principal at Williams Hunt Parktown in 1980 and 1990.

After graduating from university, Christy was employed in asset financing with Stanbic before entering the motor industry where his "hands on" approach has proved rewarding among his departmental

teams as well as the motoring public.

"Customer service is paramount," he says, "and we have all worked hard at it so that Williams Hunt and its wide range of Delta products will become a household name in Randburg."

"Furthermore, our objective is to dominate the supply and servicing of Opel, Isuzu and Suzuki vehicles in Randburg and the surrounding areas."

He says the dealership has offered value for money and good service from day one.

"For this reason, volumes have increased considerably in the few years that Williams Hunt has been established in Randburg, particularly as we have concentrated heavily on fleet sales while the new range of Opel Astra and Kadett cars are becoming increasingly popular."

Since taking occupation of its new premises this month, Williams Hunt has implemented a number of improvements, one of which is to hold and display a much wider selection of quality used vehicles.

"This move, coupled with our high standards of selectivity,



Key players at Randburg . . . (front row) Grant Weston, Alan Bosch, dealer principal Donald Christy, Eric Ackerman, and (back row) John Ingram and Len Eicker.

should help us become a major player in the used vehicles market," says Christy.

Among his team leaders who will ensure motorists and fleet owners get what they want is service manager John Ingram, who joined the Randburg dealership three years ago.

He has 22 years' experience on the technical side, mostly in the Eastern Cape, where he

served his apprenticeship with the municipality of Port Elizabeth. Ingram was trained by the Delta Motor Corporation to specialise in repairing and servicing all present and many of the earlier models of Opel and Suzuki passenger vehicles as well as Isuzu light commercial vehicles and trucks.

He is backed by workshop team manager Kobus Lupke,

whose involvement with the products of Delta Motor Corporation, and its predecessor, General Motors SA, goes back to 1972.

That year he began an apprenticeship with the franchised dealer Transvaal Motors of Germiston where he learnt about Opel, Chevrolet and Isuzu vehicles. He was workshop foreman there for three years before joining the Williams Hunt (Benmore)

dealership at Sandton in 1980. Lupke stayed with that brand before it closed down in order to relocate operations to Randburg almost three years ago, where he has remained.

His workshop team co-manager, Theunis Kruger, also completed his apprenticeship at Transvaal Motors in Germiston and has been involved with Delta products since 1978.

Qualifying as a fully fledged motor technician in 1983, he continued to work for Transvaal Motors until 1987 when he took up a position as foreman at large transport company running fleet vehicles.

In 1991, Kruger joined the Williams Hunt Delta dealership at Randburg as its service advisor before becoming one of the workshop team managers.

Backing the workshop operation and customer services is Eric Ackerman, who was brought in to head the parts department of Williams Hunt Delta at Randburg after turning around the company's Cape Town (Belville) parts department from a mediocre outlet to a R1-million-turnover concern less than three years.

He went on to upgrade service in the parts department of the Port Elizabeth dealership where he was manager for one year.

Ackerman

How the poll works . . . and what to remember when you look at its conclusions

The second phase of The Star-Marketing and Media Research (MMR) poll is comparable to the first in terms of the size and the methods used.

A total of 2 500 people over 18 years old were interviewed face-to-face in their homes, in their chosen language, by trained Market Research Africa (MIRA) interviewers.

Areas representative of the whole of South Africa were chosen and random samples were then taken in these areas. This sample is representative of just under 90 percent of voters living in cities, towns and larger villages in South Africa.

The survey excludes communities of fewer than 500 and, therefore, is not representative of the

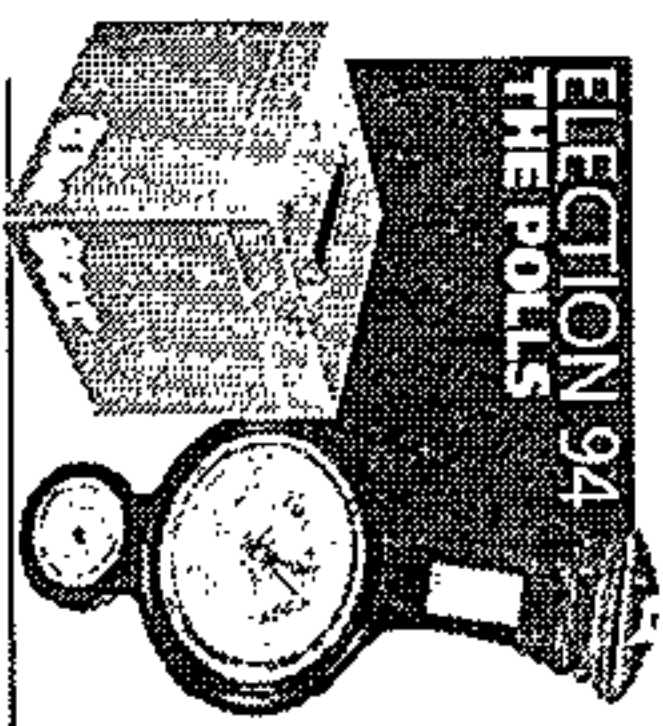
"deep" rural vote.

The fieldwork for the second phase was carried out between February 9 and March 7, about three months after the first phase.

The survey was designed and analysed by MMR, which will be happy to answer any queries about the reliability or significance of the findings.

But remember this . . .

Although the survey used scientific methods, and interviews were carried out by trained people and analysed by unbiased experts, factors outside their



control could influence the final result of the election.

Among these are:

- When the first poll was carried out the Freedom Alliance, which included the IFP, had not decided definitely on whether or not to take part in the election. Since then the IFP has refused, but the Freedom Front has decided to come in.
- No one can accurately predict the voter turnout - polls on this vary from 60 percent to 90 percent - or spoilt papers.
- Violence and intimidation.
- Uncertainty in Natal.
- The position of a party on the ballot paper.
- The ability of rural voters to get to polling stations.
- Voter education and party propaganda.
- Coloured and Indian "swing" vote.
- Processing of valid identity documents.
- Survey sample error and the lie factor in answering questions.
- Undecided voters.
- Lack of accurate census figures.
- Difficulty in predicting who, or if, those who support the IFP, CP, Azapo, etc, will vote for.
- Apathy or uninterest.

Here's the prediction: The ANC is a clear winner but the big question now is whether they will achieve the absolute majority of two-thirds of the vote. And the answer may well lie in the hands of the 17 percent 'undecideds'

51/31/44

(50 44)

Four million hold the key

The ANC should be the clear winner in the election, but it is still wide open as to whether Nelson Mandela's organisation can achieve the two-thirds majority it is gunning for.

This finding emerges from the latest Star/MMR survey, reflecting opinions expressed as recently as three weeks ago. The survey comes as a follow-up to the first phase poll, conducted three months ago, and published in The Star.

There are still 17 percent of people who are undecided compared to about 19 percent three months. This adds up to almost four million voters

who could hold the key to a two-thirds ANC majority.

The "absolute majority" cut-off has emerged clearly as the main focus of the campaign - all research indicates the ANC will win the election comfortably, but the question is by how much.

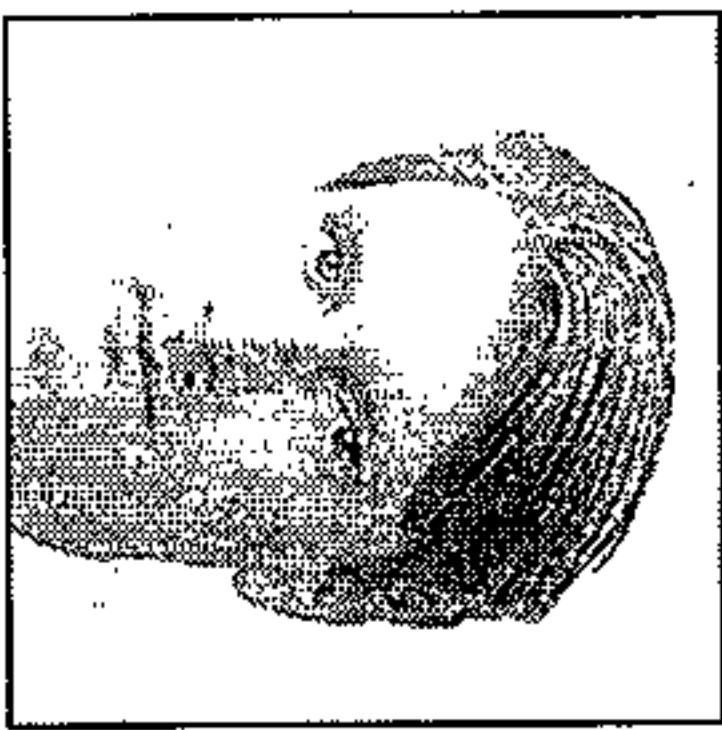
Against this background the survey suggests that while interesting, subtle and important shifts have occurred in the intervening period, broad support-levels have not altered sufficiently to make dramatic changes - as in a different overall outcome - likely in the remaining weeks of the campaign.

But percentages can still shift meaningfully, with important political spin-offs for power balances in the five-year transition period.

The accompanying graph sets out MMR's estimates, within five percent ranges, of the likely performances by the five main political parties contesting next month's election. MMR's estimates - which take into account other credible pre-election polls - suggest the ANC is tantalisingly close to the two-thirds breakthrough at this stage, but that this remains a possibility rather than a probability. For this reason the closing stages of the election cam-

Shaun Johnson

POLITICAL EDITOR



aign take on a particular significance.

A regrouping National Party could draw as much as 21 percent of the vote, indicating that it has no serious competitors for second place as

the major partner in the new government.

It is thought unlikely that any other parties will break the 10 percent barrier, but the estimates show that the Pan Africanist Congress, the Freedom Front and the Democratic Party all have the chance of achieving and surpassing five percent - which, in terms of the Interim Constitution and arrangements for the transitional period would catapult them into a coalition Cabinet.

The survey's extrapolations show, therefore, that the PAC's potential is higher than has been generally thought and the new factor, the Freedom Front, is also to be taken seriously.

As is explained at the top of this page, many factors have been brought to bear by MMR in reaching what are "best informed guess" predictions. What will happen to the Inkatha Freedom Party's support, for example, is unpredictable.

MMR calculates the "midpoint of range" election outcome predictions are as follows:

- **ANC 62 percent.**
- **NP 19 percent.**
- **PAC 6 percent.**
- **FF 5 percent.**
- **DP 4 percent.**

The new poll points to a five percent loss of support by the ANC, with the NP being the main beneficiary. Indian voters in particular seem to be shifting, with the trend less marked among coloureds and black South Africans. Upper income voters are more likely to switch their allegiance to the NP than other voters. The ANC's supporters have stood firm, but the organisation has some male support. The ANC's appeal to women can probably be linked to its strong pro-female campaign, including speeches from Mandela.

The NP is in a growth phase, attracting an increase of up to six percent in its support level. Many whites who said they were uncertain three months ago have thrown in their lot with President de Klerk's party.

The DP has remained largely static: it has made moderate gains among coloureds, but has lost white and Indian support.

The PAC's message is having some effect in black and coloured communities, in the 25 to 34 year-old age group.

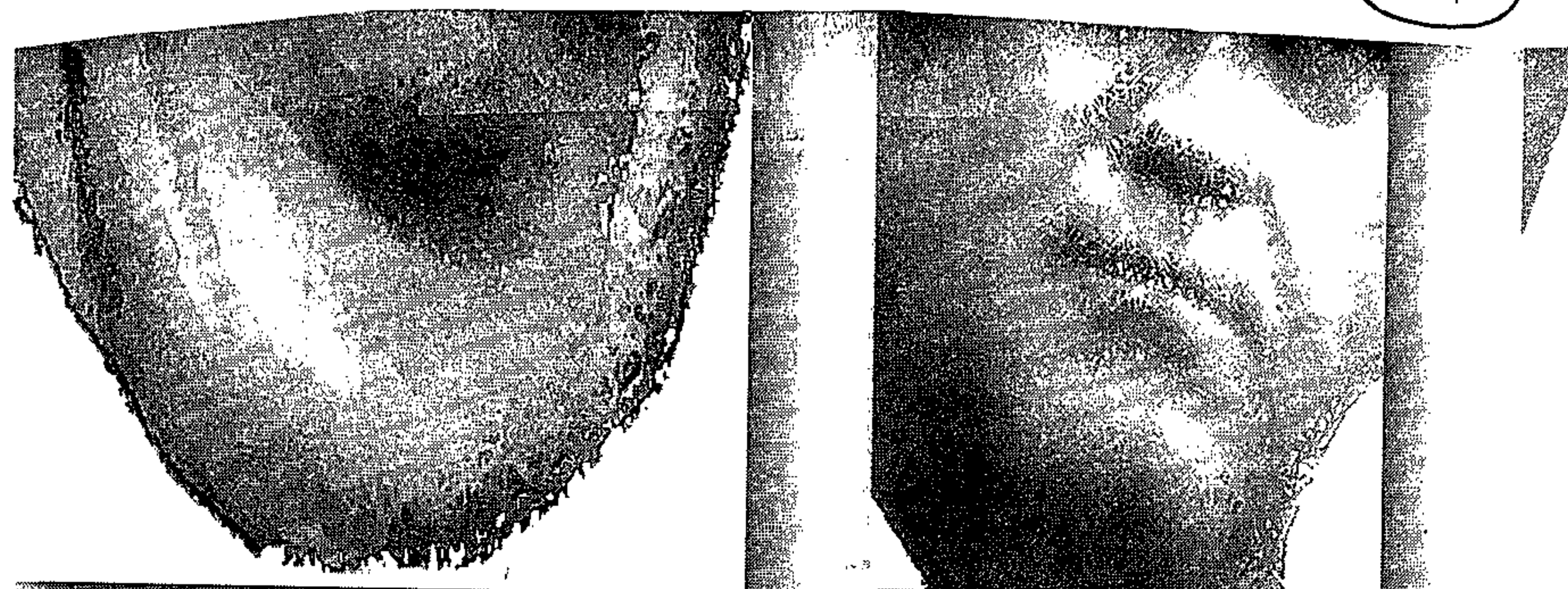
Before its formal decision to boycott the election, the IFP showed a one percent increase in voter support.

Separate articles on this page spell out the other detailed findings of the survey.

■ In the first survey 19 percent of people said they were undecided and 6 percent refused to name their choice.

31/5/94

304A



ANC 59-64%

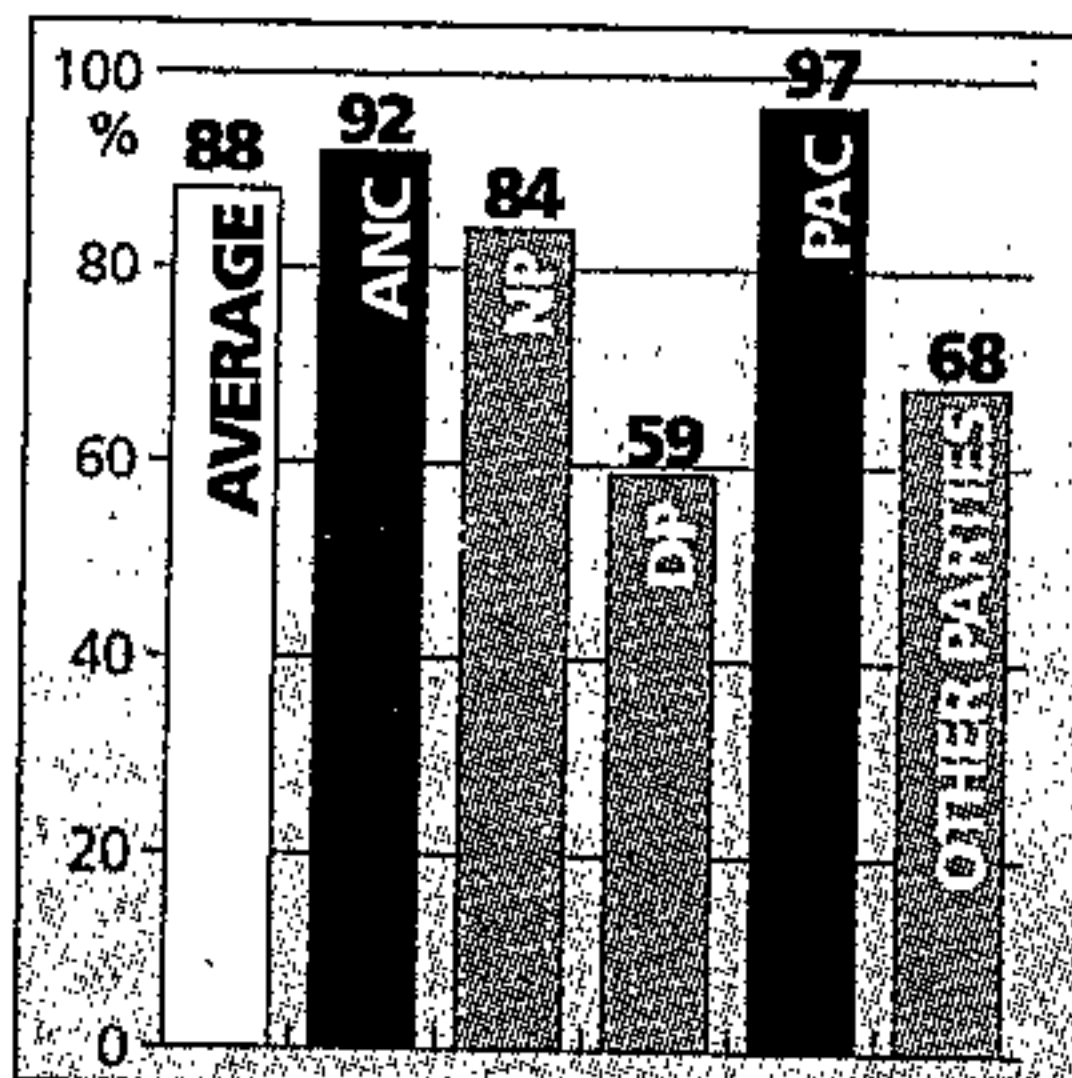
NP 16-21%

ESTIMATE OF ELECTION OUTCOME (Based on past)

LOYALTY

■ The PAC may not have a huge number of supporters, but those who say they will vote for it are certainly the most loyal.

Of those who were asked if they would stand by their choice "no matter what" 97 percent of PAC supporters said they would.



■ Worrying for the DP must be the result which shows that only 59 percent of its supporters are certain nothing can change their minds.

CHANGE

■ What would make people who have made up their minds switch their vote?

Nothing, said 88 percent.

If the party did something I strongly disagreed with, say 4 percent.

If another party made promises or policies I strongly agreed with, say 4 percent.

If someone threatened or intimidated me, say 2 percent.

If parents, partner or friends sway me, say 1 percent.

A few gave reasons such as if their party withdrew, if minority groups were disregarded, and if their party changed its policies or broke its promises.

UNCERTAINTY

■ Why are people uncertain about their choice?

The two main reasons are uninterest and ignorance.

These were the answers by people who are still undecided about their choice: I'm not interested in politics or the election (25 percent, who were more likely to be coloureds or Indians).

I don't know what is going on politically (19 percent, coloureds, Indians, lower income, over-50s).

I like more than one party and can't decide which to vote for (15 percent, upper income whites).

I don't know what each of the parties stands for (12 percent), and I don't like or trust any of the parties or leaders (9 percent).

Minor reasons were: I don't know how to vote; I don't know where to vote; my vote won't make a difference; promises are not being kept; have not decided yet; parties are changing their policies and, lots can still happen.

More women

Since the last poll, women have become more certain about the party they will choose. In the first survey, nearly a quarter (24 percent) said they did not know. This figure is now down to 19 percent, and this is the main reason for the positive movement to those who have made up their minds.

But fully 17 percent of voters (nearly one in six) are still uncertain.

The significance of this figure is that it represents about four million possible voters.

In comparing the "uncertains" in the two polls, analysts say it appears more whites have now made up their minds (mainly in the NP's favour).

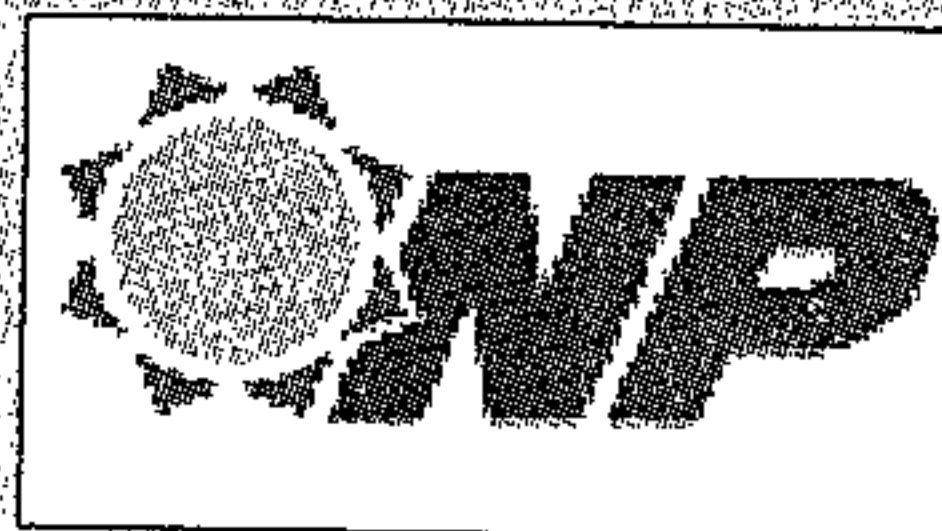
But, with less than a month to go before the election, one out of three Indians are still undecided.

A large group of coloureds are still

THE MAIN FINDINGS: No dramatic



THE ANC has shown a 5 percent loss, mainly from Indians who have switched to the NP. Another big loss is in the upper-income category.



THE NP is recovering some of the support it lost over the past year or so and has grown (about 6 percent) mainly at the expense of the ANC.



PAC 3-8%



FF 2-7%

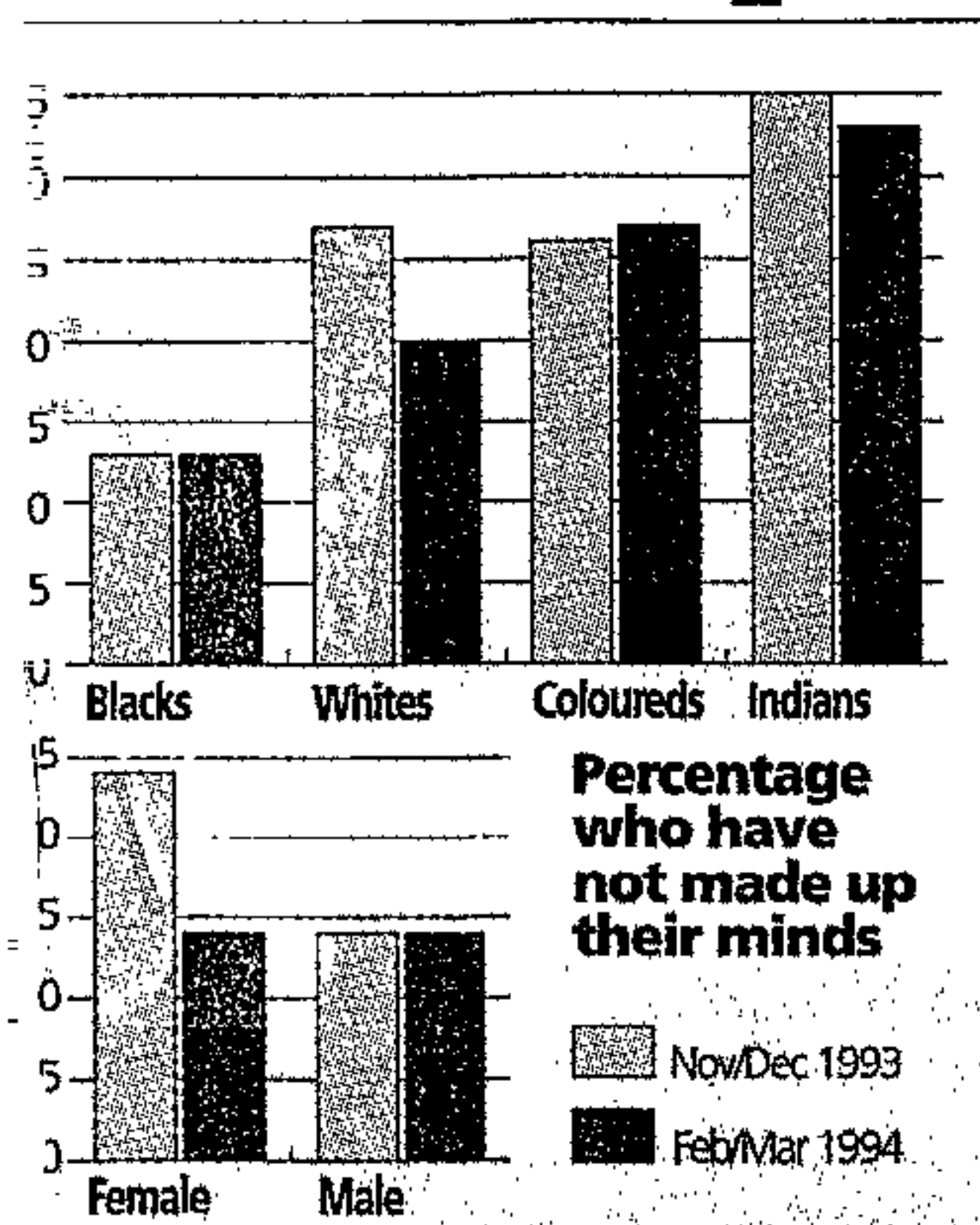


DP 1-6%

ILLUSTRATION:
FANCOIS SMIT

and present polls from HSRC, Markinor, MRA and MMR over the past year)

en make up their minds



going to vote for. This figure remains the same as that in the first poll.

The overall result of the "swing vote" poll is that 13 percent of blacks, 20 percent of whites, 27 percent of coloureds and 33 percent of Indians have still not made up their minds.

Predictably, Natal is the most jittery of all the provinces, with more than one in five (22 percent) still undecided. But this is still a marked improvement on the last poll when 29 percent claimed they had still not chosen a party.

One in five (20 percent) over-50s still cannot make up their minds (down from 25 percent in the last poll) and this coincides almost exactly with the shift in the upper income

uncertain, but only 18 percent of blacks still don't know who they're groups (previously 24 percent undecided, now 20 percent).

FREEDOM FRONT

7%?

General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front (FF), the electoral vehicle of conservative whites, is the wild card in next month's election.

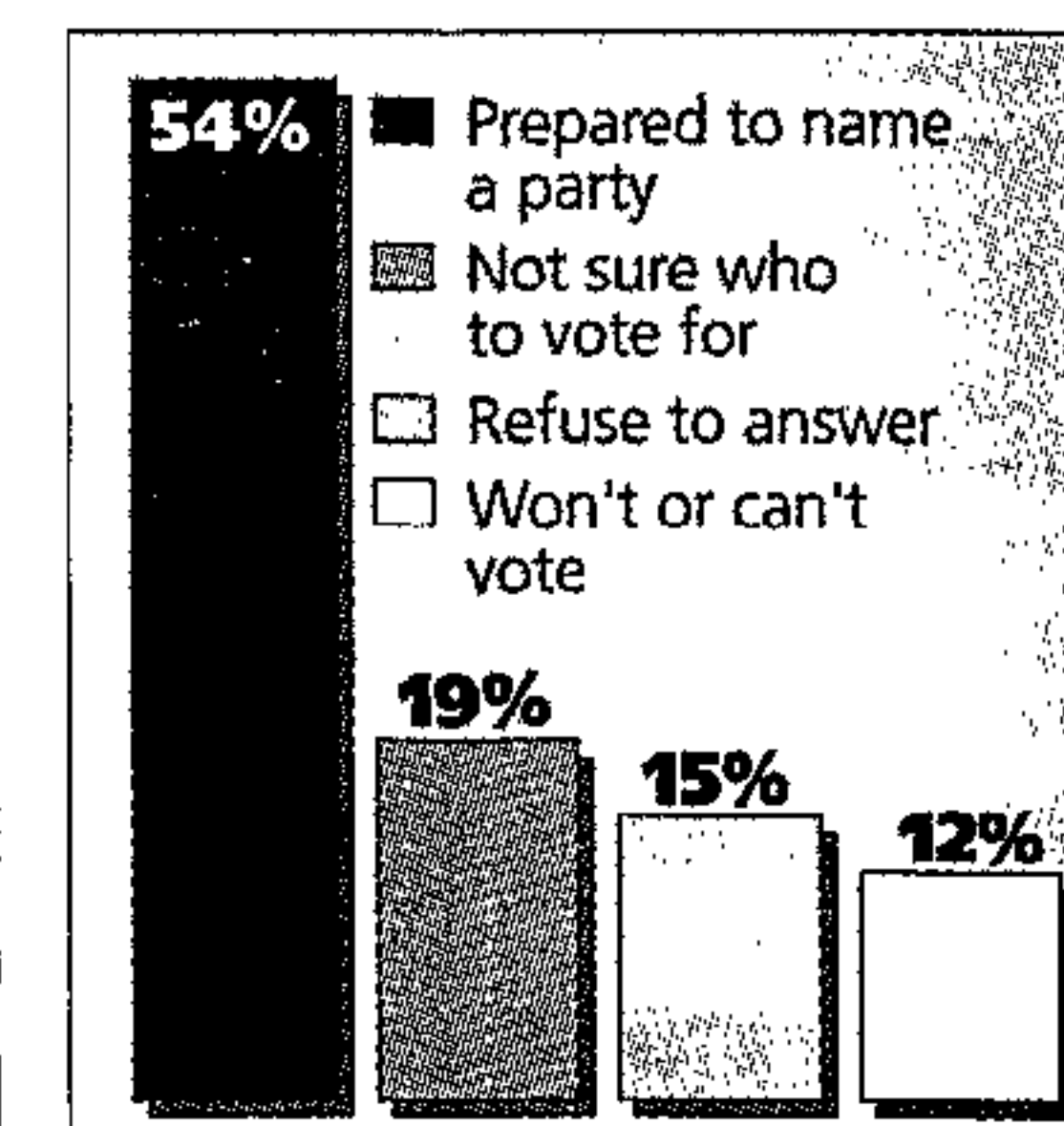
A late entrant to the race, the front's showing is unpredictable as fieldwork was conducted before it decided to take part in the election.

However, if we assume a large proportion of CP and some white IFP and most Volksfront supporters will vote for it, the FF could get as much as 7 percent of the vote.

This is not a scientific research prediction but only an estimation.

NATAL

Natal is the area where those who want a free and fair election just do not know what is going to happen. Will most people be able to vote? How much violence and intimidation will there be? Will voting in all areas be declared valid after the election? There are all these doubts, but of those who were prepared to name a party 85 percent had no doubt they would stick to this party "no matter what happens".

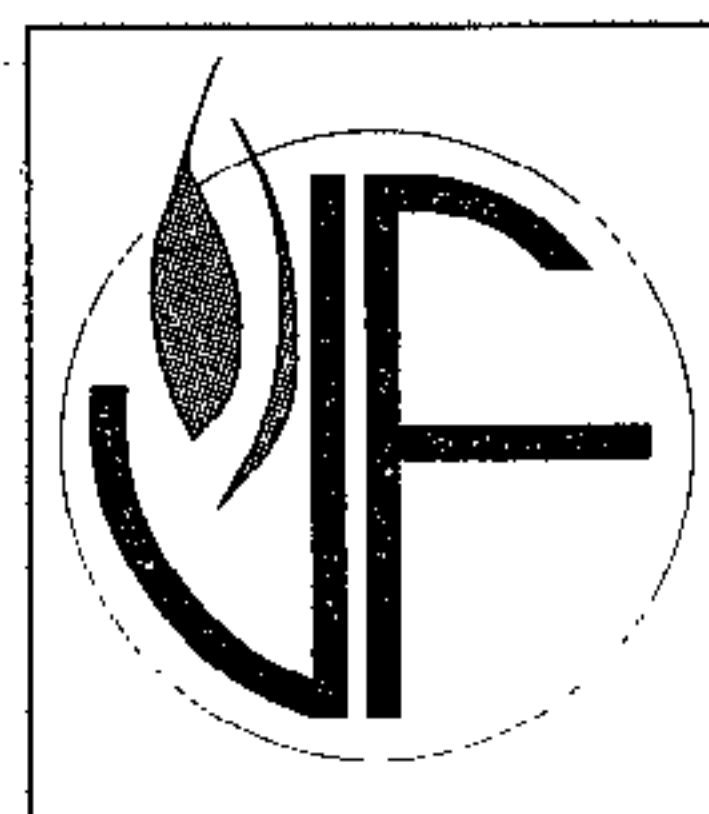


Only 54 percent of people polled were prepared to name their choice. The remainder were either not sure who to vote for (19 percent), not prepared to say (15 percent) or said they could not or would not vote (12 percent). Of all those polled in Natal, 22 percent said they would vote for the ANC, 16 percent for the NP, 12 percent for the IFP and 4 percent for "others". The overall result could be greatly effected by those who go to the polls and those who stay away either because of intimidation and violence or because they want to vote for the IFP and no other party.

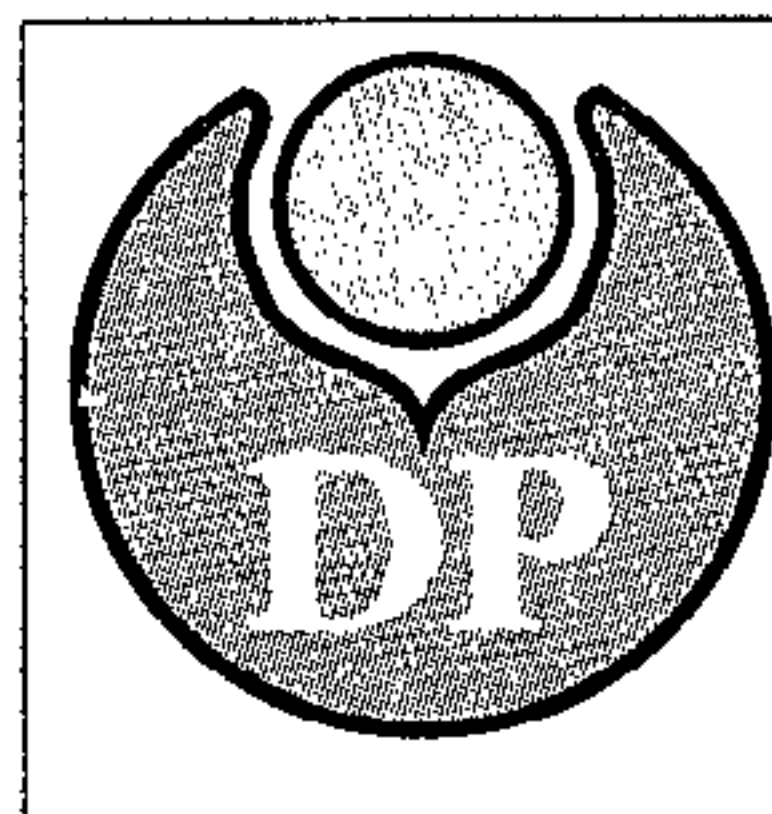
c shift in the past three months



THE PAC has shown a 1 percent gain in black and coloured communities, the 25-35 age group and in the Cape and Free State.



THE FREEDOM FRONT is difficult to assess as fieldwork was carried out before it decided to take part in the election and, therefore, there is no shift pattern.



THE DP has remained static with moderate gains among coloureds. Of all the main parties it showed the least loyal supporters.

Star 31/3/94
18 hosts for

inauguration (304A) announced

The names of 18 prominent South Africans who have agreed to serve as hosts at the inauguration of the president and deputy presidents on May 10 were announced by the National Inauguration Committee yesterday.

The committee, which was chaired by Mr Chief Justice M M Corbett, held its first meeting at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday to prepare for the occasion.

The 18 named are C T Moola, Professor Elize Botha, David Brink, Professor Jakes Gerwel, Professor Johan Heyns, Seymour Kopelowitz, Friday Mayuso, Madala Mphahlele, Welcome Msomi, Sheik Abdul-Gamied Gabier, Sam Ramsamy, Dr William Rowland, Frank Raveli, Princess Stella Sigcau, Zwelakhe Sisulu, N J S van der M Stofberg, Professor Marinus Wiechers and Archbishop Desmond Tutu. — Sapa.

CP recruits civil servants for 'republiek'

Star 31/3/99

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — The Conservative Party is actively recruiting civil servants for a Boere-Afrikaner volksrepubliek.

The CP uses the term "volksrepubliek" to distinguish their idea of an Afrikaner homeland from the Freedom Front's volkstaat. (304A)

In a document aimed at civil servants, the party says every government needs a loyal and capable civil service to serve its people.

"If you share undivided loyalty towards the Boer Afrikaner nation as we do, I hereby invite you to declare yourself willing (to serve the Boere-Afrikaner volksrepubliek), says the document — signed by "transition president" Ferdi Hartzenberg.

"You will have to make your choice now."

(P. Malan, 122, St George's Mall, Cape Town)

(012)
212135

Star 31/3/94
'Fair poll despite spoilers'

■ BY JUSTICE MALALA

A free and fair election would be held in KwaZulu/Natal come hell or high water, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler vowed last night.

Kriegler said the IEC was determined to mount the election to show that "spoilers cannot spoil the whole of the game".

(301A)

He added that his address to the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly had been a "stage-managed process of humiliation".

Saying he was optimistic that a free and fair election was possible, he said the country was dealing with a "brand new concept (in elections) but we think it is going to work substantially well".

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

R100 000 fine slapped on ANC

An Independent Electoral Commission hearing on Wednesday fined the ANC R100 000, conditionally suspended for four months, following the disruption of a National Party roadshow led by President de Klerk in Venda three weeks ago.

The ANC was also issued a formal warning by

the IEC after it was found guilty of breaching the Electoral Code.

The hearing followed a complaint lodged by the NP and was heard in Dzanani Magistrate's Court in Venda.

The incident occurred at the Makhado Shopping Complex in the homeland.

Star 3/13/94
The IEC said it also held a hearing in Johannesburg on Wednesday to deal with a complaint lodged by the NP against the ANC after an incident at a NP rally.

The complaint concerned President de Klerk being struck in the face by a stone in Post-

masburg in the northern Cape.

The hearing was postponed to Tuesday next week.

The commission will hear another three cases in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court, starting at 10 am on Thursday. — Sapa.

(D Guy, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

(30447)

Deal to allow testing of support for volkstaat in offing

Boost for Freedom Front as exodus from CP grows

BY JOHN SODERLUND

The Freedom Front is gathering momentum with the continuing defection of senior CP members to its ranks and the planned signing of an accord which practically guarantees its participation in the election.

PWV regional leader Joseph Chirole said yesterday that Afrikaner Volksfront MP for Stander-ton Rossier de Ville had joined the FF's national list in position number 12. He is also on the Eastern Transvaal regional list.

Chirole said several other senior CP members were due to

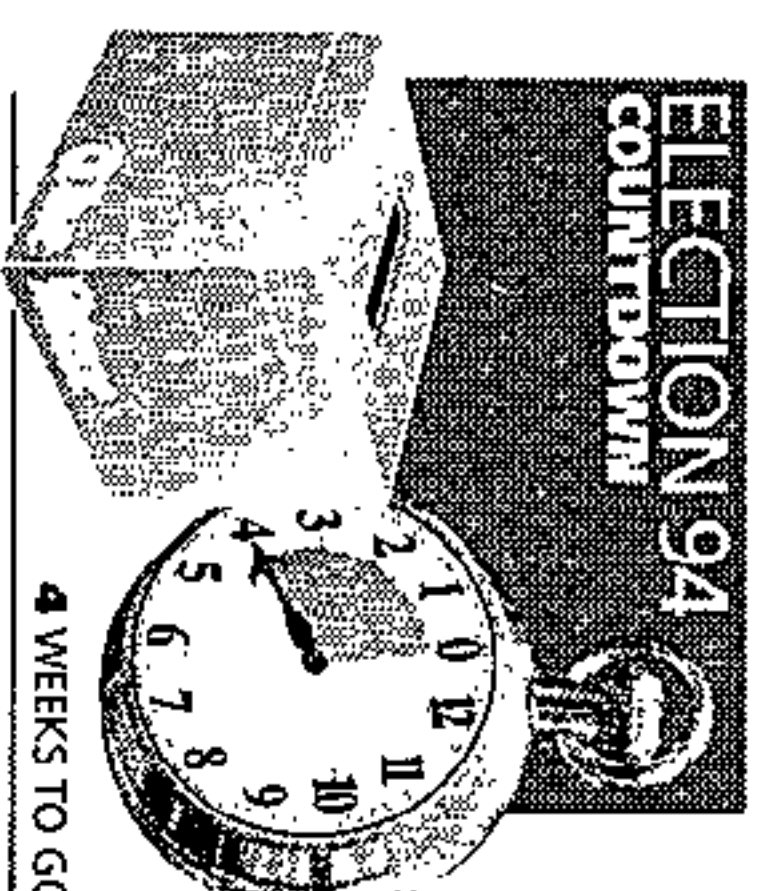
defect to the FF tomorrow, having chosen to stay with the CP until the end of the month. He declined to name them.

Chirole said provision had been made to accommodate late entries on the list who might be included in terms of the Electoral Act if candidates from the original list resigned.

"The exodus is continuing. We are expecting one or two very senior nominations at the end of the month," Chirole said.

CP secretary Dr Lem Theron confirmed that more CP members would be leaving his party.

The Freedom Front is ex-



pected to sign an accord with the Government and the ANC within days, which effectively allows the FF to test support for a volkstaat by polling stations in some regions. Months of negotiations have

secured the changes to the Electoral Act that permit the FF to determine exactly where support for a volkstaat exists. From this information it intends drawing up its boundaries.

Although the indications were that all parties would agree to the accord, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday the matter was still under discussion and no decision had yet been taken.

An FF spokesman said talks were scheduled for today but that the accord might not be signed yet.

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON

With less than a month to go in the election campaign, the National Party has rallied, increasing its support by 6 percent — mostly at the expense of the ANC.

Nelson Mandela's organisation appears assured of a convincing victory at the polls, but improved showings by President de Klerk's party,

Support for the NP has grown, our poll reveals

Star 3/13/94

as well as the PAC and General Constand Viljoen's new Freedom Front, leave the question of a two-thirds ANC majority wide open.

This is likely to be the main focus of the remaining weeks of campaigning and could

well hinge on 4 million possible voters who are still undecided.

These trends emerge from the results of the latest Star/MMR survey of political attitudes.

The results point to

significant trends among voters in the three months since the last poll findings were published in The Star but the overwhelming probability of a comfortable ANC win remains constant.

The overall prediction is the

ANC will win between 59 and 64 percent; the NP between 16 and 21 percent; the PAC between 3 and 8 percent; the FF between 2 and 7 percent; and the DP between 1 and 6 percent.

The NP fightback marks the

stabilising and partial reversal of a trend in which polls suggested its support was declining markedly.

The findings suggest no other party is likely to break the 10 percent barrier but the PAC, the FF and the DP do

have the potential to achieve 5 percent, which would secure them places in the coalition Cabinet.

The fate of the JFP vote remains uncertain, with other research suggesting that up to 50 percent of JFP supporters could opt to vote for other parties in the face of an JFP boycott.

► Four million hold the key — Page 15

FOCUS ON ELECTIONS

3044

ANC in lead in Natal polls

SUPPORT LEVEL

Half of voters prepared to

name party of their choice:

JUST over half of Natal voters are prepared to name the party of their choice — with the African National Congress commanding the most support.

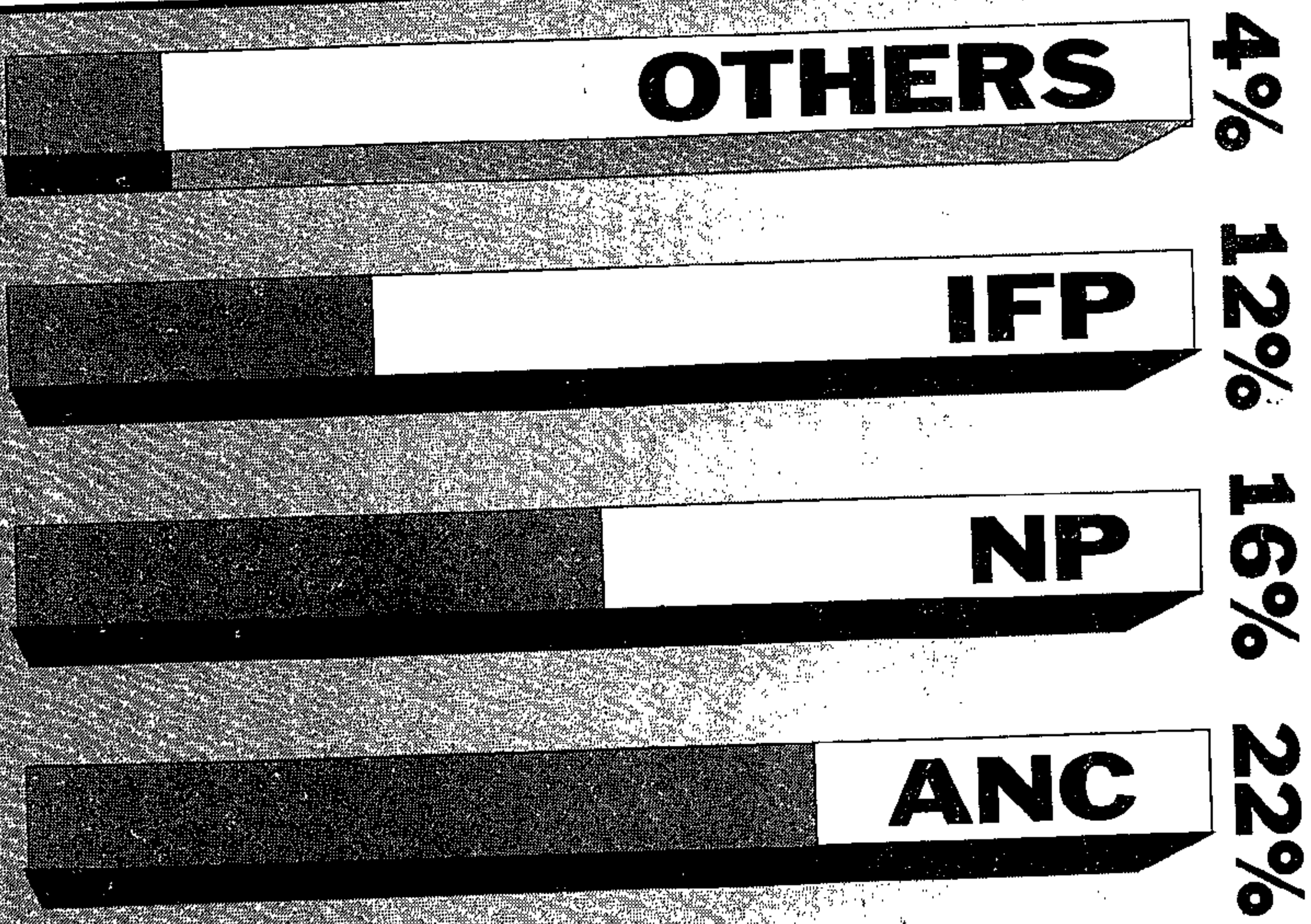
Of all the people interviewed in the region 22 percent are ANC supporters. The NP gained 16 percent and the Inkatha Freedom Party 12 percent.

Other parties gained four percent. This would put the ANC's Mr Jacob Zuma in the premier's post.

Eighty-five percent of those prepared to name a party in Natal say they will vote for that party "no matter what happens".

A total of 19 percent said they were not sure who to vote for, 15 percent refused to answer and 12 percent won't or can't vote.

NATAL VOTER POTENTIAL



GRAPHIC BY JOHN ISAISI

Most have *Sowetan* voter papers

AT LEAST 96 percent of potential voters already have identification documents enabling them to vote, the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday. *31/3/94*

In a statement the Department said 21 850 116 of an estimated total of 22 709 152 voters as determined by the Central Statistical Services had their documents by last Friday.

The department reminded the public that its regional and district offices would be open on Family Day (April 4) and Founder's Day (April 6) enabling them to apply for the necessary documents. — Sapa *(30/4)*

(Report by E van Wyk, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Polls give ANC crushing victory

Star 31/3/94
(304A)

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC appears to be heading for a crushing victory in the election. Surveys conducted over the past six months show the party obtaining a two-thirds majority with ease.

Results of the Human Sciences' Research Council's latest survey, released last week, show an overwhelming 72 percent of voters will place their Xs next to the ANC's name, with only 19 percent of them intending to vote for the NP.

The survey was conducted in February.

An HSRC survey conducted in November gave the ANC 70 percent of the vote.

Other opinion polls have not given the ANC more than 66 percent of the vote.

Other surveys showed these

results for the ANC: 58 percent (Sunday Times/IMR, September 1993), 64 percent (Sunday Times/Markinor, November 1993) and 66 percent (The Star/MMR, December 1993).

In the same polls, the NP's share of the vote increased from 13 to 19 percent.

The IFP's support has decreased from 6 to 5 percent, while the PAC's has remained at 2 percent, but decreased to 1 percent in the latest HSRC poll.

The DP has also increased its potential share of the vote from 2 to 3 percent but, again according to the latest HSRC survey, its support has fallen to 2 percent.

The latest HSRC poll says the Freedom Front can count on no less than 5 percent of the vote, and possibly 9 percent.

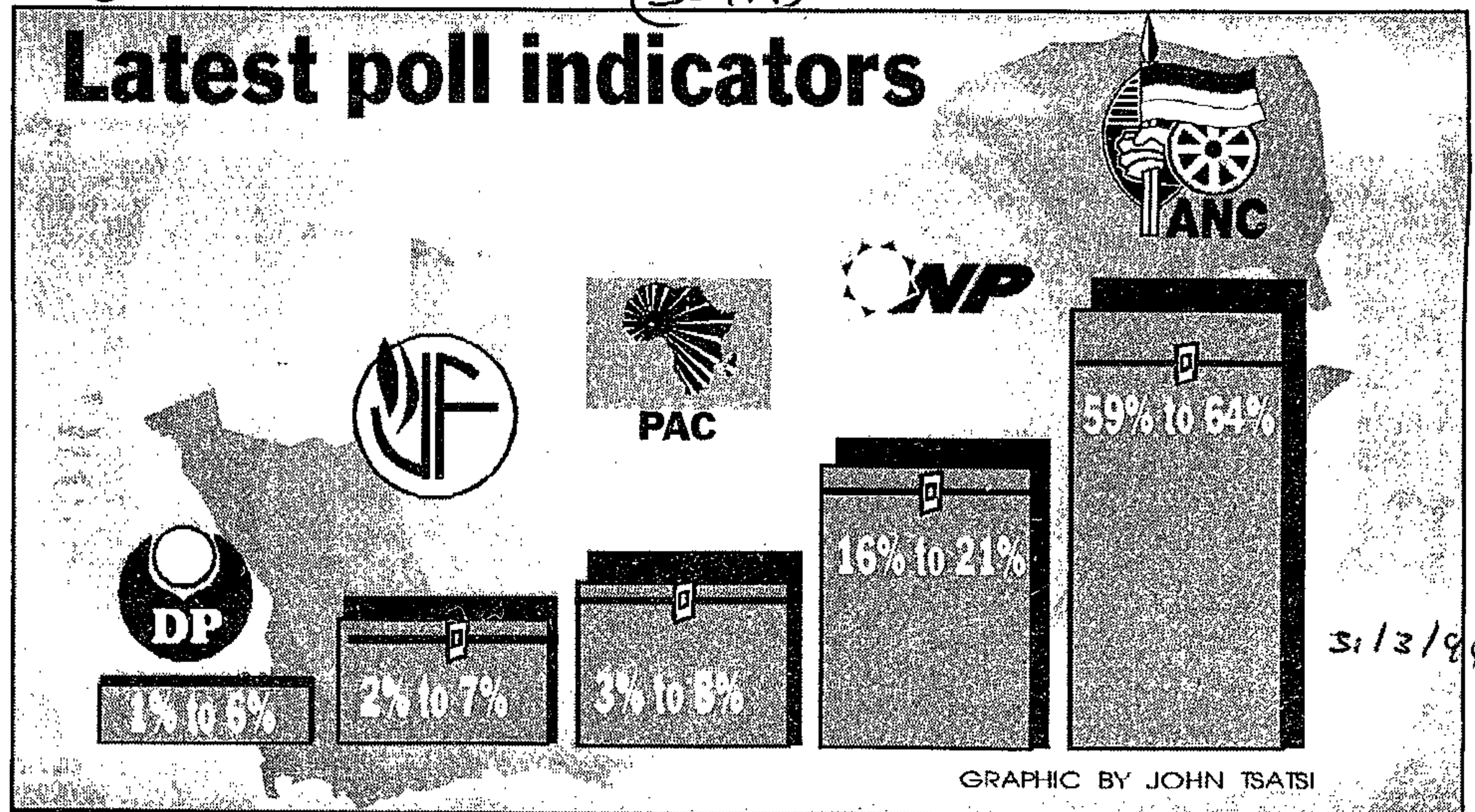
(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

► Star poll - Page 15

focus on elections

(304A)

Latest poll indicators



Final poll before the big day

NATIONAL TRENDS in pre-election polls conducted over a year remained unchanged with yesterday's release of the last Sowetan-Media and Marketing poll before April 27.

Seven polls conducted between February last year and last month showed the African National Congress winning with a clear majority, followed by the National Party "safely unchallenged" in the second slot.

The surveys, conducted severally and jointly by the Human Sciences Research Council, *Sunday Times*, Institute for Media Research, Markinor, Marketing and Media Research and Mark Data have shown the same trend.

Using other polls, political analysts Mr Donald Simpson and Mr Gary van Staden predicted the same results.

The Inkatha Freedom Party will not vote and will therefore not be considered. Support for the rightwing will be represented by the Freedom Front, assuming that Conservative Party supporters, white IFP supporters and others cast their votes.

There has been no dramatic shift in voting patterns, according to the latest Sowetan- MMR survey.

Reports by Sowetan's **Political Staff:**

An HSRC poll conducted in February last year showed the ANC getting 50, NP: 28, FF: 6, DP: 3, and PAC: 2 (All figures represent percentages).

In July the HSRC poll saw the ANC jumping to 67, NP dwindling to 15 and DP to 2, the FF jumping one slot to 7 and the PAC remaining at 2. In September a *Sunday Times* poll saw ANC falling down to 58, NP further down to 13, DP and PAC remaining at 2 and the FF down to 5.

While the DP and PAC remained constant at 2, the ANC and NP rose to 70 and 16, respectively, and FF further down to 3 in a poll conducted by HSRC and Institute for Multiparty Democracy in November.

These parties fared relatively the same in a *Sunday Times*-Markinor poll conducted the

same month, with ANC getting 64, NP and PAC still at 16 and 2, respectively, the rightwing at 4 and DP at 3.

The ANC gained 2 points, the NP — 3, the rightwing — 1, while the DP and PAC stood at 3 and 2 respectively in a *Star*-Marketing and Media Research poll conducted in December.

The ANC scored higher at 72 in another HSRC poll conducted in February. The National Party and the rightwing remained at 19 and 5, respectively, the PAC tumbled down to 1 and DP to 2.

Simpson's (ANC: 61, NP: 17) and Van Staden's (ANC: 55, NP 21) predictions did not differ substantially.

(Report by M. Ngudle, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

ANC still in front — poll

THE latest opinion survey released by the Sowetan Marketing and Media Research Group has confirmed previous predictions that the African National Congress was most likely to get a clear majority victory on April 27.

However, MMR said it could not positively predict the voter turnout, but noted that different surveys recently indicated that between 60 and 93 percent of the potential voter population would go to the polls on election day.

Says MMR: "What we can't tell you and why not", is because of:

- Spoilt papers;
- Effects of violence and intimidation;
- Uncertainty in KwaZulu-Natal;
- Positions of parties on the ballot paper;
- Large number of smaller parties registered;
- Transport in rural areas;

- Voter education;
- Advertising and party messages;
- Coloured and Indian "swing" votes;
- Processing of valid IDs;
- Survey sample errors;
- Lie factor on questionnaire;
- Voters undecided;
- Illiteracy;
- Lack of accurate census figures; and
- Practical and personal difficulties in getting to polls;

The research group further made the following estimates on the possible election outcome (based on past and current polls):

- ANC: 59-64 percent
- NP: 16-21 percent
- PAC: 3-8 percent
- FF: 2-7 percent
- DP: 1- 6 percent

These are estimates rather than scientific predictions, MMR stressed. There were many factors which could change the actual election outcome which political polls were unable to predict.

The following are the three main questions put to respondents in the pre-election surveys:

● An election for a new government to rule South Africa will take place at the end of April this year and South Africans of all races will vote in secret.

If all parties take part, which political party or organisation are you going to vote for?

● What, if anything, would make you change your mind about voting?

● Why are you uncertain about which party to vote for.

(L. Luti 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

NEWS Boipatong massacre suspects found guilty • Survey produces surprising findings



ABOUT 500 armed members of the South African Railways and Harbours Union, who were stopped by police from marching on the head offices of Transnet in Johannesburg, toyi-toyi outside the ANC headquarters yesterday.

PICTURE: KUMALO

Sowetan 31/3/94 3-m voters are still undecided

(3047)

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

MORE than 3 million voters are still undecided about which party to vote for, according to the latest Sowetan-Marketing and Media Research survey released yesterday.

While the figure has dropped by 8 percent from a staggering 25 percent swing vote in a poll published last month, this month's 17 percent swing vote could still carry the day.

A total of 2 590 people, representing just under 90 percent of voters living in cities, towns and larger villages, were polled between February 9 and March 7 this year.

MNR concedes that the poll does not reflect the "deep-rural" vote.

The poll, probably the last before elections, as no polls will be published within 21 days before elections on April 27, shows that the National Party has

scoped more than 10 percent of the reduced swing vote.

Many whites who were undecided in the last poll have now decided to vote, mainly for the NP. The Indians and coloureds still reflect high levels of undecided voters.

While voting patterns remain constant, the African National Congress has shown a 5 percent loss and the National Party a 6 percent gain.

The survey shows that the ANC has lost significant Indian support, slight black and coloured support and a big share of the upper income groups to the NP.

The research shows that the ANC and PAC supporters are the most committed and loyal to their parties, while the Democratic Party has the largest proportion of "wavers" who could be tempted to vote for other parties.

(Report by M Ngudle, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

ANC fined R100 000 for NP disruption

THE ANC has been fined R100 000, conditionally suspended for four months, for disrupting an NP meeting in Venda in the first completed hearing in terms of the Electoral Act.

The Independent Electoral Commission said the hearing arose from an incident in Dzanani on March 9 when an NP meeting was disrupted and did not take place. The ANC was found guilty of infringing the Electoral Act and given a formal warning by the tribunal.

The NP said the ANC would do well to heed the warning. "The time for parties like the ANC to transgress the code of conduct with impunity is now past."

TIM COHEN

ANC spokesman Baleka Kgotsile said the NP's comments gave the incorrect impression that ANC supporters were under instructions to disrupt meetings.

Another case brought by the NP against the ANC, involving an incident in Postmasburg where President FW de Klerk was hit with a stone, was heard in the Johannesburg Magistrate's Court yesterday. Procedural matters were raised and the case was postponed until April 5.

Sapa reports the NP goes to court today in a bid to obtain an urgent interdict to stop ANC members assaulting its members in

Parys's Tumahole township.

The NP said the hearing was an interim measure pending a summons on the ANC in terms of the Electoral Act.

Transkei's Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa might also face disciplinary action if the IEC finds that he transgressed the electoral code. The IEC is investigating Holomisa's claim that the NP would get blacks to eat "pap and vleis" laced with non-toxic ink "so that when you go to vote, they will say you can't vote twice — because the ink will be under your hands".

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and J Rees and M Schneehage, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● Comment: Page 14

Kriegler 'barred' from hostels

JOHANNESBURG

Day 31/3/94

THE Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday declared East Rand townships "no-go" areas for the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and said commission head Judge Johann Kriegler and commissioner Oscar Dhlomo were not welcome anywhere near hostels in the area.

The IEC yesterday called off a planned Operation Access initiative in the East Rand, saying recent Inkatha activity was cause for concern and that hostels there could prove too volatile for political canvassing.

Police said the bodies of two unidentified men who had been beaten and stabbed to death were found at the Denver hostel, eastern Johannesburg, yesterday.

IEC spokesman Ghadija Vaillie said the Operation Access process, in which formal public debates were conducted between party representatives under the auspices of the commission, had been started by the IEC to enable parties to put their cases in areas where canvassing would not be possible.

Inkatha Thokoza leader Abraham Mzizi and local Indunas said the IEC had not consulted

them about a planned Operation Access visit.

Mzizi said the insinuation that hostels could prove volatile was an insult to Inkatha's leadership in the East Rand. "The IEC thinks indunas are inferior," said Mzizi.

Inkatha West Rand chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said Dhlomo — a former Inkatha general secretary — and Kriegler were not welcome near hostels on the East Rand.

"We would repeat what happened to Kriegler when he was at Ujundi in Natal. Inkatha members are angry, and Zulus in particular. If Kriegler wants to be hurt he should defy my warning," said Ndlovu.

Inkatha members would grant the IEC access when Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini was granted sovereignty and called upon his subjects to listen to the commission.

IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje said the IEC's visit to Ujundi had managed to set up a working group between the commission and the KwaZulu government.

He said the IEC message had always been

that people were free to vote for parties of their choice and free not to vote in the elections. "This freedom requires tolerance and acceptance that one person's democratic freedom can be exercised only if he or she allows everyone to do the same," said Cronje.

ANC PWV region deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said his organisation was disappointed that the IEC had cancelled yesterday's Operation Access initiative.

He said Inkatha was in the minority in East Rand townships and the party's leadership knew that some hostel residents wanted to vote on April 27. It was unfortunate that hostel residents would be prevented from voting.

"I call upon the IEC and Kriegler to start using the powers given to them to ensure people on the East Rand go to the voting stations on April 27," said Bapela.

Wits-Vaal peace secretariat director Rupert Lorimer said Ndlovu had been through a difficult period because of the shootings in central Johannesburg on Monday. He hoped cool heads would prevail.

Report by J Ngcedo, TML, 11 Dagbani St, Jhb.

Half of Natal's Inkatha supporters plan to vote

DURBAN — More than half of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters in Natal/KwaZulu will vote in the elections, according to the latest opinion survey by the Institute for Multiparty Democracy in Durban. (30449)

This is despite Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's warning that the elections will lead to the destruction of the Zulu nation and his repeated calls that they be postponed.

The survey, conducted in February by Data Research Africa and the Human Sciences Research Council and released yesterday, showed 52,1% of Inkatha supporters disapproved of boycotting the elections.

It found 54% of Inkatha supporters would "definitely vote".

Only one Inkatha supporter in 14 was adamant he or she would not vote.

The survey was conducted among 2 601 respondents in Natal, of whom 389 were white, 500 were Indian, 100 were coloured and 1 603 were black.

The researchers said they had taken particular care to ensure proper rural representation.

The survey found 44,1% of black respondents supported the ANC and 21,3% were behind Inkatha.

Among all races the ANC scored 38,7%, Inkatha scored 18,1%, the NP scored 13,9%, the DP scored 2,3% and the Freedom Front and PAC scored 0,8% each.

It found 10,5% of all respondents did not know who they would vote for and 8,2% would not vote.

Post-election expectations showed "general gloom among the non-African minorities contradicted by the euphoric views of the African majority". — Sapa.

Report by C Doonan, Sapa, 330 West Street, Dbn.

Union Buildings preserved

CAPE TOWN — SA's historic Union Buildings in Pretoria — seat of the country's executive arm of government since Union in 1910 — are to be declared a national monument.

A government notice to this effect is to appear in tomorrow's Government Gazette, the National Monuments Council said.

"It is not only the historical and symbolic impor-

tance which presents the Union Building with its unique status, but it is also one of the most important and impressive buildings in SA and a culmination of (Sir) Herbert Baker's design art," the council said.

The declaration of a building as a national monument means it may not be altered without the council's permission. — Sapa (2047)

IEC likely to set up polling at mines

JACQUIE GOLDING

THE Independent Electoral Commission is likely to agree to set up polling stations on or near mine property, after a request from the NUM and Chamber of Mines, a spokesman said yesterday. **B154**

The chamber/NUM proposal was part of a broader agreement to ensure that no production would be lost. **313194**

Chamber of Mines chief negotiator Adrian du Plessis said the request was because of the geographic location of mines and the number of employees involved.

NUM general secretary Kgalema Motlanthe said the only unresolved issue was the setting up of polling booths at the chamber's collieries. It was felt mobile voting units could be used as the collieries were small. **(304A)**

He said the polling stations probably would be in place by April 26.

The IEC said it indemnified private property owners against loss or damage, and would foot the bill should any such damages be incurred. It would welcome similar requests from other businesses.

The parties are planning to meet today to discuss the possible extension date for the voting eligibility of migrant labourers.

The NUM said the IEC's criteria on persons entitled to vote excluded about 60 000 migrant labourers.

People who had entered SA on or before December 31 1978 were eligible to vote. The NUM proposed that the IEC extend the cut-off date to December 31 1988.

uesday, March 1 1994 ★

Security shaped ballots order

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) awarded a UK company the R15-million contract to print the 80 million ballot papers for the April elections as no South African printer could meet the stringent security and delivery requirements, a spokesman said yesterday.

Defending the decision, he said it was "taken reluctantly".

Some South African printing firms were willing to upgrade from

medium to high security, but the time needed to do security clearances on staff made this impractical.

"The contract was awarded to De la Rue Identity Systems, which submitted the least expensive overseas quotation. It has a track record in high security printing.

"The interim party liaison committee was consulted and it made a firm recommendation that the printing be done overseas."

Any breach of security and the loss of a single ballot paper could put the legitimacy of the poll at risk, he said.

Mr Ron Woulidge, deputy managing director of a large South African printing group, said yesterday he felt "sad" the country lost this order.

"There is nothing in this order that couldn't have been handled locally," said Mr Werner Wager, general manager of another national printing firm. — Staff Reporter, Political Staff

DP loses last
Maritzburg MP

THE DP lost its last MP representing the Maritzburg area yesterday when Newholme MP Mr Hemanthkumar Neerahoo joined the IFP.

Mr Mike Tarr, Maritzburg North MP, joined Inkatha in 1992.

Former Maritzburg South DP MP Mr Rob Haswell joined the ANC that same year.

Four other House of Delegates MPs, including Mr Pabal Goyender (Isipingo) of the NP, have also joined the IFP.

— Political Staff, Sapa

Right-wing group claims second town

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE municipal offices of another northern Transvaal town were barricaded yesterday by right-wingers demanding that it be incorporated into a volkstaat.

Members of the Pretoria Boer Commando laid barbed wire and sandbags around the offices in Rayton.

Last month, the same group temporarily barricaded the offices in Akasia, north of Pretoria.

The right-wingers erected barricades during the early hours of the morning, said Rayton town clerk Nick Ebersohn.

He said the barricades had been put up — without the permission of the council — as a symbolic gesture. During the day at least three men stood watch over the barricades, although access to the buildings was unrestricted.

A special meeting of the seven-member council last night unanimously decided to call for the removal of the barricades, Ebersohn said.

He refused to comment on whether the council supported inclusion in a volkstaat. The councillors were all independents, he added.

Ebersohn said the town was complying with the Local Government Transition Act, which calls for the implementation of a negotiating forum by early May. He

said talks with the local civics were continuing.

Sapa reports that Boer Commando commandant Willem Ratte said on Radio Pretoria that the Rayton council's offices had been barricaded at the request of the mayor and the local community.

He said it was at local government level that the volkstaat would stand or fall.

The Act allows for provincial administrators to impose a temporary nonracial council on a town if it refuses to set up a negotiating forum.

□ Volksfront leaders Tienie Groenewald and Constand Viljoen met an ANC delegation led by Matthew Phosa in Standerton yesterday to discuss a planned ANC march through the town tomorrow.

Other issues discussed included the declaration of Standerton as part of a volkstaat and the consumer boycott of Standerton businesses.

Last month the ANC attempted to hold an illegal march in the town to protest against calls to include Standerton in a volkstaat. Police fired on marchers, injuring dozens of people.

Report by G Duvenage, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

CP backs Inkatha's call to delay polls

Biday 11/3/94

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday the constitutional amendments tabled in Parliament were "not nearly enough" and backed the Inkatha Freedom Party's call for a delay in the election. (304A)

Hartzenberg said during debate that the constitutional amendments were simply the proposals suggested by government and the ANC, and thus had nothing to do with the Freedom Alliance.

All that had happened was that when negotiations had reached a stalemate, government and the ANC had gone to the bush and had come back with an attitude of "take it or leave it".

The fact that Parliament was meeting to amend the constitution was proof that it was weak and had to be amended even before it had been implemented.

In terms of the amendments provinces could levy their own taxes only on casinos and gambling, but it was exactly those activities the CP did not want in a volkstaat.

The amendments did not guarantee a volkstaat, he said. "They only dangled a carrot in front of our eyes."

ANC-aligned MP Dave Dalling said if the present violence escalated into insurrection then future generations of Afrikaners would curse Freedom Alliance

leaders who led them into "the abyss of certain destruction".

The ANC had evidence that Inkatha and paramilitary right-wing organisations were pursuing the path of war.

Government appeared unwilling or incapable of taking action against the "treasonous right wing" which was attempting by force to become the de facto authority in certain areas, he said.

Dalling asked whether Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was pretending to negotiate when he had, in fact, turned his back on democracy. "Is there any integrity in the negotiating strategy of the Inkatha leadership... or is Buthelezi lying again as he did when he denied knowledge of the secret funding of Inkatha by the Nationalist government?"

DP MP Colin Eglin said government first had to wait for a crisis before stumbling on to the truth that the DP's constitutional amendments had been correct all along.

Inkatha MP Farouk Cassim said the delay in introducing constitutional amendments had seriously prejudiced Inkatha because it now had less time to prepare for the elections.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Talks will continue, says FW

CAPE TOWN — President FW de Klerk told Parliament yesterday that negotiations should continue until a solution was found but the elections would go ahead, signalling that government was resigned to the Freedom Alliance's non-participation in the election and was now pinning its hopes on post-election negotiations.

De Klerk said it should be remembered that the process of constitutional development would not end with the election.

He implored all South Africans to take note of the safeguards contained in the transitional constitution.

"The fact is that the transitional constitution will provide all South Africans, including all those who have always had the vote, with much greater individual and communal rights than they ever had."

Talking to journalists before the short session began, De Klerk said it was possible to lead a horse to water, but not to make it drink.

"This is only the end of one chapter of negotiations," he said, adding the next and more important phase would begin soon. "We have more to give, but we also want more," he said.

He conceded that negotiations were "at a bit of a standstill at the moment" although he expressed the hope that today's meeting between Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would go well.

Turning to the constitutional amend-

☐ To Page 2

TIM COHEN

De Klerk

ments under debate, De Klerk said government believed that it and the other negotiating parties had done everything within reason to accommodate the main concerns of the Freedom Alliance.

"There can now no longer be any excuse for non-participation in the elections and in the continuing national constitution process. I have for some time had a suspicion that the Freedom Alliance's main difficulty had not been so much with the text of the constitution, but with the broader reality of our time."

Whether the alliance parties decided to take part in the process or not, government was determined to proceed with the elections on April 26-28 and with the implementation of the transitional constitution.

Parties contemplating secession or the illegal seizure of power should have no

illusions about their position or the consequences of their actions.

He attested to a "deep understanding for the concerns of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and his people, but unfortunately it had been impossible at this stage to reach specific agreements about these".

Government and the NP recognised the Zulu kingdom as a "unique reality" which had to have constitutional recognition.

De Klerk said he was also aware of concerns that the SACP, which was in alliance with the ANC, had "undemocratic and subversive intentions", while its ally the ANC threatened property rights.

"I understand these concerns but I am not overawed by them. I am confident that we will be able to resist and overcome the threat of any unconstitutional action."

Report by T Cohen, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.

© See Page 4

☐ From Page 1

Embassy blitz on SA voters

ARC 113/94
PETER FABRICIUS

The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — The South African embassy here is to launch a publicity campaign to inform an estimated 100 000 or more eligible South African voters in the US about the April election.

Ambassador Harry Schwarz said yesterday there were sizeable concentrations of South Africans in New York, Boston, Philadelphia, Atlanta, Miami, Texas, Chicago, San Diego, Los Angeles and San Francisco.

The aim of the campaign would be to make people aware of their voting rights and where to exercise them.

African National Congress missions in the US are co-operating with the embassy in arranging voting for South Africans.

Mr Schwarz said voting in the US would be on one day only — April 26 between 7am and 7pm.

There would be no postal ballots, so electors in the US would have to vote in person at polling booths in locations still to be announced by the Independent Electoral Commission.

South Africans in the US, including permanent residents, would be eligible to vote if they had retained South African citizenship and their passports or other identity documents were still valid.

Mr Schwarz also set out the guidelines for the many hundreds of non-government election observers who are expected to flood to South Africa.

He pointed out that election observers from non-government organisations would have to get accreditation from the IEC before March 29.

Individuals would not be able to register as observers unless they applied via an accredited organisation.

De Klerk issues stern warning to rebel parties

**TOS WENTZEL and
MICHAEL MORRIS**
Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk has warned that the government will not tolerate any attempt by any party to disrupt the election.

Speaking at the start of a rowdy first day of debate on the constitutional amendments, he said the government would use "all means, at its disposal," including the security forces, to deal with any party that might seek to achieve its objectives through violence or by unconstitutional, illegal or undemocratic means.

His speech marked the start of the special session of parliament called to amend the interim constitution to strengthen the powers of regional government.

This is being done in an effort to meet the demands of the Freedom Alliance and to woo its constituent

parties into contesting the election.

Mr De Klerk said it was the right of any party to boycott elections but it had to pursue its objectives by peaceful and constitutional means.

Parties that contemplated secession or the illegal seizure of state or municipal power should have no illusions about their position or the consequences of their actions," he said.

"They should have no illusion concerning their support. They constitute a minority of the total South African population. If they disagree with this contention, participation in the election would be the best way of proving their real support."

"The Afrikaner Volkfront has no right to claim to speak on behalf of the Afrikaner people. They

represent only a faction and, as it is, a divided faction.

"The vast majority of Africans are decent, peace-loving and sensible people who dearly wish to find a peaceful and workable way of getting along with the other peoples of South Africa."

Mr. De Klerk said the rightwingers should also have no illusions that they would receive any international support.

There was loud laughter when a Conservative Party MP interjected "We know that already."

Mr De Klerk said the international community would never again accept a state based on minority racial domination and racial discrimination.

"There can be no return to apartheid. Any effort in that direction will end in conflict, total iso-

lation and utter and complete economic ruin."

He said parties involved should also have no illusion about the security forces's role. The SADF and the police force were highly professional and dedicated forces.

With their proud tradition of loyal service to the government of the day, they had a key role to play in upholding the integrity of the new state and the constitution.

There is simply no future on the road of unconstitutional violent activity.

"I appeal to any of those who might be considering this road to turn back before it is too late."

Mr De Klerk said special attention must be given to the Zulu king and his people. The government supported the principle that the Zulu kingdom must receive constitutional recognition.

● He said the transitional constitution had been designed to withstand unconstitutional efforts to undermine or circumvent it. It contained deeply entrenched balances and counter-balances including the separation of powers between the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government.

● It created mechanisms to ensure adherence to its provisions, including a strong and independent constitutional court and an independent judiciary.

● It gave important and substantial power to the strong and autonomous regional governments.

● It provided for a Senate to safeguard provincial rights at the national level and to act as a watchdog over the activities of the National Assembly.

(News by M. Morris and T. Wentzel, 122 St. George
Mail, Cape Town.)

voters feel strongly about. Questions can be phoned to 488 4157. After the electronic count.

However, the route to achieve this would be through constitutional

[illegible]

day, March 1 1994 ★

Security shaped ballots order

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) awarded a UK company the R15-million contract to print the 80 million ballot papers for the April elections as no South African printer could meet the stringent security and delivery requirements, a spokesman said yesterday.

Defending the decision, he said it was "taken reluctantly".

Some South African printing firms were willing to upgrade from

medium to high security, but the time needed to do security clearances on staff made this impractical.

"The contract was awarded to De la Rue Identity Systems, which submitted the least expensive overseas quotation. It has a track record in high security printing.

"The interim party liaison committee was consulted and it made a firm recommendation that the printing be done overseas."

Any breach of security and the loss of a single ballot paper could put the legitimacy of the poll at risk, he said.

Mr Ron Woudridge, deputy managing director of a large South African printing group, said yesterday he felt "sad" the country lost this order.

"There is nothing in this order that couldn't have been handled locally," said Mr Werner Wager, general manager of another national printing firm. — Staff Reporter, Political Staff

No new offers for Alliance

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk has indicated no more concessions will be made in the present round of negotiations to draw the Freedom Alliance into the elections.

In opening a special session of Parliament to amend the interim constitution, he issued an impassioned 11th-hour plea yesterday to parties considering the road of secession or violence "to turn back before it is too late".

In a sharp warning to the Alliance, Mr De Klerk said the government would use all means at its disposal — including the security forces — "to deal with" any party attempting to disrupt the April poll or illegally seize state or municipal power.

Earlier Mr De Klerk said he hoped today's meeting between Mr Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "can produce something positive and constructive".

But he ruled out the latest Inkatha proposal that elections for KwaZulu/Natal be delayed until after the negotiations had finally resolved the constitutional status of King Goodwill Zwelethini.

"I have already indicated during discus-

CP caucus walks out

Political Staff

THE Conservative Party's caucus walked out of Parliament last night when its former general-secretary, Mr Andries Beyers, rose to speak — and then named CP "liberal democrats" who he said wanted to participate in elections.

Mr S P Barnard, one of those named by Mr Beyers as a CP "liberal democrat", re-entered

the House and called him a traitor and a communist.

Mr Beyers said the leader of the CP "liberal democrats" was the party's Cape leader and MP for Kuruman, Mr Jan Hoon.

Mr Barnard was his chief aide, backed by the CP's Natal leader Mr Carl Werth, its OFS leader Dr Piet Gous, and the MP for Pretoria West, Mr Joseph Chiole.

sion with the Zulu king — with Chief Buthelezi present — that that request cannot be considered."

Questioned about whether the government had any more to give in negotiations with the Alliance, Mr De Klerk said: "In the new dispensation after the elections, fundamental negotiations will take place. That door is not closed."

But on the present situation, the government's chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said he could reach no conclusion other than that "the parties concerned have no intention whatsoever of participating in the elections".

● Gold jumps above \$380 — Page 9

'Collusion' shown in letter

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The ANC has produced what it says is evidence that right-wingers who want northern Natal to be part of a volkstaat are working closely with the IFP.

The ANC yesterday released a letter from Mr RDB Schoeman of the Northern Natal Boer Kommando to the chairman of the IFP in northern Natal, which asks for a meeting to discuss strategy to ensure "that the Freedom Alliance grows stronger together".

The ANC said the "intercepted" letter proved that the IFP sought the Balkanisation of Natal.

The IFP has rejected the allegations.

Right-wingers 'fortify' offices

RAYTON, Northern Transvaal. — Armed "Boerekommandos" fortified local municipal offices with sand bags and razor wire yesterday — but a special town council meeting resolved hours later the barricades should be removed by the "kommando".

● Yesterday right-wingers also disrupted and forced the postponement of a meeting of the Newcastle Negotiating Forum. — Sapa

rules out poll delay

De Klerk pleads with right wing

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

■ NOT ENOUGH IFP, CP say Nat

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday implored the right wing to get on board the election process, now that the concerns of the Freedom Alliance were being met by Parliament.

But both the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party remained committed to their rejection of an "inadequate" package.

While the Government now believes that the present phase of negotiations — which had failed to get the right wing into the process — was at an end, the door is still open to further talks after the April election.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said while there were improvements to the constitution through the amendments, political power would be concentrated

concessions an inadequate package:

(304A) (18) in a unitary state "dominated by communists".

The double ballot, the renaming of Natal as KwaZulu-Natal, the inclusion of a self-determination clause and the setting up of a *volksraad* (national council) are "a step in the right direction", but they did not guarantee Afrikaner self-determination.

Delighted by the inclusion

Inkatha Freedom Party MP Mr Farouk Cassim said while the party was delighted by the inclusion of a double ballot, which allows the electorate to vote separately for both regional and central assemblies, the regional powers

did not go far enough. Shortly before addressing Parliament, which met in the old white House of Assembly, De Klerk said, however, if the right wing wanted to be reasonable, it would take the interests of its supporters into account and participate in the April poll.

But he said one could take a horse to water but "one can't make it drink".

While the session marked the end of the recent phase of negotiations, they would continue in earnest after the election, said De Klerk.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

S, A, GOVT. & POLITICS

1994 MARCH



focus on elections

IN a tiny classroom in Nquadu, Transkei, an elderly woman carefully prints an "X" beside Mandela's picture on a ballot paper. All across the Transkei and Ciskei, independent and partisan voter education teams are holding mock elections to prepare for the all-race elections on April 27.

Unlike black people in other areas of South Africa, everyone in the homelands has been "allowed" to vote for the past fifteen years. But these elections were widely regarded as shams. Many people boycotted or spoiled their votes.

This time is different, says ANC voter education organiser Mr Vuyisile Ntisane. There will be few spoiled ballots in April.

"The people know who they want to vote for. They only want to be shown how to vote," says Ntisane.

And they want to be shown how to vote for the African National Congress, he says.

Ntisane doesn't tell anyone who to vote for. Instead he shows people the ANC symbols, and pictures that will appear on ballot papers in April. And he warns people not to mistake Inkatha's colours for the ANC.

Ntisane's mock poll is not perfect. He doesn't provide a screen to allow participants to vote privately. The voters watch each other as they make their "X".

And while the Independent Electoral Commission prepares to use "double ballot" papers, Ntisane still uses the old outdated "single ballots" in his demonstrations.

Ntisane admits there are flaws in his voter education campaign. He says part of the problem is a lack of resources.

"We don't have enough money to do everything correctly," Ntisane says.

He also concedes that voter education campaigns won't be able to reach everyone. Transport is expensive, and some areas of Transkei are difficult to reach by car.

In other areas, voter education takes a back seat to more important issues.

In Qumbu, violence between stock thieves and vigilante groups has put all community work on hold in recent weeks. According to ANC estimates, nine people have died in the fighting.

Some political organisations reject the very idea of voter education. Azapo spokesperson Striny Moodley says the campaigns are "racist" in their assumptions that blacks don't know how to vote.

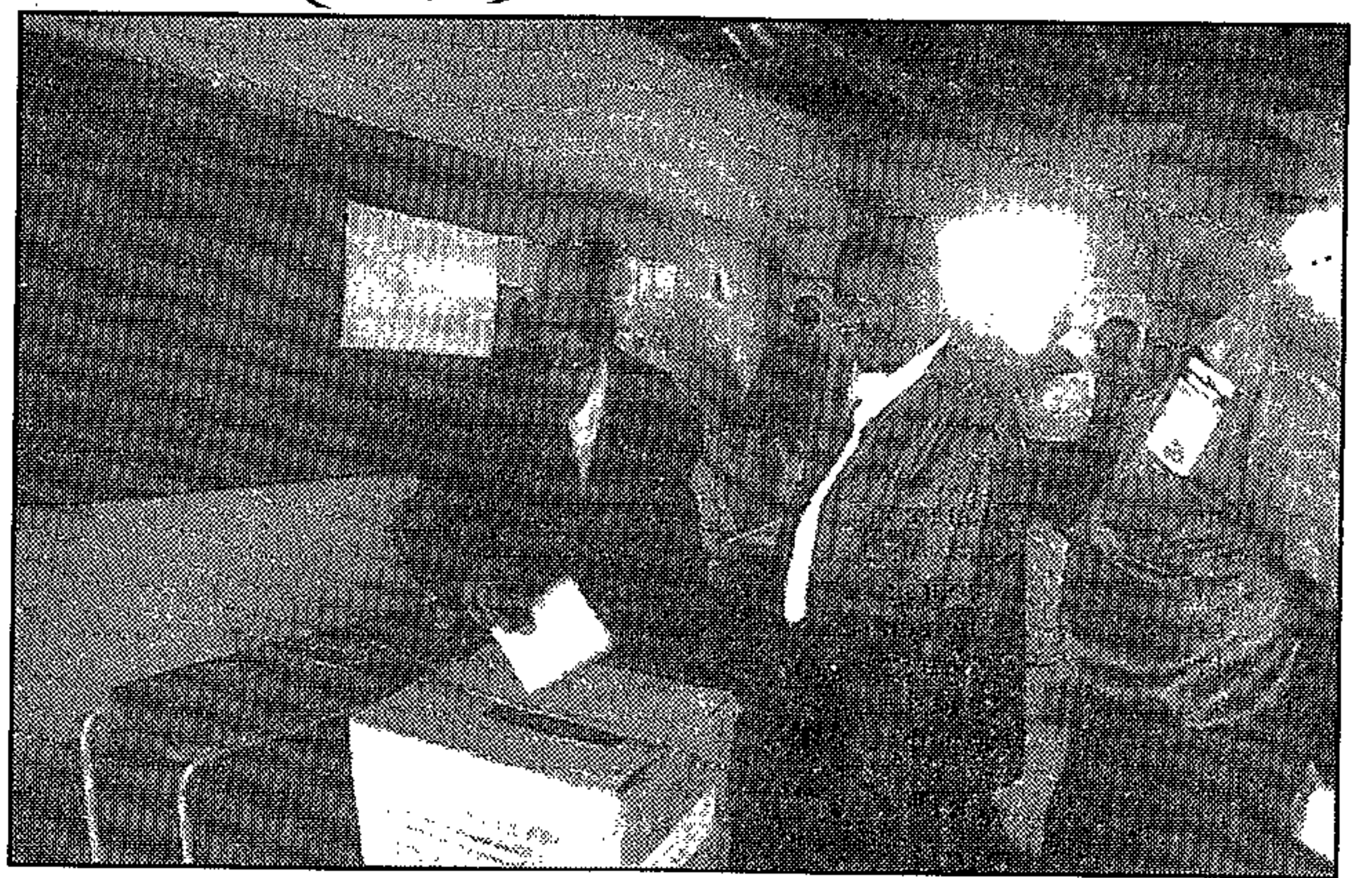
"Black people have been fighting for democracy in this country for years. We know we have been deprived of our rights and we know what must be done to achieve them," says Moodley. "It is the whites that need to be taught about democracy."

Moodley denounces international NGOs and governments for spending millions of dollars to "teach black people that they are inferior", while money for housing, health care and education is desperately lacking.

"All of this money could have been used to

Sowetan 2/3/94
A painstaking beginning to voter education in the Cape may be scuppered by the two-ballot system, lack of money, partisanship and habitual boycotting of homeland elections, reports **Glenn McKenzie**.

(3044)



Making their mark ... voter education in action in Tsolo, Transkei.

build schools. Instead, white organisations are trying to build black dependence. They're saying 'You put the X and we will do everything for you', says Moodley.

He also blames voter education teams for ignoring the right "not to vote".

The Pan Africanist Congress, which only announced its participation in the elections late last year, will soon spread the word to supporters that they should vote, says Umtata PAC spokesperson Funanekile Zonyane.

Mobilise the people

"All methods will be used to mobilise the people for the PAC. I can say that no area will be left untouched," says Zonyane.

The PAC hasn't begun their voter education campaign yet but has plans to hold workshops and rallies throughout Transkei, he adds.

Meanwhile in the Ciskei, Prince Mlamli, a field worker with Education and Resource Ministries, says his voter education campaign is battling perceptions that Oupa Gqozo's government will try to disrupt the elections.

"People think that perhaps the ADM will do things to stop them from voting. I tell them that won't happen," says Mlamli.

Mlamli, who has personally conducted education workshops with more than 6 000 people, says people are accustomed to boycotting elections. And many want more information about this election.

"Why is this election different? People want to know," says Mlamli.

Like Ntisane's ANC campaign, Mlamli says his organisation doesn't tell people who to vote for.

But unlike the ANC campaign, Mlamli tells his voters about the "two ballot" option. And he trains church leaders to be voter educators themselves.

And he teaches people they have the right to vote no matter what their employers say.

"We hear from some people who have had their IDs taken by their bosses. We encourage these people to report the situation and try to get their IDs back," says Mlamli.

Mlamli says despite progress made by his campaign, he is worried that during elections people may be prevented from going to the polls.

"There are certain forces who do not wish this election to happen. Whatever we tell people now about voting, we are actually at the mercy of what happens on April 27," says Mlamli.

New voters put at 16-million

WILSON ZWANE

THE Independent Electoral Commission has estimated that 72% of the 22,71-million people expected to vote in April will be doing so for the first time.

Commission official Norman du Plessis said the greatest concentration of the electorate was in the PWV (4,862-million) and Natal (4,585-million).

Commission vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke told a news conference the organisation would do its utmost to ensure there was adequate security at each of the 9 000 voting stations. He added that it was unlikely tonight's deadline for the registration of political for the election would be extended.

Commission official Peter Harris said in addition to one monitor per voting station, there would be 200 monitors in each region who would be deployed when needed.

Moseneke also said the commission would meet the SA Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights today to discuss voting by prisoners. But no political party would be allowed to electioneer in prisons. Election materials would be distributed to prisoners by warders.

He said a comprehensive security plan was being worked out to ensure there was no intimidation in areas such as Natal, Bophuthatswana and the East Rand. He would not divulge details, but stressed that it was government's task to restore peace in trouble-torn areas.

Responding to commission security adviser Mike Brogden's criticisms of the SAP strategy to police the election, commission official Charles Nupen said they would be considered.

Sapa reports an SA Police spokesman said yesterday all indications were that intimidation would escalate in the run-up to the elections, but a growing number of people were prepared to report these cases. Victims of intimidation were urged to notify the police.

TIM COHEN reports an extensive poll has found that about 25% of voters either doubt or entirely mistrust the secrecy of the ballot, while about 2-million ballots are expected to be spoiled in the April election.

The poll, conducted by Research Initiatives among more than 8 000 potential voters in June and August last year, found that more than 80% of whites and blacks intended voting. But only about half of Indian and coloured voters said they would vote, with many saying this was because they were confused about what was happening in politics.

About 10% of all votes cast by blacks polled in a mock

election were spoilt, with some of the reasons being that voters were illiterate, the mark used did not appear in the designated block and ticks were used to mark the ballot paper rather than crosses.

Research Initiatives researcher Susan Booysen said the findings on this aspect of the poll indicated a very high need for "ballot literacy" training.

Meanwhile, Disabled People SA chairman William Rowland said yesterday the organisation would register as a political party for the election. Government put the number of disabled in SA at between 4- and 5-million — 12,7% of the population.

He also said arrangements had been made to enable blind people to vote. They could either ask the presiding electoral officer to vote on their behalf, in the presence of at least two election monitors, or choose any trusted person to accompany them to the voting point.

Reports by W Zwane and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and E van Wyk and A Thomson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● Comment: Page 10

MIDMAC

Midmacor Industries

(Registration number 87/03762/06)
("Midmacor")

Proposals affecting the minority shareholders

Further to the announcement which appeared on 25 February 1994, reasons there will be a delay in the posting of the circular.

Revised dates resulting from this delay will be notified as soon as possible. In the meantime the relevant bank g with the Securities Regulation Panel ("SRP") and the re has been approved by the SRP.

2 Cape Times, Friday, March 4 1994 ★

CP closes ranks, denies split

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party moved to close ranks yesterday by issuing a series of damage-control statements after reports that a split was looming in the party.

This follows growing division in CP ranks over the party leadership's hard-line stance in recent weeks about participation in the election.

A number of CP MPs are known to feel

that a boycott tactic would unnecessarily limit the party's options and that they should, at very least, follow the example of Inkatha and consider provisional registration for the April poll.

The Afrikaner Volksfront also yesterday denied that there was "any talk" of a split in its ranks.

There has also been growing speculation that another Alliance ally, Bophuthatswana, could be pressured into regis-

tering by its civil servant corps.

CP chief secretary Mr Lem Theron maintained yesterday that there was "absolute solidarity" in CP ranks, and accused "leftist media" of orchestrating a campaign to sow division in the party through disinformation.

Dr Theron said the party's head council had unanimously decided at a meeting on February 10 that it would boycott the elections.

ANTHONY JOHNSON

... a memorandum handed to

Friday March 4 1994 SOWETAN

POLITICS State President's message as he takes h

Use your vote — FW

Sowetan 4/3/94
(304A)

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

STATE President and leader of the National Party Mr FW de Klerk took his election campaign to Natal yesterday with the message: "Stay away from the polls at your own peril."

He said: "A stayaway vote will be a vote for the ANC."

Speaking to NP supporters in Maritzburg during the first leg of a two-day election campaign in the area,

De Klerk said the NP would mobilise the support of all IFP members who wanted to vote in next month's election. While he conceded the need for the accommodation of a Zulu kingdom, he said the NP stood for the protection of the integrity of a united Republic of South Africa.

"We are in favour of a new constitution for the province of Natal-KwaZulu and in that new constitution we must give the king an honourable place and we must make sure that the powers and functions he enjoys now

must be maintained."

"If the ANC, SACP alliance in Natal-KwaZulu is a threat now, then it will remain a threat whether you're in or out of the process," he said.

Defending the interim constitution, he described it as a good and sound basis for democracy in the country.

De Klerk said he did not believe the elections would be incident-free but said the Government would act firmly against those who caused trouble.

(Report by L. Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West.)

Voters don't trust politicians — poll

Sowetan 4/3/94

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

■ SPOILT PAPERS Much confusion over what is happening in politics:

TWO-THIRDS of black voters think there will be cheating in the coming elections, according to a survey released by Matla Trust yesterday.

Matla Trust spokesman Mr Barry Gilder said about 8 000 respondents surveyed in eight of the country's new nine regions showed much mistrust of politicians.

However, about 83 percent of blacks, 85 percent of whites, 50 percent of coloureds and 55 percent of Indians said they would vote.

Gilder said the survey was designed to provide "definitive national information and detailed regional data about attitudes to voting throughout the country".

Only 6 percent of blacks and 8 percent of whites said they would not vote if the elections were held tomorrow.

Principal reasons for not voting included confusion on what is happening in politics as well as violence.

The secrecy of the ballot paper was either doubted or entirely mistrusted.

The survey showed that the lack of ID documents could pose a major problem.

If elections were to be held now 11 percent of blacks and 10 percent of coloureds would not be able to vote.

Motivation to vote was the highest in the Eastern and Western Cape with 93 and 95 percent of respondents respectively saying they would vote.

Principal reasons for voting were freedom, jobs, improvement of living conditions, better family life and peace.

Reasons for voting differed according to racial groups.

Most blacks said they would vote for

freedom, equality and eradication of apartheid.

The primary reason for Indians was peace and better family life. Coloureds said they would vote for better family life and freedom.

A mock election incorporated into the research found that 10 percent of ballot papers would be spoilt.

The main reason for spoilt ballot papers was illiteracy.

The survey also showed that women were 10 percent more likely to vote than men.

It also showed that Zulu speakers and younger voters under the age of 35 were least likely to go to the polls.

(Report by M Ngudle, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

The FA could register

Sowetan 4/3/94

By Donwald Pressley
Political Staff

The acceptance by the African National Congress of Inkatha's proposal to call on international mediation to break the constitutional impasse opened the door to the Freedom Alliance registering for the election.

Welcoming the break in the deadlock, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at a business lunch in Cape Town yesterday that the constitution as it stood would lead to "the politics of violence".

Meanwhile, today is the last day for the four alliance parties to register.

They continued to send out mixed signals over their intention to provisionally register with the Independent Electoral Commission before tonight's midnight deadline (30/4/94).

The new deadline was supported by Inkatha as part of a package of proposals put to Parliament this week — although the party voted against the other constitutional amendments intended to draw the alliance into the election.

The FA leadership — Buthelezi, the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen, Bophuthatswana president Chief Lucas Mangope, the Conservative Party's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and FA chairman Rowan Cronjé — met for urgent discussions in Cape Town yesterday.

Cronjé said the FA had endorsed Buthelezi's call for mediation, signalling that there was now a strong possibility that all the parties would participate in the process.

CP sources said if Inkatha went in it would follow.

(Report by D Pressley, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.)

ANC robbing poor of housing, says NP

CAPE TOWN — The attack by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa on Housing Minister Louis Shill "unmasked the ANC ... by robbing black and brown South Africans of the chance to own a home", NP information director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday. **B1204**

He said the ANC pretended to be concerned about the needy, but denied them the options provided by Shill. **B12194**

"For many months the ANC has totally opposed the NP government's plans to build houses. The ANC's blatant strategy is to prevent new housing development before the elections in case this reflects well on the NP," he said.

Political Staff

Meanwhile, the DP said the "debacle" resulting from Shill's announcements should serve as a warning to all parties on the dangers of unilateral action.

DP Western Cape chairman Jasper Walsh said multiparty forums such as the National Housing Forum and the TEC should not be abused for party political aims. **(2044)**

"The NP, in particular, must become accustomed to decisions being implemented in a multilateral rather than a unilateral manner," he said.

Report by A. Johnson, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament; and B. Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Right wing may register

3/Day 3/8/94

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN — The Afrikaner Volksfront, or a breakaway right-wing group, is expected to register provisionally tomorrow for the elections if the CP does not.

The CP, divided over participation in the elections, met twice yesterday.

Media spokesman Pieter Mulder said no decision on participation had been made. He said he believed a meeting of Freedom Alliance leaders was being arranged to find out first-hand from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi what Inkatha's new position was. (SC4A)

The simmering crisis in the CP has deepened following Buthelezi's announcement that Inkatha would consider provisional registration if the ANC agreed to international mediation.

While the CP is united in its demand for a volkstaat, members differ on how to achieve it.

Those backing participation in the elections believe the acceptance of a volkstaat council as defined in the interim constitu-

tion to be the best negotiating strategy.

They accept that the concept of a volkstaat council is essentially toothless but believe a right wing with enough support in the election will be able to push successfully for a post-election volkstaat.

Leading those opposed to participation is CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, apparently stunned by the latest Inkatha moves. Any shift by Hartzenberg towards participation is likely to be crucial as few MPs will be willing to go against him.

Hartzenberg enjoys the support of his deputy Willie Snyman but has a number of Young Turks.

A key question is what route Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen will take. He met President FW de Klerk on Tuesday, and was in Cape Town yesterday for talks with the CP leadership.

Report by P Cull, EP Newspapers, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Step to amend law by proclamation

81 Day 2/3/94

CAPE TOWN — The TEC yesterday resolved to insert an amendment in the Electoral Act which will allow the State President to amend the legislation by proclamation in consultation with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

The TEC also proposed that the period within which a party would be obliged to submit its lists of candidates would be extended from 30 to 35 days after the date of proclamation of the election. (304A)

The resolution was proposed by government delegate Fanie van der Merwe after a unanimous decision of council's management committee to provide for unforeseen circumstances. Van der Merwe said although it would be unusual to provide for an act of such importance as the Electoral Act to be changed by proclamation, it had become necessary because of many unforeseen technical problems that might arise.

For example, the IEC had difficulties in deciding how voters at foreign stations should cast their ballots for

TIM COHEN

provincial parliaments and these voters might have to be issued with 10 ballot papers.

DP member Ken Andrew said his party would support the amendment only if proclamations were agreed to unanimously by TEC members because of the danger that particular political parties would be favoured.

Other members rejected this suggestion, pointing out that proclamations would have to be agreed to by the TEC and the IEC, and most problems and suggested solutions would emanate from the IEC.

Sapa reports that Llewellyn Landers (LP Durban Suburbs) said yesterday the TEC and IEC should try to allow an independent body to issue voters' cards and identity documents until after the elections. In parliamentary debate on the Electoral Amendment Bill, he said the destruction of ID documents and application forms had happened at several government offices.

Report by T Cohen, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Soldiers 'would not suppress own people'

Biday 213194

PRETORIA — Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday he seriously doubted whether many right-aligned soldiers would be willing to collaborate with government in its efforts to suppress "their own people".

Viljoen was reacting to President FW de Klerk's "continued threats" to clamp down on Afrikaners with the help of the security forces.

De Klerk warned in Parliament on Monday that government would use every means at its disposal, including security forces, to prevent any party from hindering any person in his right to vote.

The Freedom Alliance has indicated it would boycott the elections.

Viljoen said problems should not be solved through force but through negotiations and, if necessary, the elections could be postponed.

"I would like to remind the State President that the SADF of 1994 is not the SADF of 1984. Yet the most competent part of the defence force consists of many of our supporters."

The government and the ANC had failed to grant the alliance its right to self-determination, he said.

"Through their arrogance and complete disregard for the just demands of the alli-

ance, they have created anger and frustration which is bound to burst out in the open.

"It is time they accept the responsibility for this anger. The correct way to solve these problems is not through force but through negotiations and, if necessary, to shift the election date. It will be justifiable in the light of the requirement for peace in this country."

The Volksfront's action thus far had been directed against the interim constitution that could result in a communist state, Viljoen said.

"A soldier is loyal to the values and norms of his nation, of which the constitution is intended to be the product. Our people, being part of the defence force of this country... realise that it (the constitution) does not represent their values."

"I sincerely doubt whether many of our soldiers, under these circumstances, would be willing to collaborate with the government in its intended efforts to suppress their own people."

Viljoen wanted to know why the government was suddenly so keen to act against Afrikaners while, he said, the ANC continued with its "political cleansing campaign" countrywide. — Sapa.

Report by E van Wyk, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

Ramaphosa alleges plans to block voting in Natal

CAPE TOWN — ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told the TEC yesterday there were certain Inkatha Freedom Party areas where people would not be allowed to vote.

Reporting to the council on the situation in Natal, he said it was deteriorating on a daily basis and preparations were being made to ensure that the elections were not free and fair.

He said people were being trained and "churned out" from camps at the rate of 500 to 1 000 every two weeks. They were then deployed in several areas in Natal. The "agenda being played out" was to prevent elections taking place.

Ramaphosa said in the Umfolozi area people were being supplied with weapons while there were also reports of people being trained by white farmers who were supplying them with weapons.

"These activities clearly show something is afoot, in preparing people to attack those who want to vote," he said.

Ramaphosa read a letter from a

Political Staff

preparations could be made. TEC members called on all leaders to allow their public servants to take up positions in a new SA public administration and not be left out of the "rationalisation process". In a thinly veiled reference to public servants in Bophuthatswana, the resolution called on all public officials and officers to demand and exercise their right to be a full part of this process. It reiterated the constitution's guarantees of public employees' job security.

He said elections had to take place throughout the country — "our people will not allow any exception for Natal". The resolution was opposed by Ciskei delegate Mickey Webb on the basis that the legal ramifications had to be investigated thoroughly.

The TEC will decide on action to deal with these allegations at its next meeting.

TIM COHEN reports that the TEC resolved yesterday to take steps to allow all South Africans to vote anywhere in the country, including Bophuthatswana.

The TEC yesterday agreed to recommend to the President that he bring into operation immediately provisions of the interim constitution necessary to ensure that all relevant

Report by P. Cull, EP Newspapers, Press Gallery, Parliament; and T. Cohen, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament.

ANC's anger prompts TEC to suspend 'arrogant' Shill's

CAPE TOWN — The TEC yesterday temporarily suspended the R90bn housing plan unveiled on Monday by Louis Shill, and summoned the Housing Minister to appear before it.

He was permitted to say only three words, however. Asked whether he had issued a media statement, he replied: "Yes, I did."

The ANC slammed the plan as "unilateral and premature", with ANC TEC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa labelling Shill as "the most arrogant Minister that I have dealt with". He said Shill had defied the

TEC Act and was attempting to score cheap political points by announcing the plan, some of which was still under discussion by the National Housing Forum.

While some Ministers had been willing to negotiate issues that would be the hands of a future government, Shill had arrogantly gone out his way to defy the Act, despite being asked not to make the announcement by TEC members.

"This Minister has done his country a disservice and he should go," Ramaphosa said, proposing a resolution that called for the suspension of any action in connection

TIM COHEN
with the plan, except Shill's resignation.

He opposed Shill explaining why the statement was issued, saying members of the housing forum should be present for this. However, he demanded that Shill's actions be condemned.

Government delegate Dawie de Villiers argued that it would be premature to pass a resolution condemning Shill without hearing his side of the story, saying he was under the impression that this was the reason why Shill had been summoned.

2/3/94
After lengthy debate, the council decided to drop from its resolution the clause condemning Shill, but supported his and the forum's presence at the TEC's meeting next week to discuss the issue.

The resolution was passed without the support of the ANC, the SACP and the Venda government.

ROBYN CHALMERS reports that in an interview last night, Shill said the plan's suspension had no real significance, as the it was due to be implemented only on March 15. (30449)
"The housing scheme has not been with-

Housing **2/3/94** From Page 1

lay the housing process."

Shill said the forum had been guilty of delaying discussions on the subsidy scheme since its inception. It had "completely yielded to political influences whose sole purpose was to hold back the delivery of houses until after the election (of the National Housing Forum co-ordinating committee chairman Matthew Neil said Shill had placed the housing negotiation process in jeopardy).
Sanco joined the ANC in calling for

Shill's resignation. Its national publicity secretary, Mike Toftie, said Shill had damaged the process of achieving consensus and delayed the delivery of housing.
WILSON ZWANE reports that Sanco southern Transvaal president Kgabisi Mosunkutu said Shill was "trying to canvass (for votes) for the NP" through the use of public funds.
Report by T. Cohen, R. Chalmers and W. Zwane, TNA, 11 Otago Rd, JNB. ● See Page 8

drawn. I am more than happy to meet the National Housing Forum next Tuesday where I will lay out the reasons for moving ahead with the plan. However, the decision to proceed with the scheme and when to announce it remains the responsibility of the Minister.
"At no stage was the forum excluded from discussions. We met last Friday to try to come to a final agreement on an announcement, but once this was not forthcoming, we decided we could no longer de-

□ To Page 2

Housing plan

Third TEC trip draws flak

TIM COHEN

CAPE TOWN — The six-member TEC foreign affairs subcouncil is planning a third trip abroad, this time to Europe and Singapore, much to the ire of certain other TEC members.

The subcouncil's visit, due to take place from March 16 to 28, will take the members to Paris, Brussels, The Hague, Geneva and Singapore.

But the trip came close to being dumped yesterday when six members of the TEC objected to it going ahead. Their objections could effectively have prevented the trip being given the green light but in the end the decision was held over to next week's meeting.

Several members changed their positions on the trip after hearing the motivation by TEC executive member Janet Love, who said the foreign trips would have been undertaken anyway by members of the Foreign Affairs Department.

The TEC had been asked whether it wanted to take over the trips, and had agreed because of the more representative nature of the body, she said.

Some members of small parties represented in the TEC suggested that not all

members should go on all the trips, and the council eventually decided that the sub-council should be asked to examine the issue afresh.

Government, the ANC and the DP all supported the trip, with delegates arguing that although it was right for the council to scrutinise the reasons for the trip, SA could not neglect its foreign commitments.

The first trip took the subcouncil to the US and London from February 4 to 11, while the second trip took it to African countries including Kenya and Ethiopia.

Reporting back on the subcouncil's visit to the US, the council said in its executive summary that it was clear that US President Bill Clinton's administration wanted the democratic process to work.

SA could expect a package of measures to assist a new government, which Clinton referred to as the "democratic dividend" in his public speeches.

If agreed to by the TEC, the subcouncil members would on the forthcoming trip hold talks with Unesco, the OECD and various foreign ministers.

Report by T Cohen, TML, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Voter training in Natal, Bophuthatswana

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) voter education department has swung into action in Bophuthatswana and Natal. *B/Doy 2/3/94*

IEC voter education chief director Albert Mokoena said yesterday a number of non-governmental organisation had already been commissioned to conduct voter education in Natal but it was too early to name the accredited organisations.

Mokoena said a number of voter education workshops had also started running in Bophuthatswana. *(304A)*

He added: "At the beginning of February a workshop was conducted aimed at training the people who are to engage on a massive scale in Bophuthatswana soon after negotiations have been concluded with Bophuthatswana."

Mokoena said a number of minibus taxis in Bophuthatswana were already advertising the election through posters.

That medium alone was busy informing many of the thousands of Bophuthatswana citizens eligible to vote in the April 27

JOHANNES NGCOBO

election.

The minibus taxi posters were being placed by the Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative, Mokoena said.

Direct voter education involvement in Bophuthatswana was minimal as yet because most of the organisations involved in voter education were still in the process of being accredited by his office.

Mokoena said his office had received many applications from voter education organisations wishing to be accredited to start workshops.

He added that Independent Mediation Services of SA had already trained more than 350 people expected to run workshops in Bophuthatswana.

Mokoena said the IEC voter education department was processing applications and still checking to see whether organisations wishing to be accredited met the required level of skill to run voter education workshops.

Report by J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Polling in proportion

Separate ballot papers in the April election for the national assembly and the nine provincial legislatures should boost the chances of smaller parties with strong regional backing. (304A)

The interim constitution and the Electoral Act will have been amended by parliament this week to provide for two ballots. Initially, government and the ANC rejected demands by smaller parties including the DP, the PAC and the IFP for two ballots.

This would have left voters with no option other than to vote for the same party at regional and national level. For example, a

CURRENT AFFAIRS

voter may have believed a strong showing by the DP was needed in the western Cape, but that the ANC should be supported at national level.

This would not have been possible under a single ballot system, where a vote would have been cast for one party only and it would have counted for the national assembly and the provincial legislature. Under the amended system one ballot will be used to elect the provincial legislatures and the other to elect the national assembly, giving voters a wider choice.

The national assembly ballot will, in effect, be counted twice — once for the national list of candidates and then again for candidates nominated to the national assembly on lists drawn up in the regions.

In terms of the constitution the 400 members of the national assembly will be drawn from two sources: a national list of 200 names and nine regional lists from which 200 members will be elected. This is to ensure equitable representation for the regions at national level.

Each party contesting the election can nominate 200 members for the national list and a varying number of candidates for the regional lists. The regions have been allocated between four national assembly members (northern Cape) and 43 (PWV), depending on the number of voters in each region, to

give a total of 200. Members of the national assembly and the provincial legislatures will be elected on the basis of proportional representation. (304A)

At national level, this means the total number of votes cast will be divided by 401 (the additional one seat is necessary for the mathematical calculation of allocations) to give a quota of votes per seat. For example, if 17m people vote (out of a total 23m eligible), the quota will be 42 395.

The number of votes for each party will be divided by the quota and the result will be the number of seats won. For example, if the DP wins 847 900 votes throughout the country it will be allocated 20 seats. Fractions of seats will be allocated in terms of a formula set out in the interim constitution.

The regional seat allocation for the national assembly will be determined by the number of votes cast for a party in any of the nine provinces. For example, if 1,7m votes are cast in the western Cape, which has been allocated 21 seats in the national assembly, the quota per seat will be 77 272 (arrived at by dividing the number of votes cast by the number of seats plus one).

Quotas for provincial legislatures will be calculated on a similar basis. For example, the total number of votes cast (on a separate ballot paper) for the provincial legislature in the PWV will be divided by the number of

seats (86 plus one) to give a quota of votes per seat.

Parties do not have to submit a national list for the national assembly election (the NP, for example, will not do so), in which case the allocation of seats for that party in the national assembly will be calculated only on votes won in the regions and all candidates will have to come from the regional lists.

The real advantage of proportional representation is that every vote counts, unlike the winner-takes-all, first-past-the-post constituency system used in the past. A party like the DP, which has concentrated support in only three or four regions, should benefit from the backing of voters in regions where it has never had sufficient support to win even one seat in parliament.

This point is well illustrated in the DP's current ad campaign which says every 0,25% of the vote (42 174 votes if 16,87m are cast) will mean another DP MP in parliament.

Contesting seats on a national list gives value to every vote cast for the DP (or any other small party) regardless of how limited its support may be in any region.

For regional purposes, your vote will be counted for the party in the region in which your ballot is cast, regardless of where you live. ■

CONSERVATIVE PARTY

A bridge too far

The CP pushed its political luck to the limit in parliament this week by formally rejecting the latest constitutional concessions. But it lost and now faces the prospect of a mass defection of support to the NP in next month's general election. *FM 4/3/94*

There are growing indications that the poll boycott call by CP leaders will not be backed by followers who will flock to vote NP in a desperate effort to reduce the ANC's expected majority.

An ANC parliamentary candidate electioneering for the past few weeks in the North West province (a CP stronghold among whites) tells the *FM* that his contact with CP supporters indicates that a boycott could mean up to 1m potential CP voters nationwide backing the NP to give it an additional 22 seats in parliament.

The CP apparently realises this danger and its parliamentary caucus is said to be sharply divided on the issue of participation. Former CP MP Andries Beyers, who crossed to the NP last year, says CP MP for Kuruman Jan Hoon heads a minority faction that favours going to the polls. *(3044)*

CP moderates recognise that the latest concessions represent a bottom line for government and the ANC, but are aware that they are unacceptable to hardliners who not only demand a *volkstaat*, comprising the whole of the Free State and most of the Transvaal, but also insist that strict apartheid must be enforced in it.

Options facing the moderates are to join the boycott and risk seeing their support base shrivel to a small group of militant racists, or split from the party and be relatively certain of substantial backing among rightwing whites who will otherwise vote for the NP.

The CP's final effort to save face and participate in the poll as a united front collapsed this week when government refused to compromise further on amendments to the interim constitution.

Instead, President F W de Klerk warned that government would not tolerate the disruption of the election by anyone.

INTIMIDATION

Teeth will still be shown

The election campaign was always going to be tough. The absence of a democratic culture in SA coupled to years of entrenched political intolerance provided a perfect recipe for inter-party violence.

But the faint prospect of a relatively free and fair campaign reached rock bottom, literally, last week when President FW de Klerk, in his capacity as National Party leader, was stoned while electioneering near Kimberley, apparently by an ANC supporter. In a subsequent melee a woman was shot dead allegedly by a member of the NP who emptied the magazine of his pistol into a group of ANC supporters. He was arrested and faces a murder charge.

The incidents focused new attention on the escalating violence that is now clearly the most serious threat to the election. Unless checked within the next week or two, it could undercut any chance of free and fair elections on April 27.

Calls by party leaders for their followers to show discipline may contribute towards a calmer situation, but the key factor will be the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), by far the most formidable constitutional tool to regulate political behaviour between now and polling day.

The IEC's powers include banning candidates and even entire parties from the election, scrapping ballots cast in areas or provinces where conditions for voting are deemed to be neither free nor fair, and even scrapping the entire election.

Two IEC commissioners, Frank Chikane and Dawn Mokhobo, visited Kimberley soon after last week's incidents and issued a tough

our structures and procedures have been properly set in place, you will see action. The rights of voters and of campaigners to go about their lawful democratic business will be protected." (304A)

However, Chikane and Mokhobo cautioned that the IEC cannot be expected to achieve miracles and solve, in the few weeks before the election, problems that politicians have been unable to work out for themselves in the eight years, since Nelson Mandela started private negotiations with former president P W Botha.

That said, the people of SA and their political leaders will ultimately determine whether the elections are free and fair. Their support — or rejection — of democratic practice will give them the institutions of government they deserve.

"It is their decision, their ultimate responsibility. It will not serve to pass the buck to the IEC, although we shall use the full extent of our powers to support them in exercising their rights."

But threats of tough action are not the IEC's only leverage over political parties. An important aspect of its task is to persuade political leaders to encourage their supporters, whether voting or not, to allow other people to vote in peace. In this regard, a major test for the IEC will be trying to ensure the rights of voters adversely affected by a possible failure to draw the Freedom Alliance parties into the election.

Chikane and Mokhobo say it is the IEC's duty and intention to serve such voters "to the full extent of our logistical capability, our security structures and our powers of reasonable persuasion." The IEC is planning for this eventuality, they add, and will make its plans known when they are complete.

An equally disturbing factor that the IEC may also be called on to deal with is the increasing hostility of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) towards black journalists trying to report on the organisation's meetings.

In the latest incident, a number of black journalists were physically ejected from the Cape Town city hall this week

where they were trying to report on a public meeting addressed by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche. The IEC's powers are arguably wide enough to deal with the prevention of free reporting on public political activity that has a direct bearing on the election.

Regulations published by the IEC last week make political parties responsible for

the actions of their office bearers, employees and candidates — but not their supporters. The regulations also set out provisions for resolving disputes.

The IEC is headed by Appeal Judge Johan Kriegler. His deputy is former PAC deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke. Its statutory task is to administer, organise, supervise, conduct and promote conditions conducive to free and fair elections; determine the results and certify to what extent the poll was free and fair; educate voters; and make and enforce regulations to achieve its aims (*Current Affairs* January 14).

Among the formal complaints received so far by the IEC are those relating to problems experienced by the Democratic Party youth wing in campaigning on the campus of the University of the Western Cape (*Current Affairs* February 25) and the disruption of NP electioneering in the northern Cape last week.

JOINT RULE

Another foot

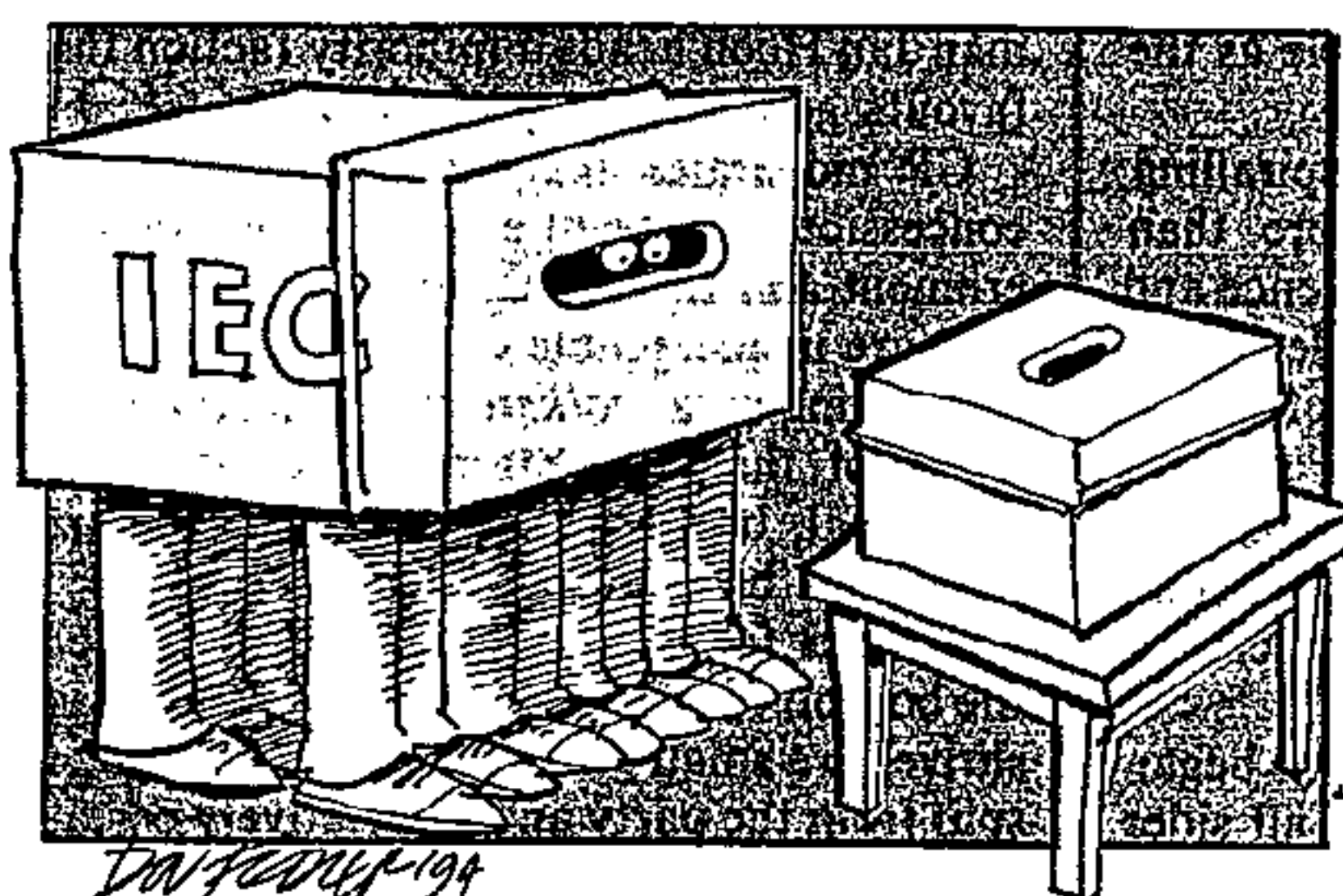
National Housing Minister Louis Shill seems to have a knack for deliberately putting his foot in it. With controversy still simmering over his handling of the Cato Manor squatter issue, the Minister this week appears to have jumped the gun by unilaterally announcing a R90bn housing plan — based on agreements with the multiparty National Housing Forum — to wipe out the housing shortage over 10 years and create 1m jobs in the process (see *Property*).

No doubt the plan has its merits. However, the ANC, whose general election manifesto is based on a similar pledge, is predictably outraged by this cheeky vote-catching gambit — from a government whose policy until not so long ago enforced a blanket ban on the building of any houses for blacks outside the homelands.

In a proposal to the Transitional Executive Council in Cape Town on Tuesday, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called for Shill's resignation for trying to hijack the forum's plan for party political benefit. Shill sees it as his prerogative as a Minister.

According to Ramaphosa, Shill had arrogantly gone ahead and made the announcement, even though the package negotiated with the forum was incomplete and, despite having been asked, to hold back and do so jointly with it.

The forum has called Shill's announcement unilateral and premature, pointing out that it deals with only one part of the carefully negotiated national accord for dealing



warning to political parties: the IEC is utterly determined to create a climate for free and fair elections.

In a statement after the visit, the two said: "Do not imagine that we shall sit out this campaign in the World Trade Centre issuing platitudinous denunciations of intolerance and criminality. In a very short time, when

THE ELECTION
F-m 4/3/94

Beyond the fine words

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) will need all its considerable legal powers and political legitimacy to ensure that the April election is remotely "free and fair."

In order to make sure this happens, the main — almost the only — requirement is that the overwhelming majority of voters will feel physically safe when they set out on the day to place their crosses. If they do, the percentage poll — the proportion of those enfranchised who actually vote — will be high and the election will be declared valid. If they do not, particularly in troubled areas like Natal and the East Rand, a low percentage poll could result.

The IEC will already be thinking about how low the poll would have to be to constitute evidence of unacceptable intimidation — 20%, or 5%, or somewhere in between? But such a judgment will be enormously complicated if, as seems likely, there is an election boycott by the Inkatha Freedom Party. How will the IEC be able to tell whether people stayed away in Natal on principle or out of fear? (Ironically, an official Inkatha boycott would help validate the election.)

Apart from a low percentage poll, how else might the IEC decide the election has not been free and fair? The obvious evidence would be visible, significant and sustained violence on a large scale — in which case the IEC's duty will be to scrap the ballot.

But other factors will surely have to be weighed. Cancellations

tion of the ballot, selectively or entirely, would almost certainly provoke further violence — both triumphal (by those who wished to undermine the election) and vengeful (by those who supported the election and whose vote has been removed from them). Cancellation would also create a new and viciously intractable problem: what to do next in the affected areas?

It is also clear that intimidation does not have to be overt to be effective. Instructions to vote (or not to vote) can go out invisibly through a community and be met with docile obedience. A man grimly shaking a box of matches does not need to spell out the threat of a necklacing.

Political parties can be held accountable for what their leaders, office bearers and members say and do — but not for their supporters. This is a loophole which was unavoidable. It is also one through which an average lawyer could drive a giant version of the proverbial coach-and-horses.

The heart of the matter is that the terms of the IEC presume that we are all reasonable men; failing which, that unreasonable men can be controlled. Neither presumption is true in the case of this election.

We suspect that the election will not be free and fair, just as the campaign has not been free and fair. But we also suspect that — short of cataclysmic violence — the result will be declared valid. There may be no other way. ■

"The government will use all the means at its disposal, including the security forces, to deal with any party which might seek to achieve its objectives through violence or through unconstitutional, illegal or undemocratic means."

He said the Afrikaner Volksfront (of which the CP is the leading member) represented only a "fraction" of Afrikaners and was split within itself. Most Afrikaners were not interested in chasing the AVF's illusive *volkstaat* dream.

He again challenged the AVF to take part in the election to prove its claimed support.

AVF participation seems unlikely even though CP spokesman Pieter Mulder says that a single word in one of the amendments to the constitution is all that stands between the CP and the polls.

He adds that the party wants the new 34th principle of the interim constitution (which recognises the right of communities to self-determination) to "compel" the new government to give suitable expression to any particular form of self-determination if there is substantial proven support within the community concerned.

The amendment approved this week states only that the constitution "may" give expression to any particular form of self-determination (such as a *volkstaat*) provided it has proven support.

Mulder says this is not good enough. He

adds, however, that if the interim constitution compels the new government to allow a *volkstaat*, if the concept wins substantial support in the election, the CP will participate in the poll. There is no question of a *volkstaat* being an apartheid state. This has been made clear to ANC and government negotiators over the past few months.

Mulder says the CP would have preferred to resolve the issue of *volkstaat* borders before the election but accepts that time has run out. The boundaries can be negotiated after the election.

Government regards Mulder's views as a desperate attempt to salvage something from what has become a disaster for the CP.

A government source close to negotiations between government, the CP and ANC over the past few months says the CP is clearly divided and confused over the issue of participation in the election and establishment of a *volkstaat*.

The issue has been on the table for months but the CP has not been able to define its borders, clarify the status of permanent residents who are not white Afrikaners, or suggest what level of support in the election would constitute "substantial" backing for a *volkstaat*.

Under these conditions it was impossible for the interim constitution to be amended to compel a new government to allow its establishment. Instead, a mechanism has been

created to compel the new government to negotiate forms of self-determination with any community that is able to prove a substantial level of support for its cause.

But it is clearly not enough for the CP even though party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, in a rare softening of his traditionally hardline attitude, conceded during this week's parliamentary debate that the amendments were a positive step.

It is not clear who is expected to make the next move. Mulder says he is willing to "do anything" to break the deadlock, but has had no indication from government or the ANC that they are prepared to make new offers. A government source confirms that no new initiative is planned.

Perhaps this week's parliamentary debate was, finally, the last ditch for the CP. If so, it is now up to the party's supporters to decide on April 27 who will best serve their interests under an ANC-dominated government — a relatively strong NP opposition, or a CP with no constitutional voice. ■

CP closes ranks, denies split

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Conservative Party moved to close ranks yesterday by issuing a series of damage-control statements after reports that a split was looming in the party.

This follows growing division in CP ranks over the party leadership's hard-line stance in recent weeks about participation in the election.

A number of CP MPs are known to feel

that a boycott tactic would unnecessarily limit the party's options and that they should, at very least, follow the example of Inkatha and consider provisional registration for the April poll.

The Afrikaner Volksfront also yesterday denied that there was "any talk" of a split in its ranks.

There has also been growing speculation that another Alliance ally, Bophuthatswana, could be pressured into regis-

tering by its civil servant corps.

CP chief secretary Mr Lem Theron maintained yesterday that there was "absolute solidarity" in CP ranks, and accused "leftist media" of orchestrating a campaign to sow division in the party through disinformation.

Dr Theron said the party's head council had unanimously decided at a meeting on February 10 that it would boycott the elections.

FW asks Inkatha people to vote NP

DAVID GREYBE

UMBUMBULU — President FW de Klerk yesterday appealed to Inkatha Freedom Party supporters to vote for the NP if Inkatha boycotted the elections.

He was speaking at the start of his election drive in Natal and KwaZulu.

He went out of his way to impress on voters the NP and Inkatha had similar policies on the future of the Zulu monarchy.

De Klerk said he did not understand how Inkatha could have fought for years for the right of everyone to vote and, now the time had come, it called for a boycott. "Other people will again decide on your behalf."

De Klerk warned Zulu secession from SA would not be allowed, saying the new constitution provided the necessary constitutional safeguards for the region's future.

"We cannot return to 1834," he said, referring to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for the return of the Zulu kingdom as it was at that time. 412194

"The people of this province will have self-determination, but secession is not an option." 20419 (113)

KwaZulu belonged to all its people and there could not be a return to any form of ethnicity, De Klerk said. The same applied to the Afrikaner Volksfront's demand for an ethnic homeland.

De Klerk said it was time the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) stopped "poking its nose" into matters in which it had no rights, and started doing something about intimidation.

He specifically criticised the TEC for its handling of the government's new housing project this week. "The TEC is not a government. It's there to fight intimidation."

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Mandela woos crowd with voter education programme

EAST LONDON. — You will watch the wheel and the assegai and the face of this young man, a grinning Nelson-Mandela told the crowd at an African National Congress rally in Queenstown at the weekend.

The "young man" was the grey-haired ANC president himself, and he was taking time out from political rhetoric and promises for some very basic voter education, explaining what to do on a ballot paper.

There will be two black lines between which the assegai and the wheel is going to be inserted. Make a cross between those lines. If all of you do that you must

know the National Party is buried for good and forever."

Although Mr. Mandela's tone was lighthearted, the ANC in the area is taking voter education very seriously.

At the gate of the stadium where the rally took place, party workers had set up tables with cardboard ballot boxes and sample ballot papers.

From early in the morning, well before Mr. Mandela arrived, rally-goers queued in their hundreds in the blazing sun to practise making their mark and to get a free ANC flag or button as reward.

Mr Herbert Mafa, 75, from the

black township Mlungisi here, was helped by those behind him in the queue to find the ANC symbol on his ballot paper.

He then carefully made his pencilled cross not in the voting block, but beyond it, on the margin of the paper. The ANC workers manning the table patiently explained to him that he had just spoiled his paper, and gave him a new one, which he completed correctly, folded twice, and slipped into the box. "I'll get it right on April 27," he said as he moved off.

One woman put her cross in the Pan Africanist Congress box. She gasped in embarrassment

when the workers asked if that was what she'd meant to do, and reached for a new paper.

The chairman of the ANC's electoral committee here, Themba Malgas, showed a voter how to fold the paper down the middle rather than across its length.

This, he explained, was so that anyone using ink on the day would not involuntarily also mark another block and spoil the paper.

"Next time, make your cross so it doesn't touch the edges of the block," he said to another person.

Mr Malgas said the ANC began voter education in the area last

year. At first, it concentrated on teaching volunteers and area coordinators, but at the beginning of this year shifted the focus to visiting specific areas and educating people directly.

Initially, the dummy ballot papers had the ANC as the first party on the list, but this was changed in a subsequent version, to put the ANC third between the Ximoko Progressive Party and the Afrikaner Volksunie.

"We are saying a person should not always look at the top and say that is the ANC," he said. "It is important that people must be able to identify the symbol of the organisation."

programme

Identifying the symbol was essential for illiterate voters, one of two problem areas identified by the organisation in the region.

"People will say 'I don't even know the ballot paper', they don't know where their party's name is. **ARLT5/3/94**

"The second problem we have encountered is for people not to make their mark beyond the borders of the block so that, at the end of the day, that becomes a spoiled paper. These are the major problems we have encountered in our voter education outreach." — Sapa.

(News by Ben MacLennan, 26 Caxton Street, East London).

Flag, anthem

still undecided

ARGUS/3/94 204A

■ South Africa must have new national symbols by the time the new parliament opens in Cape Town in May, says the ANC.

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

SOUTH Africa cannot open its newly-elected parliament in May without a new national flag and anthem, says African National Congress secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

He said the ANC and government were making progress at bilateral level on new national symbols and expected to receive a report from a joint sub-committee next week which then would be tabled at the Transitional Executive Council.

"We are moving with maximum speed. We are aware of the short time at our disposal, but it is a very complex issue as we are dealing with a whole range of flag designs to narrow them down to one which will enjoy popular support.

"We can't open parliament without having a new flag and an anthem," said Mr Ramaphosa.

The TEC recently commissioned him and Minister of Constitutional Development Roelf Meyer to resolve the issue of national symbols.

This follows failure by the Commission on National Symbols last year to find new symbols.

The commission's six proposed flag designs were widely ridiculed. It also failed to find a new anthem, recommending instead that *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* followed by the tune of *Die Stem* be played on state occasions.

The negotiating council later called on advertising agencies to submit designs for a new flag.

But, sources in the joint ANC-government sub-committee which met this week described these latest design proposals as a "disaster".

The sources disclosed that progress was being made in a new flag design. The sub-committee was looking at three possibilities: A flag with two colours — green and gold, a flag with four colours and a flag with six. The additional colours were described as "African".

The sub-committee favoured a simple design rather than cluttering the flag with complex symbols and it is fairly confident of coming up with a flag design shortly.

However, the sub-committee apparently has made virtually no progress in finding a new anthem. It is due to report to Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer on Tuesday.

The existing orange, white and blue flag was flown on all flagpoles around the parliamentary complex in Cape Town during this week's short sitting of parliament.

The ANC will not countenance the flying of the old flag at the ceremonial opening of the new parliament probably in mid-May, while empty flagpoles would be embarrassing.

Traditionally, *Die Stem* was played by a military band at the official opening of parliament every year, but this, too, is out of the question at the opening of the new National Assembly.

In the absence of a new anthem, it is generally regarded as likely that both *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* and *Die Stem* be played as a stopgap measure.

However if the country fails to find a new anthem, one of the two present ones is expected to fall away eventually and the betting is that *Die Stem* is the most likely to fade into history.

The new 400-member National Assembly to be elected from April 26 to 28 is to sit in the existing parliamentary buildings for the foreseeable future until the new government decides whether to retain the present system of joint capitals or to opt for a single capital.

IFP supporters bar F W from their stronghold

By SIPHO KHUMALO

INKATHA supporters in Pietermaritzburg on Thursday told NP organisers that State President FW de Klerk was not welcome to drive through Sweetwaters, an Inkatha's stronghold.

The NP organisers in the Natal Midlands had hoped De Klerk would be more acceptable in the Inkatha stronghold. They were visibly upset when the Inkatha supporters told them he was not welcome.

Farmworkers could not attend De Klerk's meeting after Inkatha leaders told the NP organisers to get permission from Inkatha's Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi before visiting the area. (30/1/94) (113)

This enraged NP organisers prompting the Minister of Home Affairs Dannie Schutte to threaten to report "this intimidation" to the Independent Electoral Commission.

Despite being rejected by the Inkatha supporters, De Klerk said the NP and Inkatha were not enemies.

He called on Inkatha supporters to vote for his NP if their party decided not to participate in the election rather than not voting at all.

But he also expressed disappointment with Inkatha for failing to accept the democratic challenge of the election.

De Klerk was also confronted by ANC Women's League members at Market Square who handed a memorandum to NP leaders complaining that Inkatha had confiscated people's identity documents in Vulindlela.

The memorandum for De Klerk's attention was received on his behalf by NP senior officials, Rudi Redinger and

Reinier Schoeman.

The league claimed in the document that Buthelezi, in his last visit to Taylors' Halt on February 20, had called on the people to submit their IDs to the local Inkatha strongman, David Ntombela.

Ntombela is the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly member for Vulindlela.

According to the memorandum, the ANC members in Vulindlela had reported to the women's body that their IDs had been confiscated to stop them from voting.

This was, however, dismissed by Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane as "ridiculous".

He lashed out at the ANC for their "lies" and said Buthelezi had worked hard for people to have their IDs.

The memorandum also asked De Klerk to look into the issue of farmers refusing to allow the ANC to campaign among farm workers.

"It has been brought to our attention that farmers in the Midlands region are not allowing voter education programmes to be carried out on their farms."

"Given the level and intensity of violence and intimidation in the Midlands Region, which has a vast population of rural women, we are concerned that the Independent Electoral Commission is not visible in the region to act decisively on these issues," De Klerk was told.

De Klerk found the going easy in the Du ban coloured township of Austerville in Wentworth. Here, there were chants of "Viva De Klerk!" and a group of ANC protesters was less effective.

(Report by Siphó Khumalo, 65 Irene Rd, Rossburgh, Durban.)

Nats set for W Cape victory

ARG 26/3/94

(304A)

■ The Western Cape is likely to become an island of NP support in an ANC-dominated South Africa.

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

NATIONALISTS are expected to trounce the African National Congress in the Western Cape next month as coloured voters throw their weight behind President De Klerk.

The majority coloured vote in the province has swung the balance in favour of the National Party as most whites support the NP and most blacks support the African National Congress.

New information pointing to a likely National Party victory in the Western Cape is continuing to emerge from ongoing research, making the province an exception in South Africa where most other regions are likely to be ANC-dominated.

A Human Sciences Research Council/Markdata poll published this week shows the ANC is heading for a massive win at national level.

The ANC could get as much as 72 percent of the vote throughout South Africa with the NP a distant second at 19 percent and the pro volkstaat Freedom Front receiving 5 percent.

But in the Western Cape it is understood, the trend is reversed with the NP now expected to get slightly more than half the vote. This would give the NP an overall majority in the provincial parliament without the need to form a coalition.

It means that Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel is likely to become Western Cape premier even though he personally has little support in the province — Nat supporters admire Mr De Klerk.

The ANC appears to be well behind with little more than a third of the vote. The Democratic Party has shrunk to relatively minor proportions at about 6 percent and the Pan Africanist Congress has become a contender to win a couple of provincial seats with 4 or 5 percent of the vote.

There is negligible support for the rightwing in the Western Cape and the maverick parties appear to be wasting their time.

Coloured voters, who form 57 percent of the provincial electorate, have swung the balance in favour of the NP. About 60 percent of coloured people who go to the polls are expected to vote Nat.

But the relative apathy among coloured voters could count against the NP as there is expected to be a higher percentage poll among blacks, who form 22 percent of the province's voters — whites are about 21 percent.

It appears that the Goldstone Report implicating police generals in hit squad activities may have little effect on the election result even if it damages Mr Kriel's image. This is because Nat supporters are not voting for Mr

Argus, March 26/27 1994

5

Nats tipped to trounce ANC in the W Cape

■ From page 1

Kriel but for Mr De Klerk who has so far avoided implication in the scandal.

The trend towards the NP in the Western Cape has also been confirmed in a Markinor poll, published by the SABC this week.

This shows Mr De Klerk's huge popularity in the province especially among coloured voters, leading to 74 percent of coloured voters favourably inclined towards the NP.

By contrast, the ANC and its leader Nelson Mandela have fairly unfavourable images except among black voters, according to Markinor.

Negative views of the ANC and Mr Mandela among coloured voters predominate over positive ones by a 42 percent to 33 percent margin and among whites by 46 percent to 42 percent.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

■ To page 3

■ On Friday:

Viljoen registers for poll

■ On Saturday:

He's forced to quit!

ABOUT-TURN!

By THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Reporter

ONLY 10 hours after provisionally registering the AVF as a political party to participate in next month's general elections, General Constand Viljoen yesterday rescinded his decision and withdrew from the electoral process.

Viljoen somersaulted against taking part in the elections after a gruelling five-hour meeting with leaders of the Afrikaner Volksraad (the Afrikaner Transitional Executive Council) in Pretoria yesterday.

It is believed that during the heated meeting with AWP leader Eugene Terreblanche, the CP's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and other rightwing leaders, Viljoen was severely criticised for unilaterally deciding to register his party on Friday — just before the midnight deadline.

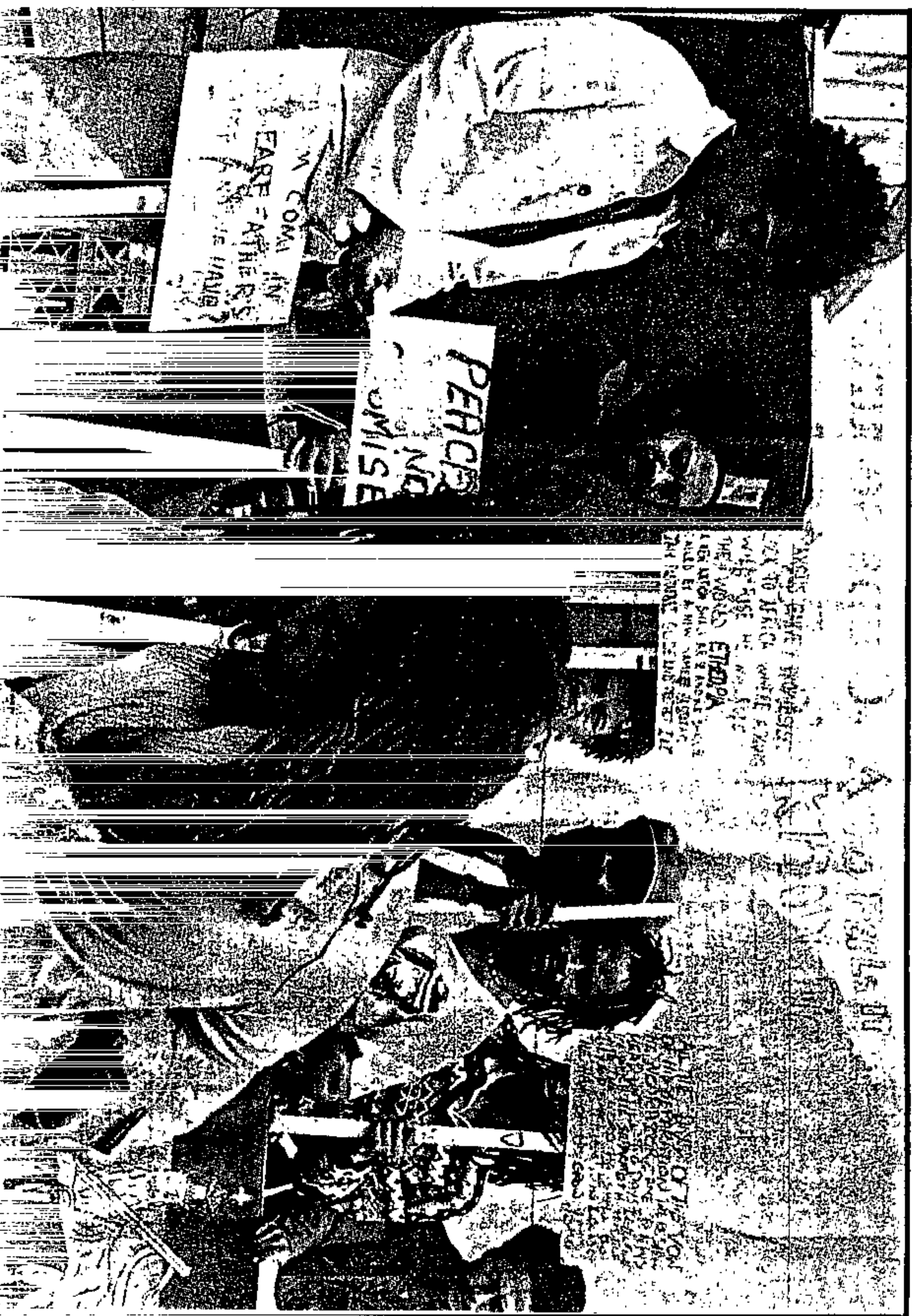
He registered the AVF under the pseudonym of the Freedom Front at the World Trade Centre where four other parties, including Inkatha, had registered hours earlier.

But after yesterday's meeting a dejected Viljoen announced that he was withdrawing his party from the elections.

Top NSB

men to

He said he would not de-register but would simply ignore the electoral procedure by not submitting a list of his party's candidates. He said in the spirit of retaining the dignity of Afrikaner nationhood he would submit himself to the decisions of the Afri-



To a land
where
grass is
greener

GUESS what these Rastafarians of The Burning Spear movement have in common with the AWP? They're prepared to fight for their own volkstaat — where ganja will be legal and no cop will hassle anyone with dreadlocks. But they'll drop this threat if their demands are met, the Burning Spears said in a march to the Guguletu police station this week. They want Rastafarianism recognised as a religion, ganja to be legalised and the police to stop harassing Rastas.

cess.

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It is believed that during the heated meeting with AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche, the CP's Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg and other rightwing leaders, Viljoen was severely criticised for unilaterally deciding to register his party on Friday - just before the midnight deadline.

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He said he would not de-register but would simply ignore the electoral procedure by not submitting a list of his party's candidates.

He said in the spirit of retaining the dignity of Afrikaner nationhood he would submit himself to the decisions of the Afrikaner Executive Council.

There isn't much change in my decision to register and to decide against it, because mine was a temporary registration," Viljoen said.

Viljoen's inconsistency has thrown his fledgling political career into turmoil. He is now torn between retaining his image as a moderate rightwing in the eyes of the ANC and the government and towing the hardline of the ultra-right.

Viljoen yesterday kept his head bowed, probably with embarrassment, throughout Hartzenberg's hard-hitting speech in which he berated the government and the ANC for imposing themselves on the Afrikaner people with their interim constitution.

Hartzenberg said: "Seeing that the government doesn't want to give us a hearing and they are determined to hand over this country to a communist government, we in the Afrikaner Transitional Executive Council have decided to withdraw from any further bilateral and trilateral talks with them and the ANC and we'll continue with our own transitional process for a Volkstaat."

"If we submit to this constitutional process we'll be doing so to the communist rule and we as Afrikaners will lose our right to self-determination forever. We call on all the Afrikaners to

Top NSB men to quit?

By ALI MPHAKI

TWO top executives of the National Sorghum Breweries may be forced to resign or have some of their powers devolved following a recommendation by a commission of inquiry into allegations of nepotism, mismanagement and corruption within the giant black brewery.

Chief executive and chairman Professor Mohale Mahanyele and executive director Israel Skosana have asked to be given until this week to respond to the commission's findings.

A source who declined to be named, told City Press this week that the commission had found some "debilitating" truths which forced the commission to conclude that "certain systems and control procedures" within the NSB "were not up to the desired standard" - something widely interpreted as a clear vote of no confidence in Mahanyele.

Although very guarded when asked about their findings, the four-man commission chaired by Premier Milling's Lekgau Mathabathe, admitted that "mistakes have been made".

Other members of the commission were Professor Khabi Mngoma, NSB board director member Moss Leoka and Horace

had registered, "and I have no doubt we will be able to resolve that question," Mandela said.

"We must think in terms of experienced international organisations, which will set up a structure which will deal with the question of a constitution, violence and peace."

South Africa was going to be a member of the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity, the Commonwealth and the Non-Aligned Movement and was going to have a very close relationship with the European Community, he said.

Report by Themba Khumalo of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein and B MacLennan, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.

General

faces heat

dom Party and Afrikaner Volksfront's last-minute move to register for the elections as "one of the most exciting decisions of the past few days".

Speaking to about 12 000 people at an ANC rally in Umtata he said the United Nations should be asked to mediate in South Africa's constitutional crisis.

The ANC had accepted the principle of international mediation but still had to discuss it with the political parties which

also unveiled at yesterday's meeting. It stretches from the far northern Transvaal into Eastern Transvaal, certain parts of the Western Transvaal and the Free State and northern Natal. It skirts the PWV region, which forms part of SA's heartland.

Shortly before the announcement of Viljoen's forced somersault on participation in the elections, ANC president Nelson Mandela had welcomed the Inkatha, Free-

From Page 1

stand up as a nation to fight communism," Hartzenberg said.

He accused President F W De Klerk of being on the verge of handing over the country's hard-won finances and well-trained security forces to communists.

As far as the ANC and the ANC were concerned, said Hartzenberg, democracy existed only when it suited communism and when the Afrikaners said they were within their democratic rights to fight for self-determination they were labelled "racists" and accused of taking the country back to the dark ages. A revised map of the envisaged Volkstaat was

To Page 2

NEWS FEATURE *Only three days to grab initiative that has been created for moderates*

Hope that AVF may yet join polls

Sweetman April 14

■ SECRET MEETING Viljoen

GENERAL Constand Viljoen has less than three days to grab the initiative he has created for moderates in his ranks by registering a far right party, the Vryheidsfront.

Early yesterday Viljoen and his supporters were apparently in a secret huddle and so-called moderates who support the general say there is still hope.

The Vryheidsfront is now a registered party and Viljoen may submit a list of election candidates by tomorrow if he wants this registration to hold up.

If he fails to submit a list the registration merely lapses.

Viljoen seems to have his entire Afrikaner Volksfront directorate of generals behind him in favour of the strategic option which includes participation and negotiations with the ANC in search of a political accord.

Prior to yesterday morning's crisis meeting, the AVF's General Tienie Groenewald told *Sapa*: "There will be more efforts to convince people in the AVF that we should keep our options open."

Viljoen's driving motivation since he was catapulted to a leadership position in the AVF has been Afrikaner unity. He has said repeatedly that he would do anything before he would move to break this bond.

may still lead a party to the polls:

day's meeting of the so-called People's Representative Council, the parliament designed to lead the Boere-Afrikaner people over the transition. General Viljoen can no longer regard those he leads as a unified force.

They crushed his Friday night initiative and cheered when CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said there would be no participation in the April 27 election.

However, even if the moderates in these official ranks are in the minority — the registration option was crushed by 73 votes to 20 — there is widespread opinion that grassroots support would enfeeble for Viljoen if he led a party to the polls in search of a *volkstaat*.

Groenewald confirmed to *Sapa* yesterday that it was no secret that some AVF members supported taking part in the election and that they would continue efforts to get the election boycotters round to their point of view.

He said yesterday's meeting with the alliance partners — Bophuthatswana and the IFP — would help determine the AVF's course of action.

FA chairman Mr Rowan Crojge confirmed yesterday that the meeting was that of the sub-committee set up to examine the question of international media and what the FA re-



There will be more efforts to convince people in the AVF that we should keep our options open

Viljoen ... not sounding the retreat.

quires from this option that it has succeeded in convincing the ANC could be a way past the impasse. The sub-committee is chaired by IFP national chairman Mr Frank Mdlalose.

Viljoen's description of negotiations with the ANC dovetailed precisely with an account given by ANC national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki on Friday. Mbeki, who stressed that any *volkstaat* had to be nonracial in its formulation, said that whatever agreement was reached, the ANC would consider itself bound to honour this.

Meanwhile, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela has endorsed an extension of the deadline for registration with a view to encouraging yesterday's cabinet meeting in Bophuthatswana which must decide whether to take this late registration option for its Christian Democratic Party.

(30449) (115)

Mandela told supporters at an election rally in Pietersburg there would be no peace if some players remained outside the election process. (Report by D Lautenbach, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria.)

Mangope's party gets concession

Allow late

registrations

Mandela

PIETERSBURG — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday proposed extending the registration date for the April elections in order to include parties still outside the process.

Sapa reports that arrangements have already been made to allow Bophuthatswana's ruling Christian Democratic Party to register by 4pm today if the territory's cabinet decides on the step today.

Mandela told about 20 000 people there would be no peace if some political players remained outside the transitional process. "I am still prepared to talk to those who refuse to register. I have said I am prepared to go down on my knees to ensure peace in the country," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party provisionally registered for the election on Friday. Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen provisionally registered an organisation called the Freedom Front, but his move was rejected by a meeting of Volksfront leaders on Saturday.

Yesterday, however, Volksfront co-ordinator Gen Tienie Groenewald said members had not entirely surrendered their efforts to persuade hardliners to take part.

"There is little chance that the AVF as a front will register. But I don't think the matter has been put on ice."

A Bophuthatswana government source said yesterday that if the cabinet decided on the step, a representative would be sent to register the Christian Democratic Party before a deadline of 4pm today which had been negotiated with the Independent Electoral Commission through the office of Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

The concession had been agreed to because Bophuthatswana cabinet ministers were unavailable last week. They had been sent by President Lucas Mangope to different parts of the homeland to urge striking public servants back to work.

Mandela said he would urge the ANC, its allies and the IEC to accept his proposal that there should be no deadlines regarding registration. (2044)

"Even after Friday night (when registrations officially closed) we should still be prepared to extend the registration date. We must develop absolute patience and the ability to understand the fears of others."

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the next three days will be crucial in determining whether Inkatha follows up its provisional registration and decides to take part, ANC and Inkatha sources said yesterday.

The technical deadline for the second stage of registration, submission of party lists, looms on Wednesday at midnight.

ANC and government negotiators were cautious, saying it was possible that Inkatha would reject this deadline and withdraw if sufficient progress on the plan for international mediation was not made. The deadline could be shifted, but not by much.

Agreement at a task force meeting tomorrow on the terms of reference and scope of the proposed international mediation would be a major step forward, an ANC source said.

A Freedom Alliance technical committee meets today to work out its proposal on international mediation.

A CP source indicated that early progress in mediation could bolster the posi-

□ To Page 2

Registrations

tion of the Volksfront moderates and a possible breakaway faction under Viljoen. There were strong suggestions that Viljoen and at least six CP MPs might break away to give their supporters an option. CP spokesman Pieter Mulder argued that the Volksfront decision was the long way of getting to a Volksfront. (2044)

Inkatha sources said the central committee had insisted that its constitutional demands for greater provincial autonomy, and making arrangements for accommodating the Zulu king's demands, would form a central part of the mediation.

Central committee member Walter Felgate echoed his leader Mangosuthu Buthe's view that the election would have to be postponed to allow Inkatha to catch up in campaigning if it decided to take part.

Another Inkatha source said the discussions with the ANC tomorrow would have to show promise of success if there was to be any further progress. Filling in by the ANC would be swiftly interpreted as bad faith. Inkatha wanted to see the constitution changed in terms of agreements reached in mediation before the elections.

However, ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki indicated that agreements reached in mediation could be binding on parties and be changed after elections by the first government of national unity. Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje yes-

terday said none of Bophuthatswana's representatives would be at the meeting, "but Inkatha is there on behalf of the whole Freedom Alliance".

Bophuthatswana's cabinet meets today to decide on reincorporation and possibly registering for the elections.

Cronje said he could not give an indication on what was likely to be decided, but there are indications the meeting would follow Inkatha's lead.

If the decision is positive, the Christian Democratic Party would register to contest the elections only in the northwest province, and not nationally.

IEC chairman Judge Johann Krieger was adamant at the weekend that dates were final, stating that Wednesday's deadline was the last day any party names could be removed from the ballot paper if elections were to be held on April 27 and 28.

The ballot paper was with the printers in London. The printers could be contacted to remove party names on Wednesday or Thursday, but none could be added.

But Parliament last week decided to give President F.W. de Klerk the power to change the Electoral Act and shift dates, in consultation with the TEC and the IEC.

Reports by W. Paddock, TML, 11 Daugard St., Jhb., and E. Kamps and P. Burger, Sapa, 1411 Commissioner St., Jhb.

● Comment Page 8

Millions lack basic facilities and care

MILLIONS of people in SA were living without toilets, clean drinking water or access to basic health care, according to the results of a national survey released at the weekend by the National Progressive Primary Healthcare Network.

The survey, conducted by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry, is one of the most comprehensive assessments ever of basic health conditions in SA.

It found that 31% of South Africans had been unable to afford to feed their children under the age of five.

Among blacks, 12% (2.1-million) in rural areas and 7% (1.5-million) in informal settlements had no toilets at all — neither pit latrines nor bucket toilets. Only 10% of blacks had a flush toilet inside their homes.

About 33% of blacks had regular refuse removal, and 44% had to fetch water for daily use outside their yard.

Cost of treatment was found to be a major obstacle to the rendering of health care. This applied particularly to blacks (22%) and to the retired and disabled (28%).

The survey also found that only 11% of blacks had medical aid coverage as opposed to 83% of whites. This meant that 28-million blacks had no medical cover.

The success of public education campaigns was reflected in relatively high

rates of immunisation; 77% of respondents could produce official cards showing the immunisation status of children under five.

Political violence had prevented 11% of blacks from receiving health care when they needed it. About 12% of blacks reported that someone in their family had been killed or injured in the violence.

According to the survey, South Africans view health as a key political issue, with 86% of respondents saying health should be high on the agenda in the election and 77% saying they wanted to know more about the health policies of political parties.

Network spokesman Judi Fortuin said that while the minority enjoyed first-rate health care, most people lacked the basics.

As the gulf in the provision of health care would continue long after the election and the establishment of a new government, health would continue to be a central concern in the future, she said.

"The poll documents widespread devastation. The findings point to the fact that the approach to bringing primary health care to SA must be an intersectoral strategy combining public works, nutrition programmes, job programmes and health services," said Fortuin.

KATHRYN STRACHAN



Independent Electoral Commission head Judge Johann Kriegler and commission electoral administration chief director Piet Colyn conduct the draw to determine the party at the top of the ballot paper. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Draw gives PAC top place on ballot

THE PAC heads the list of political parties on the April 26-28 election ballot paper.

This resulted from a draw to determine the order of parties on the ballot paper. The draw was broadcast live on television on Saturday.

Independent Electoral Commission head Judge Johann Kriegler and IEC chief director of electoral administration Piet Colyn supervised the draw. Kriegler said other parties had until Monday night to object to

the draw. 17/3/94

Second on the list was the Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights, followed by the Keep it Straight and Simple Party. The Vryheidfront/Freedom Front — registered provisionally by the Afrikaner Volksfront — is fourth.

The IEC also released the order of political parties appearing on the ballots for the nine regions. — Sapa. Report by N Lewis, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

2-million voters without IDs

GERALD REILLY

PRETORIA — Nearly 2-million eligible voters are still without identity documents or temporary voter's cards with only seven weeks to go before polling, according to Home Affairs' latest figures.

A spokesman said thousands of hours of overtime had been worked since the beginning of the year to cope with the deluge of applications.

During the past four weeks an average of 34 500 applications was received daily. In the past week 30 000 documents had been issued.

At the end of last month nearly 21-million people had been provided with documents, out of an estimated 22,8-million eligible voters.

A total of 18-million had Republic of SA identity documents and another 1,5 million had identity documents of the independent homelands. A total of 792 000 people had old reference books, the number of first applicants now being processed was 557 000, and 132 000 temporary voting

cards had been issued.

Processing, the spokesman said, still took from four to seven weeks. Those applying for documents after February 1 were being issued with temporary voting cards. These could be issued right up to the start of the polling.

A Human Sciences Research Council political analysis centre said the count and the announcement of the result could take up to four days.

Complications could arise, said the centre, if a political party claimed the election in a region had not been free and fair because of the intimidation of violence.

A suggestion by President FW de Klerk that regional "re-election" could then be considered had not been "well received."

The spokesman said a re-election in one region could have a domino effect, leading to chaos.

Report by G. Reilly, TML, 218 Vermeulen St., Pta.

Police to set up post at Bekkersdal taxi rank

WILSON ZWANE

Police confirmed that a meeting at which these undertakings were agreed took place in Pretoria.

Meanwhile, Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu alleged that the person who threw hand-grenades at Inkatha mourners in Bekkersdal

eight days ago, killing an Inkatha supporter, was a black policeman.

"We are collecting evidence and will submit it to the police shortly," he said. Police said a person arrested after the incident was still in custody.

Political comment in this issue by J Jones; newswriting by T Bissaker; headlines and sub-editing by V Strauss; all of 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg.

• 'More power' for police c

Volksfront may split on

Political Staff

PORT ELIZABETH — The right-wing may split today over participation in the April election.

Dissidents within the Conservative Party and generals within the Afrikaner Volksfront will meet at a secret venue in Pretoria this morning to take a final decision.

And it is 90% certain the group, which includes General Constand Viljoen and other generals, will give the thumbs-up to

participation under the name of the Freedom Front. It is the party registered by Gen Viljoen just minutes before the midnight cut-off point on Friday night.

Afrikaner Volksfront members had not entirely stopped their efforts to persuade hardliners to take part in the April elections, AVF co-chairman Gen Tienie Groenewald said yesterday.

"There is little chance that the AVF as a front will register. But I don't think the matter has been put on ice," he said.

The decision to participate will mean members of the CP will be forced to resign

THATCHER MAY MEDIATE

— PAGE 2

or face expulsion as the party rejected participation.

It is understood as many as 10 members of the CP parliamentary caucus support participation in the election.

They include Mr Pieter Mulder and Mr Corne Mulder; MP for Uitenhage Mr Willem Botha; CP provincial leaders Mr Carl Werth (Natal), Mr Jan Hoon (Cape) and Mr Abrie Oosthuizen (Free State), and MPs Mr Leon Louw (Welkom), Dr W.J. Botha (Rustenburg), Mr Joseph Chiole (Pretoria West), Mr Tom Langley (Soutpansberg), and Mr Petrus Groenewald (Stilfontein).

On Saturday, the pro-participationists were defeated by 73 votes to 20 at a meeting of the volksraad.

election

The twis (acrimony) among the right-wingers has become increasingly bitter in recent weeks, and the taunt of "verraaier" (traitor) has been used against those who back participation.

Mr Hoon and Mr Langley were members of the original group which broke from the National Party in 1982.

A number of other MPs are described as "wavering".

To page 2

From page 1

In addition to Gen Viljoen, Generals Tienie Groenewald, Koos Bischoff and Kobus Visser are expected to attend this morning's meeting.

Gen Viljoen said yesterday nothing would change the Afrikaner Volksfront's decision to boycott the elections unless there was finality on the volksraad issue.

Gen Viljoen is expected to lead the party.

This is regarded as extremely important, as the ballot paper contains the photograph of the leader of every party, and it is essential that he be is well known to the electorate.

If the decision to participate is taken as expected, the Freedom Front will find itself in a race against time to draw up candidates' lists for the national assembly and the nine provincial parliaments.

But their participation would also open the door for Bophuthatswana, whose cabinet meets today to decide.

Today's meeting follows weeks of heartache for many Volksfront members who found themselves having to weigh up loyalty to CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, on the one hand, and what was in the best interests of the AVF

Order for 80-m ballot papers

■ APRIL ELECTION

Names of parties listed:

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

WHILE the rightwing dithers, a list of political parties that will contest next month's election was due to be sent to a British firm on Saturday, which will print 80 million, 60-cm-long ballot papers.

Independent Electoral Commission spokesman Advocate Dikgang Moseneke gave security and the volume of work as some of the reasons for having the papers printed by a foreign rather than a local firm.

Nineteen of the 27 parties registered for elections, including Freedom Alliance members the Inkatha Freedom Party and Ciskei's African Democratic Movement, will fight for national and regional seats while the rest will contest regional elections only.

ADM leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo was forced by disgruntled military officers to take part in the elections.

The IFP decision came after a marathon meeting between Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban last week.

This leaves Bophuthatswana, gripped by strikes, as the only black member in the Freedom Alliance still outside the electoral process.

IFP leader Buthelezi, however, said the decision to remain on the register would not affect "the basic negotiation position of the party".

Meanwhile, the AVF transitional *volksraad* has rebuffed AVF leader Constand Viljoen's "strategic" registration of the Freedom Front. Viljoen said he would abide by the decision of the *volksraad* and that the registration of the Freedom Front would lapse.

Parties will appear on the national ballot in this order:

1. Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.
2. Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights.
3. Keep It Straight and Simple Party.
4. Vryheidsfront.
5. Women's Rights Peace Party.
6. Workers' List Party.
7. Ximoko Progressive Party.
8. Africa Muslim Party.
9. African Christian Democratic Party.
10. African Democratic Movement.
11. African Moderates Congress.
12. African National Congress.
13. Democratic Party.
14. Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa.
15. Federal Party.
16. Inkatha Freedom Party.
17. Uso-South African Party.
18. Minority Party and
19. National Party.

(Report by Mzimasi Ngudle, 61 Commando Road, Industria West.)

FW's most important election

Sowetan 7/3/94

By **Lulama Luti**
Political Staff

304A

THERE is no doubt that for State President FW de Klerk this coming election is the most important in his political life. In his own words it is "a make or break election for South Africa"—or the National Party perhaps?

However, he is confident that "we will cut the ANC down to size during this election".

This confidence has paid dividends, for he did manage to draw reasonably large crowds wherever he went on his two-day election campaign in Natal.

But even he admitted to the ANC's strength and its ability to outshine almost everybody at the polls.

"Help us," he said, "We've got good plans for the future. This election is not just about getting people into parliament. It is about ensuring the safety, security and prosperity of your children in this country."

With an imminent visit to the region by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela, De Klerk is not far from finding out whether or not he was able to drum up enough support.

(Report by Lulama Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West.)

Use your vote ^{Souletun - 412494} The double ballot

YOUR vote is your most valuable possession.

Of all possessions you could leave to your family, the most precious is the gift of a secure future. A future free from oppression, apartheid, inferior education and unhealthy living conditions.

A future free from violence and fear. By making your mark next to the party of your choice you will be showing your love for your

children, your country and your nation. Making your X is the first step in securing a brighter future for all. (30449)

Your vote will be a secret. You alone will enter an enclosed cubicle. There will be no cameras. You will not have to write names on your vote slip.

You will place your vote slip in a box containing other slips. Nobody can find out who you voted for.

The double ballot system is the use of two ballot papers for the election of a party to represent you in the National Assembly and in the provincial legislature.

Two ballot papers are used in the voting process.

This system (double ballot paper) is going to be used for the April 27 - 28 elections. There will be two separate ballot papers, vot-

ing for the National Assembly will take place first and after the ballot paper has been deposited, you will be issued with another ballot paper which you will use for voting for the provincial legislature.

There will be ten different types of provincial ballot papers, with each province using its own for the provincial legislature.

The National Assembly ballot paper will indicate the names of the contesting parties, identifying each by its logo and acronym, a photograph of a party leader and a commitment to make a voting mark. The provincial legislature ballot paper will only indicate the parties that are contesting the elections in that province.

HEAL
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LAND



VOTE
APRIL
27 TH

I N D E P E N D E N T F O R U M F O R E L E C T O R A L E D U C A T I O N

AGG...
Wednesday March 9 1994 SOWETAN

NEWS Ultimatum given to homeland

Bop warned of 'tough action'

Sowetan. 9/3/94

By Donwald Pressly

TOUGH action against the Bophuthatswana government will be taken within a week if it continued to refuse to submit itself to the democratic changes in South Africa, the Transitional Executive Council warned last night.

The council said it would bring the embattled homeland government to 'its knees' if it did not change its attitude by its meeting next Tuesday.

The TEC said its management committee would implement a number of steps to ensure that South African citizens - which includes all homeland citizens - in the territory were able to vote in next month's

election.

The TEC envisaged steps include ending diplomatic ties and financial arrangements which would benefit the homeland.

Income from the Southern African Customs Union would almost certainly be affected, a TEC source said.

The threatened action follows Bophuthatswana's decision on Monday to boycott the election.

The TEC resolutions, supported by the South African Government, also said consideration would be given to withdrawing seconded SA personnel to the territory and taking measures to ensure that the Independent Electoral Commission could carry out its tasks.

TEC turns to flag question as time runs out

PRETORIA — With time running out for a final decision on a flag for the new SA, the Transitional Executive Council today considers designs for the first time.

"Today may be the magic day for the flag," a TEC source said. The issue has been on the TEC agenda for more than a month, and local manufacturers, alarmed at the delay, have urged quick action.

There have been suggestions that the peace flag be used until the government of national unity can deal with the matter

DAVID GREYBE

after the elections. However, a management committee member said this was not an option. The committee will discuss the issue before today's TEC meeting.

After the negotiating council failed to agree on a flag, negotiators Roelf Meyer and Cyril Ramaphosa were given the task of finding a solution. (304A)

The ANC expected that about 100 000 new flags would have to be made in time

for the new government's inauguration.

Our Cape Town correspondent reports that Mike Clingman, MD of SA's biggest flag maker, said the three major producers would "struggle to make half" of such an order, which would be worth about R10m.

"We need to know by the end of this week." His company could produce 2 000 to 3 000 flags a week out of a local manufacturing capacity of about 5 000 a week.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and C Bateman, TML, 121 St George's St, Cape Town.

March 8, 1994

Durr urges early return to C'wealth 'family' (3044) ARG 8/3/94

ALAN ROBINSON
The Argus Foreign Service

LONDON. — South Africa's speedy return to the Commonwealth has been urged here by ambassador Kent Durr.

Mr Durr was yesterday addressing the first in a series of lunchtime discussions on South Africa sponsored by the Commonwealth Trust in the run-up to the election.

"A reformed South Africa is looking to rejoin a reformed Commonwealth. The Commonwealth, like us, finds it more productive to look forward than to look back," he said.

"South Africa is returning from its isolation — coming in from the cold — and it is wonderful that the family we left (in 1960) should invite us back.

"It is being done in a spirit of forgiveness, in my view a forgiveness reserved only for members of a family who reunite. We left the Commonwealth because of apartheid, but the Commonwealth never left us — and South Africa has remained on top of the Commonwealth agenda over the years."

Mr Durr used the example of South Africa's isolation under apartheid to debunk claims that the Commonwealth was a powerless body.

"Look what the Commonwealth did to us in the bad old days. The Commonwealth spawned the frontline states, they invoked sanctions and



KENT DURR: 'Commonwealth is prepared to help South Africa reintegrate.'

helped sanctions spread like measles among us.

"They mobilised the UN and other organisations against the South African government. They lobbied the Congress in America. They were anything but powerless.

"That very same potential and energy can now be harnessed for the development of our country. The same Commonwealth which isolated South Africa is now prepared to help us reintegrate."

Mr Durr called on the incoming government to address the matter of Commonwealth membership with "some urgency". It would be "a wonderful way" to celebrate by competing in the Commonwealth Games in Victoria, Canada, in August.

"I feel sure the politicians won't let our sportsmen down. Cape Town is going for the Olympics, and perhaps Durban or Johannesburg can seek to host the Commonwealth Games in the not-too-distant future."

Women demand fair deal

ARC 8/30/94
3044

All the speakers agreed: Women had been discriminated against long enough and it was time it stopped.

Lynne Browne of the African National Congress said the organisation had a plan to eradicate "once and for all the vestiges of apartheid". This was the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

"The RDP is an integrated, coherent socio-economic policy framework that seeks to mobilise all our people and our country's resources in the building of our country," she said. "The idea is to unlock every person's creativity and energies," she said.

Key elements, she said were: meeting basic needs; developing our human resources; building the economy; and democratising the state.

"The ANC is just not involved in election rhetoric. Since 1948, the ANC organised women separately. It saw the right of women to have a programme which would mobilise them against exploitation and apartheid."

She said mechanisms needed to be put in place to address the disempowerment of women and boost their role in the process.

"So gender inequalities must be ad-

HOW large a role women will play in the new South Africa is a question many want answered. Women in the various political parties want to make sure their needs are attended to and their voices heard. At a recent seminar party representatives outlined their plans for women in the future and listed the changes they would like to make. Staff Reporter LENORE OLIVER was there.

dressed in relation to jobs, the land, health and housing.

"The ANC has fought for women to be represented in the overall process at the World Trade Centre," she said. "Women's Party spokeswoman Michelle Muller said it was hard to believe Nelson Mandela and F W de Klerk when they said 'liberation is just around the corner' and that 'April will bring a new, peaceful South Africa'."

"It's hard to believe when women endure untold discrimination, people die like worthless flies and men, women and children have to duck and dive in fear for their lives."

"We propose that the transfer of power from one lot of tainted chauvinists to another merely perpetuates the recipe for chaos, destruction and oppression," she said.

"More importantly, this liberation or new South Africa is no guarantee of women's liberation or women's integration into the mainstream."

"Women's ministries, women's desks and quotas for women have no place in a society that is moving towards integration, for they serve to further delay the integration of women into the mainstream," she said.

"We feel women's issues are men's issues and that the provision for a Human Rights Commission and a Commission on Gender Equality in the new dispensation enhances the separation of male and female. Why aren't women's rights seen as human rights too?"

Elmarie Nielson, who represented the Democratic Party, said the party had a draft manifesto of the status of women in the Western Cape, dealing

with issues such as violence, finance, legal/marital status, health, education and sport.

"Women should be protected from political, criminal and domestic violence by a combination of stronger law enforcement."

She said the DP also called for provision of facilities for victims of violence and a combination of tougher penalties and compulsory psychological counselling for rapists and batterers.

"The DP feels strongly that the number of policemen and policewomen patrolling the streets and public places should be increased."

She said statistics showed that one out of every six women was battered. Referring to marital status she said: "Approximately one in every three maintenance payments to children or ex-wives is not paid. It should not be a woman's responsibility to produce the father's address."

"Fathers or ex-husbands who do not earn an income can be forced to do community work for payment to be sent to the children."

Financially, she said, "women should receive equal pay for work of equal value, equal pensions and benefits and equal access to promotion."

The 66 hotbeds of the right in the Transvaal, Free State

The Argus Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — In the Transvaal and Free State 66 towns and villages have shown by their statements or their support for the Conservative Party that they favour a volkstaat.

The CP claims that its surveys have shown that another 57 centres in the Transvaal, 21 in the Free State and 132 in the Cape have indicated their support.

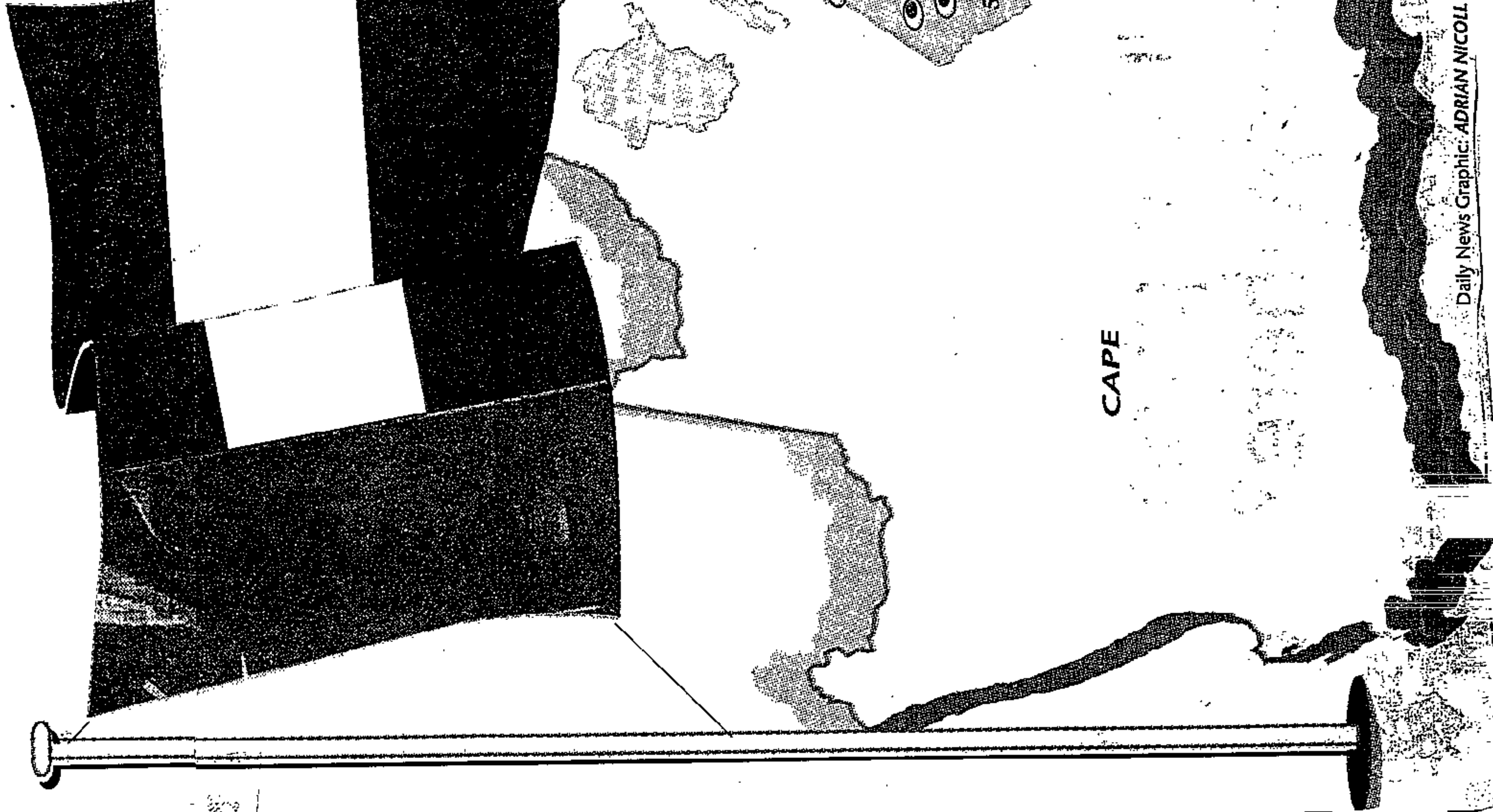
And on the map the small Vier-keur flags mark the spots — Newcastle and Richards Bay — where northern Natal's right-wingers have declared their support for a volkstaat.

The 66 pro volkstaat centres in the Transvaal and Free State:

1. Amersfoort
2. Balfour
3. Bethal
4. Carolina
5. Delmas
6. Greylingstad
7. Devon
8. Lydenburg
9. Middelburg
10. Piet Retief

11. Standerton
12. Groblersdal
13. Hendrina
14. Barberton
15. Carletonville
16. Fochville
17. Stilfontein
18. Ventersdorp
19. Lichtenburg
20. Schweizer Reneke
21. Wolmaransstad
22. Swartruggens
23. Sannieshof
24. Delareville
25. Ottosdal
26. Bloemhof
27. Rustenburg
28. Brits
29. Potgietersrus
30. Naboomspruit
31. Marble Hall
32. Nylstroom
33. Thabazimbi
34. Meyerton
35. Akasia
36. Krugersdorp
37. Springs
38. Bloemspuit
39. Boshoff
40. Bothaville
41. Dealesville
42. Edenburg
43. Excelsior
44. Heilbron
45. Hennenman
46. Hertzogville
47. Jagersfontein
48. Koffiefontein
49. Koppies
50. Odendaalsrus
51. Oranjeville
52. Parys
52. Parys
53. Petrusville
54. Reddersburg
55. Rosendal
56. Senekal
57. Springfontein
58. Theunissen
59. Ventersburg
60. Viljoenskroon
61. Villiers
62. Virginia
63. Vrede
64. Vredefort
65. Wesselsbron
66. Winburg.

(News by K Ross, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).



Daily News Graphic: ADRIAN NICOLL

304A

8/3/94

Black

focus on voting rights

Sowetan 8/3/94

THE WEEK-LONG strike by prisoners protesting against the denial of their right to vote was suspended this week. But their cause is gaining more support as human rights and political organisations join the debate.

What initially looked like an unreasonable demand by convicts is turning into a serious moral battle joined by highly regarded organisations like the National Institution for the Prevention and Rehabilitation of Offenders, the Independent Electoral Commission and very recently the Pan Africanist Congress of Azania.

The PAC this week said the prisoners were a legitimate point which should be seriously considered.

"In consultation with relevant structures, the PAC will address the prisoners on a countrywide basis on their plight and also canvass support for the PAC as the custodian of aspirations of the oppressed in the April 27 elections," said its director of publicity and information Mr Jaki Seroke.

So far the only dissenting voice is the National Party which has opposed the extension of franchise to prisoners.

The NP objected strongly even before the law was promulgated by the Transitional Executive Council, allowing only prisoners guilty of less serious offences to vote.

Responding to recommendations by the Independent Electoral Commission that all prisoners be allowed to vote, the NP's spokesman Mr Danie Du Plessis said: "The National Party opposes the IEC's recommendation that all prisoners, even those guilty of serious offences, now be allowed to vote.

"This issue has been agreed upon and included in the electoral act. We believe the Electoral Act should be amended by proclamation if it is really an extraordinary issue that has not been previously negotiated. This issue clearly does not fall in this category," he said.

The NP's view is the same as that of the head of the legal department of the African National Congress Mr Matthew Phosa. He said for the law to change it would take a "miracle".

But as the debate became more heated the leader of the South African Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights Mr Golden Miles Bhudu said even the ANC might change its tune. The strike which included work stoppages and hunger strikes looked like it would spread to the 280 prisons in the country affecting hundreds of prisoners. Bhudu said it was the only option left to prisoners whose basic rights are non-existent.

His organisation which claims to have over 10 000 members in this country's jails, intended to bring South African jails to a standstill. By the second day there were reports of prisoners being assaulted by warders in Bloemfontein. The strike had spread throughout the country's prisons including Barberton, Pretoria Local, Boksburg, Johannesburg, Bethlehem and Modderbee. It was not only the convicted pris-

The prisoners' union Saphor has suspended its mass action after gaining support from a majority of political parties and organisations in their fight for the franchise, reports *Sowetan's* **Ruth Bhengu:**

(304A) (253)



Golden Miles Bhudu

oners demanding civil rights but also the hundreds of awaiting trial prisoners, giving the prison authorities a headache.

In response the Department of Correctional Services accused Saphor of being "irresponsible, reckless and immoral." Brigadier Chris Olckers said the mass action would lead to violence the scale of which has never been seen in South African prisons.

"It must be clearly understood that the department has respect for the aspirations of all the people, including inmates. But we play no part in deciding who must vote and not vote. This

falls outside the mandate of the Department" said Olckers.

The department said it would monitor the situation and not try to stop the mass action.

According to the law people who are serving sentences that do not carry an option of a fine cannot vote.

People who are not allowed to vote include those who are:

- Subject to an order of court declaring them of unsound mind or mentally disordered or affected;

- Detained as mentally ill patients under the Mental Health Act of 1973 or any applicable law;

- Detained under the Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Act of 1992;

- Serving a sentence of imprisonment, without the option of a fine in respect of any of the following specified offences involving violence and dishonesty:

- (i) Murder, culpable homicide, rape, indecent assault, child stealing, kidnapping, assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm, robbery, malicious injury to property and breaking or entering any premises with intent to commit an offence; and

- (ii) Fraud, corruption and bribery.

Bhudu argues that in a country like South Africa which has a history of racial discrimination, politicians have no moral right to deny anybody their fundamental right to vote.

Besides, he maintains, by virtue of being incarcerated, prisoners have paid their debt to society.

"The situation is deplorable and hypocritical," said Bhudu. "The current Electoral Act says that most of the prison population the majority of whom are black, are to be excluded from the new South Africa."

The prisoners might have halted their fight for a while but indications are that they are far from giving up.

It must be clearly understood that the department has respect for the aspirations of all the people including inmates

European Union sets up poll watch

□ Nineteen observers aim to create confidence in election process

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

NINETEEN European Union observers have set up a mission here to help create confidence in the electoral process, and to assure its transparency.

Working closely with United Nations monitors, peace committee structures and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), the European Union observers also hope to act as a deterrent to individuals and parties "who might be tempted to tamper with the process", says team co-ordinator Heinz Deppe.

Mr Deppe's team, drawn from various European countries, will be enlarged to 30 nearer polling day.

The observers, wearing distinctive uniforms and working in units of two, are briefed to monitor all election activity, but their role is strictly limited to observing.

The Cape Town-based mission — which will operate in the Peninsula and, to a lesser extent, in the rural areas — will report once a week to the European Union's headquarters in Johannesburg.

Reports will be sent from

there to Brussels.

Mr Deppe emphasised that "the role of the observers is to observe rather than to supervise the election".

"Our purpose is, therefore, to be in a position to confirm the elections have been carried out in a free and fair manner and that the secrecy of the vote of the individual is guaranteed."

This will include monitoring the election procedure on polling day, the vote count, assessing voter education and the provision of voter identification documents beforehand, and being available to organisations and individuals to "discuss" the election.

The observers are Heinz Deppe (Germany), George Bault (Belgium), Silke Bruinsma (Netherlands), Michele Concato (Italy), Richard Hoffman (Germany), David Harris (Britain), Gonzalo Hernandez (Spain), Garry Kilgallen (Ireland), Maria Macchaverna (Italy), Hans Nielsen (Denmark), Frederic Nijem (France), Keith Lomas (Britain), Pat Rust (Britain), Thomas Schieb (Germany), Erich Straetling (Germany), Paolo Salvia (Italy), Beatrice Trouville (France), Joanna Nima (Greece) and Stamatios Georgoulis (Greece).



Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus.

ELECTION WATCH: Observers from the European Union at their city centre offices. The mission will be enlarged to 30 nearer polling day.

● By April 26, there will be 1 800 United Nations observers and others from the Commonwealth and the Organisation of African Unity.
(News by M Morris, 122 St. George's Mall, Cape Town).

Inkatha and Freedom Front fail to submit candidates' lists

DAVID GREYBE

CONFESSION reigned at the Independent Electoral Commission's offices in Johannesburg yesterday as the 4.30pm deadline for the submission of candidates' lists passed, and IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler conceded that his "final" deadline could be amended retrospectively if there was political agreement.

However, the Inkatha Freedom Party, Gen Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front and the unknown Realist Party had failed to submit their lists three hours after the deadline. Twenty-six parties beat the deadline to confirm their participation in the April election.

"inclusivity" and the law would be changed if all parties agreed. He was in "constant contact" with all the players.

"The deadline is a journalistic concept. We are not traffic inspectors trying to determine whether someone has exceeded the speed limit. We are trying to organise an election of national reconciliation."

Earlier yesterday Kriegler said the deadline was final. "Schlus aus. Kaput (Over, out. Finished)," he said.

Inkatha had tried to contact him but he had been in Bophuthatswana meeting President Lucas Mangope.

Last night the Inkatha central committee reaffirmed that it would not take any

further steps beyond provisional registration until sufficient progress had been made on international mediation.

Kriegler said none of the parties had requested an extension of the deadline.

It is understood the final proof of the ballot paper will be finalised today, before printing of 80-million ballot papers is scheduled to begin tomorrow in London.

However, three Freedom Front officials were locked in discussions with IEC officials last night. Kriegler confirmed the Freedom Front was considering participation, but had not submitted its lists.

The deadline passed with representatives of some parties still queuing in the corridors. The ANC and PAC were late. Inkatha's failure to arrive apparently led to the Freedom Front representatives deciding not to submit their lists.

Late last night Kriegler remained locked in discussions with parties objecting to procedure and other parties' registrations.

The ANC objected to the registration of the African Moderates Congress (AMC) because it claimed voters would be confused by the similarity in the names.

PAC spokesman Willie Seriti said senior party official Patricia de Lille had been

"slightly delayed" in the traffic and arrived late at the IEC offices. "They just have to accept our submission."

An Afrikaner Volksfront source said earlier the Freedom Front would submit its lists and participate in the poll. But Viljoen would not lead the party in the election because he wanted to avoid a split in the Volksfront.

Other "high-profile" Volksfront members would lead the Front and Viljoen would focus on security matters.

Parties have a week to alter their lists.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Dagonel St, Jhb.

See Page 14

to IEC

Rubber bullets fired after De Klerk rally

By Tim Cohen

MESSINA — Police fired rubber bullets on ANC and PAC supporters yesterday following an NP rally addressed by President F.W. de Klerk.

A police spokesman said police had opened fire after stones were thrown at them. No one had been injured.

The shooting occurred shortly after the presidential motorcade had passed a toy-toting crowd at the entrance to a stadium in Messina.

It sparked an immediate outburst from ANC election co-ordinator Abraham Luruli, who was monitoring the crowd.

"We object to this action by the police. It is just because De Klerk was speaking here that they started shooting," he said.

Police officer in charge Maj Edward Cilliers said at least two stones had been thrown. Two of his officers had been hit, one on the chest and one on the shoulder.

De Klerk said afterwards that he had been informed ANC supporters had also damaged an NP supporter's car. Opening fire had been a security decision. He said Nelson Mandela's calls for a halt to election intimidation were not being heeded.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diepkloof St., Jhb.

Housing forum may support Shill's plan

By David Greybe

THE National Housing Forum could give its backing to Housing Minister Louis Shill's R90bn housing scheme as early as Monday despite the row which led to the TEC demanding it be suspended.

Forum chairman Eric Molobi yesterday confirmed delegates would consider all aspects of the scheme at a plenary session on Monday.

"If the forum agrees to the scheme the process must be ratified with the National Housing Board, which will then advise the Minister to implement it," Molobi said.

A forum invitation to Shill to attend the plenary still stood, he said. The forum had originally planned to announce the scheme jointly with Shill immediately after its ratification by the plenary.

Shill said yesterday he had not yet received the invitation but if he did he would consider it.

"I would talk with the devil himself if it sorted out SA's housing problems," Shill said. However, he first wanted to see the agenda.

Molobi said as far as the forum was concerned Tuesday's row at the TEC should not

hamper the forum's relations with Shill.

He said the plenary would discuss the three broad areas of the scheme, certain aspects of which had already been agreed to by the various stakeholders: state subsidies as announced by Shill in February; private sector participation, mainly in the form of mortgage lending; and structural implementation of the scheme to ensure the bias of apartheid regulations was not repeated.

Shill reiterated that the TEC directive ordering him to suspend the scheme "until... the matter is resolved in the National Housing Forum" was illegal and government was under no obligation to comply with it.

Shill claimed the ANC had undue influence within the forum, which appeared to be putting obstacles in the way of agreements so that the next government could claim credit later on. He said five of the six forum nominees to the National Housing Board were ANC-aligned.

Report by D. Greybe, TML, 11 Diepkloof St., Jhb.

● Comment: Page 14



New party fires leader for belonging to Inkatha

THE newly formed African Moderates Congress party fired its leader this week when it discovered he had not resigned as a regional leader of the Inkatha Freedom Party. (304A)

Party secretary Nico Mansvelt said the AMC's 15-man executive committee was frantically searching for a new leader with political experience "because none of us have any experience in politics".

He said AMC leader Peter Magwaza had initiated the formation of the party early in February.

"At that stage Inkatha was not participating in the elections and he felt that the formation of the AMC would give Inkatha supporters an avenue because they wanted to vote," Mansvelt said.

Magwaza is Inkatha's West Rand secretary and the understanding was that he would resign the position on assuming the AMC

BILLY PADDOCK

leadership.

"When we approached him to fire him after discovering he had not resigned, he immediately tendered his resignation because he now wanted to remain with Inkatha," Mansvelt said.

The party was formed by "a group of young people and some business people mainly around Johannesburg". Its membership was about 10 000, "although your guess is as good as mine", Mansvelt added. It had not encountered anyone against what the AMC stood for: moderation, anti-communism and non-racialism.

The party registered for the election on Friday and has been swathed in controversy because the abbreviated form of its name is similar to the ANC's.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

WB from

NEWS IN BRIEF

A TEC subcommittee completed

President talks about 'two bulls'

304A

Hot welcome for FW

By Benson Ntlemo

STATE President FW de Klerk yesterday had a hostile reception from ANC supporters when he visited Giyani, Gazankulu, on his election road show.

When he arrived, the door leading to Chachulani Hall was blocked by hundreds of ANC supporters who danced the toyi-toyi outside, displaying "Mandela for President" placards.

De Klerk, who was hurriedly taken inside the hall by the police, told about

200 people including schoolchildren, that the ANC was not sure of itself.

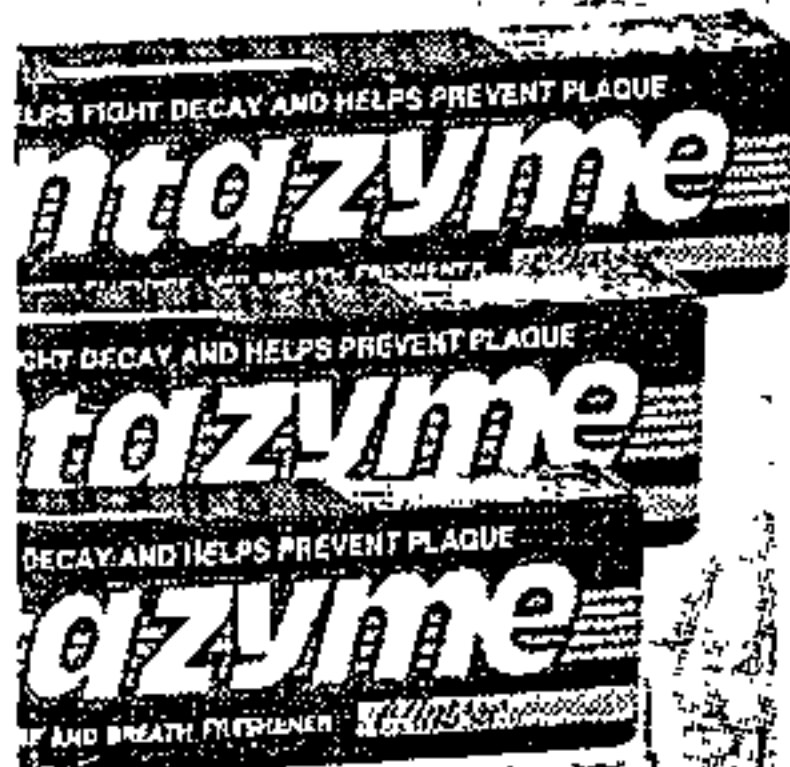
De Klerk said there were two "bulls" in South Africa, the ANC and the National Party and the rest were calves.

He said the Ximoko Progressive Party was a good calf "that is why it refuses to be intimidated by the ANC".

Ousted XPP secretary-general Mr Eddy Ngobeni caused a stir when he said the NP was the only party to vote for and if people made a mistake on April 27 by not voting for it, this country would be plunged into poverty.

GHGATE

SAVE
50c



NORMAL 2,19

SAVE
1,70

ZERO
RATED

fruitree

tropical
fruit nectar punch

47% fruit juice



NORMAL 12,69

FRUITREE

help Mangope fight 'communists'

Inkatha out of elections

■ SERIOUS SPLIT Freedom Front

and PAC beat the registration deadline:

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party failed to register candidates for the April election ahead of yesterday afternoon's deadline — effectively excluding it from the poll.

However, the registration of the newly formed rightwing Freedom Front headed by Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen, was met with surprise by AVF spokesman Mr Stephen Manninger.

In a move which is expected to seriously split the Afrikaner rightwing a delegation of three, headed by Conservative Party Pretoria West MP Mr Joseph Chiole, handed in the front's lists.

Rumours flew that Inkatha Freedom Party MP Mr Koos Van der Merwe was in the IEC building yesterday waiting for a call from Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to hand in provisional candidates' lists. *(304A)*

The IFP central committee met in Ulundi yesterday, apparently without

reaching any conclusion on the matter.

Just before the 4.30pm deadline, the FF group arrived at the party registration office in the IEC building.

But there was no sign of Inkatha.

According to an IEC spokesman 26 of the 29 parties registered for the election had submitted lists. These include the ANC, NP, PAC and DP.

It also appeared that the Pan Africanist Congress had missed the deadline, but its agent, Mrs Patricia de Lille, faxed her organisation's lists before arriving herself at the building at 5.30pm. Asked why she was late she said: "It has nothing to do with you."

The United Peoples Front of Lebowa Chief Minister Chief Nelson Ramodike and the fledgling Realiste Party of Mr Daniel Bosman also failed to register.

Manninger said the FF decision to forward candidates would have an effect on the Volksfront, but there was no difference between participants and non-participants in the elections on the viability of a *volkstaat*.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Rd, Industria, and P Bulger, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.)

Volksfront faction may join the election

PRETORIA — The pro-election faction of the Afrikaner Volksfront was still considering taking part in the elections, Afrikaner Vryheidstigting leader Carel Boshoff said yesterday. *Biday*

He was reacting to speculation that a group of right-wing parliament members who supported Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen's registration of the Free-

dom Front party planned to submit a list of candidates, contrary to a Volksfront transitional representative assembly decision last Saturday. *912194*

Boshoff said the group was still deciding whether to submit a list. *(304A)*

Reuter reports that a right-wing source said the Freedom Front believed it could win 500 000 to 1,5-million votes. — Sapa.

Report by N Patterson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

Special interest parties offer more than light relief

18 May 1994

3047

FOR the first time, SA voters will enjoy the political luxury of a large choice of smaller political parties and interest groups who will seek direct attention away from the more significant players like the ANC, NP and DP. The registration of 29 parties for the April election is likely to add spice to the poll, and their performance may still affect both the campaigns and the performance of their bigger brothers.

Small special interest parties are a vital element of democracy. SA is strangely fortunate in that these groupings are unlikely to hold any balance of power or materially affect the result of the election. Although the threshold for entering Parliament is one of the lowest in the world (0.25% of the vote), the election result will be unlike that in Israel where small and often extremist groups hold the country to political ransom.

Instead, the likes of Kiss (Keep it Straight and Simple) and the Women's Rights for Peace Party are likely to focus public attention on issues that might be overlooked or ignored by the establishment groups. Claire

Emary talks about curbing government ability to tax while Nina Romm is adamant about the upliftment of women. The free operation of small groups is a vital outlet or safety valve for the articulation of views that otherwise may be stifled and could lead to frustration.

Issues raised by the smaller parties might find sympathy with an electorate that will increasingly become sceptical of the promises made by the large actors. The party manifestos of all the major players thus far have been characterised by a litany of promises. Voters are right to question just how the ANC, NP or DP will manage to build so many houses or provide so much free schooling. There is a growing reluctance to believe mainstream politicians, and the new smaller parties might derive some benefit. This may force even the presidential hopefuls to add new authority to their weighty election promises.

Small parties reflect issues of concern to the society and stimulate awareness. It is therefore surprising that among the preponderance of politically motivated groupings, there

DANIEL SILKE

has yet to be any registering of a gay rights or environmental party.

The smaller groupings will naturally set their sights on drawing support away from the establishment as well as counting on the undecided or disaffected vote. They might even contribute to a higher eventual percentage poll as even the most alienated voter may recognise a little bit of himself in a Claire Emary.

The DP, ANC and NP have the potential to lose support in varying degrees to these new combatants. With its liberal tradition and laissez-faire approach, the DP and its predecessors have always been home to the more individualistic voter. The maverick voter has often found reasonable comfort in this liberal choice, but may now find very individual tastes catered for outside the conventional parties.

Frances Kendall's Federal Party may take a few votes away from the DP. The DP may need to re-establish itself in the areas of women's issues

and minority protection, and re-emphasise its watchdog status on matters relating to government spending should they wish to shore up every important vote.

The ANC might lose to parties like the Islamic Party and the two far left worker oriented groupings that will attack its traditional support base. Fortunately for the ANC, its poll results reflect a solid underbelly of support, so any such competition might be seen as of only nuisance value. Nevertheless, ANC speakers might just be considering altering the speeches to take account of these small but important lobby parties.

And the NP could face competition from the Lusio SA Party for the votes of the 500 000-strong Portuguese community, much of which traditionally votes NP.

Can a country that is lacking such fundamental issues as endemic violence, land rights and social upliftment afford the existence of small, insignificant and often emotional political players? The answer must lie in the country's commitment to democracy. Political choices should be limited only by the range of views of the population. Ironically, should

small parties become too powerful, the threshold for entry into Parliament following the 1999 election campaign is likely to be raised to their absolute exclusion.

Finally, the newcomers suffer one fatal flaw that will result in their continued political insignificance. They are in the main unreliable, having little or no track record or history of credible political performance over a period of time. However, there should always be room for entertainment in an election campaign, and their quirky styles should amuse many voters who are crying out for some light relief.

The many new groupings fulfil a key element of democracy. They offer a spectrum of choice and their existence should be safeguarded. They also have a responsibility. Their campaigning must contribute to the promotion of a free and tolerant society. The mainstream parties will have to watch their backs, and this can only be of benefit to the country.

□ Silke is a research assistant at the UCT Centre for the Study of Public Policy.

LETTERS

General Consternation

304A

General Constand Viljoen is loyal to a sort of moral conviction he has about the Afrikaner volk. That much he has proven by courage in the face of humiliation from within his own ranks. His test now is to identify in those ranks those to whom he can be loyal in terms of his own conviction, writes Argus Correspondent DALE LAUTENBACH.

THERE was a ghastly kind of patronising quality to the way in which Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg treated General Constand Viljoen at the Saturday meeting of the Boere Afrikaner parliament.

General Viljoen had done the right thing by securing the strategic option of a registered party and thanks for that but no thanks, said Dr Hartzenberg with a smile. Nice try and to the back of the class with you, was the tone.

Dr Hartzenberg would probably dearly like to dump the general but can't right now. The general would probably like to dump Dr Hartzenberg and his fanatical cohorts — and yes, he can and now is the time to do it.

General Viljoen has argued repeatedly that he is two things: First, an Afrikaner who agreed to the Afrikaner Volksfront job only in the interests of unifying the Afrikaner people; and second, a military man.

Both are crucial now. "I won't abandon the idea of a volkstaat. I have an obsession to arrive at a point where my people will survive," said General Viljoen on Saturday once he had bowed to the Afrikaner Volksfront decision not to take up the provisional registration route.

Now the question of his loyalty; one which borders on a religious conviction. Who is he to be loyal to now because clearly several conflicting strands have emerged under the AVF umbrella?

If he remains loyal to the radicals who have so far trounced him publicly — the AWB-Hartzenberg faction — he will be swept along with their warlike talk and the armed option they promote.

But then what of his loyalty to the anti-war faction and the many Afrikaners who would follow the general's reasonable option; the many who would praise this choice?

General Viljoen can no longer argue loyalty to the Boere Afrikaner under the AVF umbrella because it now stands wracked with division and eaten with internal suspicion.

We remain in the realm of speculation when it comes to calculating the strength of

the reasonable faction. Within official ranks, his pro-registration move was supported by only 20 members of the transitional people's representative council against 73 "no" votes.

But is this leadership stratum a real reflection of what exists on the ground? It is always those with the loudest voices who rise to the top in politics and under the AVF this type has had a field day playing on the emotions of the far right and whipping up a fever of fear and hate.

Is General Viljoen going to be loyal to the middle-aged woman in the neat shrimp suit, hair all nicely done for the occasion, who felt enough fear and hate to walk up to a black American journalist at Saturday's meeting and say to his face: "Wat doen hierdie kaffir hier?"

Or is the general going to be loyal to those, like his own wife, who clapped for all she was worth when he proposed the fateful participation option at the turning-point meeting on January 29.

His wife was not alone at that meeting. Row upon row of similar Afrikaners clapped with her, no doubt in the spirit of Afrikaner dignity. But their voices were drowned out, not necessarily by numbers but by the baying hounds of the radical right.

When ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki talks of recognising the fears and concerns he is gambling on a reasonable response. So too ANC leader Nelson Mandela when he offers to go down on his 75-year-old knees to them and cries patience.

Although, dangerously at this sensitive time, he says a thing like "never a volkstaat while I am alive", just a day after calling for understanding of far-right fears.

The crisis for General Viljoen and his backers — and Mr Mandela's apparent inconsistency doesn't help — is whether they can trust the ANC or not. The far right has so demonised the communists that the idea that there could be a dialogue with a black ruling party after April 27 strikes them as unimaginable.

Mr Mbeki has disclosed discussions of a political accord to be reached with the far right as a matter of urgency.

It's there for the making, he says, and the matter of a

volkstaat would be addressed along with the criteria that would have to be met to create such an Afrikaner ideal.

These would be proven support for a volkstaat, its location and, the ANC bottomline, that it should be non-racial.

Importantly, General Viljoen on Saturday described negotiations with the ANC in exactly the same manner as Mr Mbeki.

Curiously he emphasised the need to find accommodation for the volkstaat in terms of the principle on self-determination now enshrined in the list of constitutional principles which will and must govern the final constitution.

This General Viljoen said after the registration option was rejected by the meeting, the same meeting that rejects the interim constitution, the amendments recently made and all the principles.

The general seemed unaware of this subtle inconsistency; unaware that it shows his hand.

But who is to stay that hand if he is to submit a candidate list before tomorrow for his Vryheidsfront?

Here the military man in him will be comforted that he reportedly has all the generals of the AVF directorate on his side.

When he looks to the ranks of the CP for support he will have some young ambition and refreshing argument but they do not come with the weight and numbers that a military man might like at his back.

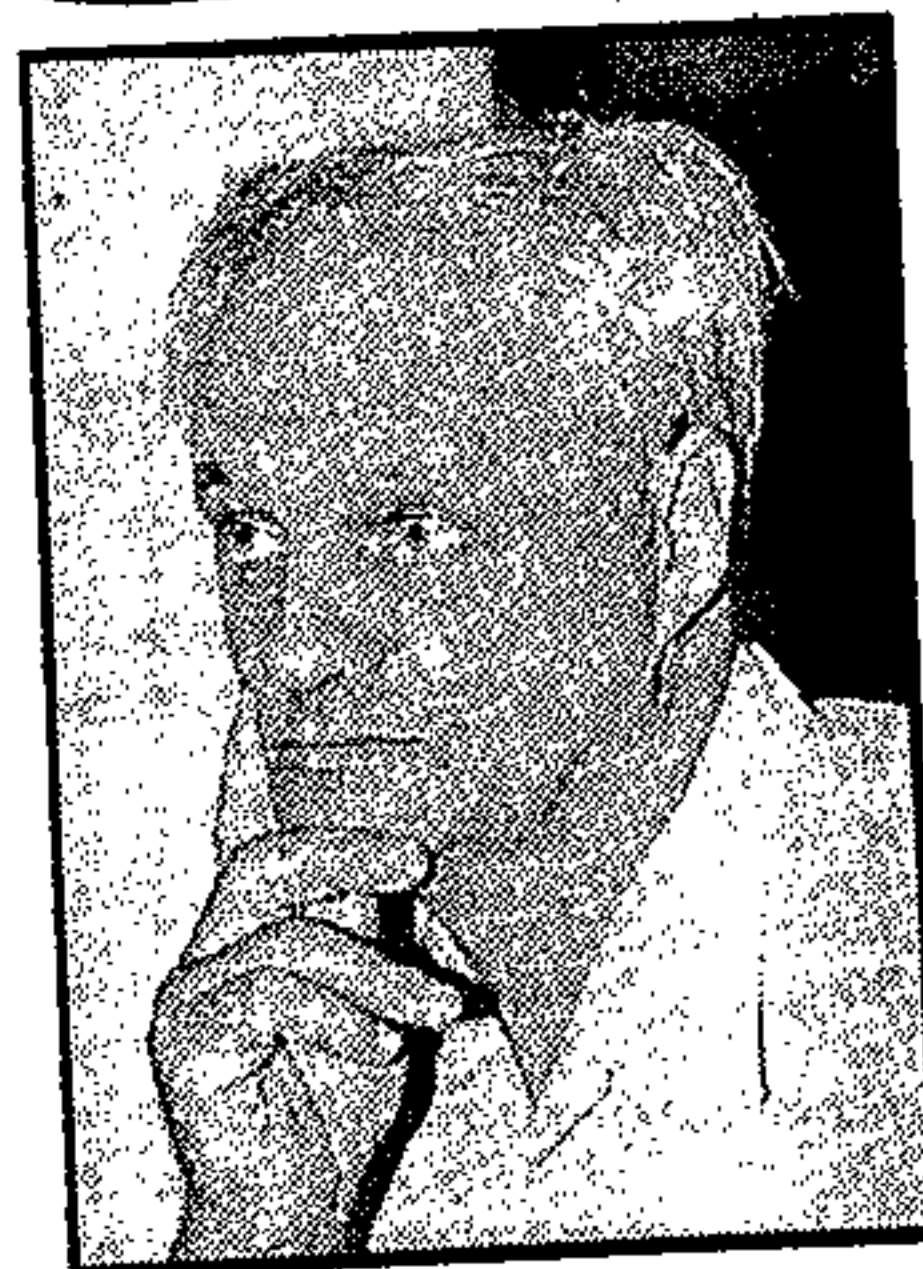
But that same military man should be able to make calculations too on the basis of sacrifice.

He must have learnt a little about politics by now and that he can't do all his sums on the basis of how many divisions he has.

The National Party must also back off while the national stakes are high with its petty party politicking. It reacted to General Viljoen's registered party saying there was no room for anything between the NP and the AVF.

Not even peace?

General Viljoen has said he is obsessed with the survival of his people. That he has seen the bloody face of Angola is by now a cliché but worth repeating. Is that the survival he wants?



CONSTAND VILJOEN

... the crisis for the general and his supporters is whether or not they can trust the ANC.

Defiant Minister refuses to comply

TEC orders Shill to halt homes project

81 Day 9/3/94

PRETORIA — The Transitional Executive Council yesterday ordered Housing Minister Louis Shill to halt government's controversial multi-billion-rand housing subsidy scheme, and accused government of abusing its position for electoral gain.

The TEC condemned Shill for his unilateral implementation of the project.

The 20-member body agreed that the project would go ahead only with the approval of all stakeholders, particularly the National Housing Forum.

However, a defiant Shill said the TEC's decision to suspend the scheme provisionally "is of no force and effect and government is under no obligation to comply with the direction".

The three-hour debate was punctuated by bitter personal asides, particularly between Shill and ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa.

Shill continued to stand his ground, saying the TEC had no jurisdiction to stop the scheme or criticise him personally.

"You can have as much hot air going around the room as you like, but you are not in a position to condemn," he said.

TEC members objected to his comment which he then changed to say he meant it was warm in the room.

The resolution was proposed by TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan and amended by Ramaphosa. It was opposed by government, the NP and Ciskei.

Rejecting the resolution "in the strongest possible terms", government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer warned that a dangerous precedent might have been set.

DAVID GREYBE

The TEC could end up spending most of its time questioning the motives of participants in the election.

Ramaphosa accused Shill of acting to benefit the NP in the election. He said that, on the day of Shill's announcement, the NP had released an election pamphlet containing details of the scheme. Shill said it had been "pure coincidence" that the NP advertising campaign was launched at the same time as his announcement.

He said no government could allow itself to be dictated to by stealth.

"We don't need a Minister to hide roughshod over others," Ramaphosa said, repeating that Shill was an "arrogant man" who had almost scuppered the R90bn housing plan. "The NP is seriously indicted for trying to hijack the housing scheme."

The National Housing Forum was still "keen to see the process continue", said chairman Eric Molobi. It wanted a multi-party solution to SA's housing problem.

The forum would hold a plenary session on March 14, when it hoped to announce a completed housing scheme jointly with Shill.

DP TEC member Colin Eglin said he was "staggered" to have heard Shill say that he did not know the political implications of his unilateral actions. In fact, Shill had turned the issue into a political one.

After a lengthy debate, the TEC scrapped most of the rest of its agenda, including the new SA flag. These matters will be discussed next week.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

De Beer lets fly at rivals' economics

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — DP leader Zach de Beer continued pounding the election trail in Natal yesterday with a double-barrelled attack on NP and ANC economic policies. *B/Daw*

He was greeted enthusiastically when he strolled around a shopping centre in Phoenix, north of Durban, and drew cheers from the crowd when he met and mock-wrestled Indian matman Gama Singh, who was in the city to defend his heavyweight title. *9/13/94*

De Beer told a meeting of Phoenix business men and community leaders that a new government needed as many DP members as possible to ensure the economy was run properly.

"The NP have proved they cannot run an economy... I cannot claim the ANC have mucked it up, but ... it contains the whole of the Communist Party in its belly and it must be regarded as under socialist influence."

The war for the whole of the 20th century between socialism and democratic capitalism was decisively lost by the socialists, he said.

"The evidence from SA is that the Nationalists are not capable of running a healthy economy and the evidence from the world is that the ANC cannot fix it." *(3044)*

The DP was the party of the individual because "to be a democrat means to be yourself".

De Beer said: "The Nats trampled human rights for more than 40 years ... and the communists have had no regard for human rights either. If people want to be free and make judgments about their own lives, we need as many democrats as possible."

The DP leader also addressed a public meeting in Newlands and visited several old age homes in Durban North and Morningside.

His roadshow now moves to southern Natal.

Report by S. Matthews, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St., Dbn.

Late changes to party lists allowed

DAVID GREYBE and TIM COHEN

THE TEC agreed in principle yesterday to allow registered political parties to amend their lists of candidates for the election after this afternoon's deadline — but they could not submit their initial lists late.

However, the Inkatha Freedom Party indicated that it would have difficulty submitting candidates' lists in time and would be seeking a postponement. *B1 Day*

The TEC reiterated that late submissions would not be allowed to alter the election dates, but it agreed to be flexible on administrative matters. *913194*

The TEC adopted a proposal by ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa to mandate its management committee to "explore" with the Independent Electoral Commission ways of assisting parties with "genuine difficulties" in meeting today's 4.30pm deadline.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said after a meeting with the ANC to discuss international mediation that his party was investigating whether there was a legal bar to submitting lists late.

Inkatha central committee member Joe Matthews suggested it would be impossible for the party to supply lists of candidates for national government and nine regions by today. *(304A)*

In terms of an amendment to the Electoral Act, the President could change its provisions by proclamation after consulting the IEC and the TEC.

□ To Page 2

Candidates' lists

B1 Day 913194 From Page 1

The Bophuthatswana cabinet yesterday "clarified" its position regarding participation in the election, saying its mind was still open on the question, contrary to Monday's statement suggesting that the cabinet was opposed to participation. *(304A)*

The territory would be giving up its sovereignty and independence, and such a decision could only be taken by its parliament, the spokesman said.

In terms of a Freedom Alliance resolution adopted in Cape Town last week, the parties committed themselves to participation if international mediation produced satisfactory results, he said.

The spokesman said the election date would have to be moved, otherwise Bophuthatswana would be at a disadvantage.

Report by D Greybe and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● See Page 4

New rightwing party preparing for the election

304A
ARCT 9/3/94

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE new rightwing Freedom Front party is preparing to take part in next month's election.

Leaders worked until late last night preparing a list of candidates.

There is a 4.30pm deadline today for the submission of lists, but the Transitional Executive Council has decided that political parties may change their lists until next Wednesday.

The Freedom Front's move is likely to cause a split in the Conservative Party as a number of its MPs — including Pieter Mulder of Schweizer-Reneke and Corné Mulder of Randfontein — are involved with the new party.

CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg has again expressed his party's determination to boycott the election, while the right wing steps up its efforts to have a volkstaat.

Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Constand Viljoen, who registered the new party at the weekend, has said that it's in the interest of the Afrikaner to take part in the election.

Speaking after talks in the Bophuthatswana capital, Mmabatho, with Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje, General Viljoen said the new party could submit its candidates' list today.

The Mulder brothers today declined to comment. Sources close to the Volksfront said they were in "a difficult position", but would comment later.

At a CP caucus in Cape Town last week they came out in favour of taking part in the election, but the majority of the caucus was opposed.

The Freedom Front supporters feel that the party must be able to put the case for a volkstaat in parliament and that it can get about 20 MPs elected. The party will also work with extra-parliamentary groups pressing for the idea.

Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee went into an emergency session today to decide whether to submit election candidate lists by today's deadline.

The Independent Electoral Commission has indicated that the deadline will not be shifted, but parties would be able to make amendments to the list during the coming week.

An IFP source said today that the process of preparing lists had begun recently and the submission of a "temporary" or incomplete list by 4.30pm was a possibility.

● See page 4.

'DP, NP in coloured vote battle'

(3047)
GANSBAAI. — The real struggle for the coloured vote is between the Democratic Party and the National Party, says DP candidate for the western Cape premiership Hennie Bester.

He told a public meeting in Gansbaai: "The ANC is no longer a factor in the Western Cape. Their so-called coloured supporters are busy walking over to the DP en masse. Why? Because in practice and on the ground the ANC is not really a non-racial party for all South Africans," he said.

ARG 9/3/94
Mr Bester sharply criticised ANC western Cape premiership candidate Allan Boesak about his reported recent pronouncement that a vote for another party would be against the will of God.

On the NP, Mr Bester said it had failed hopelessly to provide security for the individual and the family, which was the first task of any government. — Sapa.

(News by D van Zyl, Nedbank Centre, Strand Street, Cape Town).

'Guarantee women's rights' plea

(304A) (355A)
Political Staff

THE transfer of power from "one lot of chauvinists to another" merely perpetuated chaos, destruction and oppression, according to SA Women's Party election co-ordinator Michel Muller. **ARG 9/3/94**

Speaking at the launch of the party's Western Cape regional campaign she said the new South Africa was no guarantee of women's liberation or women's integration into the mainstream.

Voting for the Women's Party meant a vote for anti-sexist legislation and practices and the ultimate abolition of discriminatory norms in traditions, cultures and religions.

It was a vote for independent political action.

Until women's groups had a vehicle for political expression their contribution would remain marginalised.

"They will remain forever subservient to macho or male-dominated ideologies."

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

Remove stumbling blocks and Afrikaners will vote

(304A) WM11-17/3/74

If all obstacles to the formation of a volkstaat are removed, members of the Freedom Alliance will take part in the elections, writes **Professor Carel Boshoff** a key figure in this week's rightwing discussions

THE intention of the Freedom Front to take part in the coming national election is based on the fact that the Afrikaner needs more than one instrument in his struggle for freedom in his own fatherland. The ultimate goal to obtain his own volkstaat is indispensable; it's just a question of how to attain it.

From this point of departure participation in the election has got nothing to do with the acceptance of the 1993 constitution, nor with the legitimacy of the new government. Whoever the government may be, the presence of Afrikaners in the elected structures will be to claim their volkstaat and to make use of every means to achieve their goal.

More or less 2,8-million Afrikaners would not be wise to rely on power or numbers alone. Blacks in South Africa outnumber them by more than 80 percent; unfortunately for both they occupied the same regions in the country. For the Afrikaner, in order to claim a volkstaat of their own, they should become the indisputable majority in the region where they intend to substantiate their claim.

That is not possible before April 27, the day of the election, and, therefore, every opportunity should be taken and all power and knowledge should be applied to bring it about. During that time the Afrikaners should consolidate their interests within the new South Africa, insist on their claim for a volkstaat to be recognised and accommodated in the constitution in an irreversible way.

But there is real doubt the transitional constitution does not provide for that. Political scientists De Villiers and Sindane say: "A unitary system of government has only one power centre and all sub-national units exist at the behest of the centre. The central government can delegate powers to the sub-national units — regions, states or provinces — and can take these back at will. It can dissolve the sub-national units and create new boundaries or new units. Resource allocation as well as budgeting is centrally done. The logic for

the establishment of a unitary system is different from that of a federal system."

In a full page analysis of what is called "the final hurdle" in *Business Day* (March 3), a group of concerned business people concentrates on the two real issues: the powers of the provinces are inadequate; the central government can override all provincial powers. It says: under the new constitution and despite the most recent concessions, the central government can override the social welfare policy of a province.

The central government can override a province that allows private hospitals. Provinces cannot determine their own trading hours for shops or regular street traders. Provinces have far less regional powers than Punjab in India or Sarawak in Malaysia or New South Wales in Australia or Ontario in Canada or Texas in the United States.

On the other hand, the ANC will easily win the central election and will have all the central power. In regions they win their regional policies can be identical to their central policies. Therefore we appeal to the ANC/National Party to agree to the following changes: increase provincial powers meaningfully. Remove central control over these powers, and safeguard these changes effectively.

For the Afrikaner that is what it is all about. To enter into a new dispensation without such changes is a risk to our national life. Therefore demands for the change of the constitution is still hampering the election and it may even cause a deadlock.

The concession made by the Freedom Front to register provisionally for the election is a gesture of willingness towards the government/ANC. This was in reaction to a gesture by the ANC/government adding a new principle authorising the constitutional assembly "to include in the new constitutional text provision for communities sharing a common cultural and language heritage to exercise a recognised form of internal self-determination should it be proved that there is substantial



Carel Boshoff ... Remove central government control

support in such a community for such self-determination".

But even this addition does not guarantee a volkstaat because it is still possible for the winning party to practically override all efforts of self-determination in the regions and even declare the whole country as one province.

The deadlock between the parties has led to the request for international mediation. It is my belief that we need the mediation of a number of objective experts acceptable for the different parties. The success of mediation has been proved in a number of crucial situations all over the world and it must be applied in our situation.

If all the obstacles are eliminated and the Afrikaners need for a volkstaat is recognised, there should be no reason why they, as members of the Freedom Alliance, would not take part in the election. When that happens there is enough reason to believe that the Freedom Alliance may become the second strongest power in South African politics.

The Afrikaners can begin immediately to plan and develop their volkstaat and other members of Freedom Alliance should be accommodated in a real federation according to their will.

■ Professor Carel Boshoff is head of the Afrikaner Vryheidstigting

SOUTH AFRICA is the first country in the world to have a Bill of Rights explicitly protecting its gay and lesbian citizens. According to the interim constitution, South Africans may not be "unfairly discriminated against" on the grounds of sexual orientation.

This clause was approved by all the parties at the negotiating council — from the Pan Africanist Congress to the Afrikaner Volksunie. But acceptance of a constitutional principle does not necessarily translate into the embrace of an unpopular cause on the hustings.

The National Party, through MP Jacko Maree, has gone no further than state it "fully supports" the Bill of Rights but that issues of "privacy" should be left to the constitutional court. And the PAC has not uttered on the subject since Bennie Alexander declared last year that "homosexuality is un-African".

Even though it was African National Congress constitutional lawyers like Albie Sachs and Kader Asmal who pushed for the gay equality clause, it has been the Democratic Party alone that has actively and enthusiastically campaigned around the issue.

Nonetheless, Glow (the Gay and Lesbian Organisation of the Witwatersrand) last month unanimously voted to endorse the ANC in the upcoming election. By being the "chief architect" of the gay equality clause, says Glow, "the ANC has demonstrated its commitment to a society that is based on sound principles of non-discrimination, making South Africa a world leader in terms of the protection of gay and lesbian rights".

South Africa a world gay rights leader because of the ANC? Many comrades might shudder: it was ANC

Psst ... Gays do have rights

3/Gay rights

supporters, after all, who held up placards declaring that "homosex is not in black culture" during Winnie Mandela's 1991 trial.

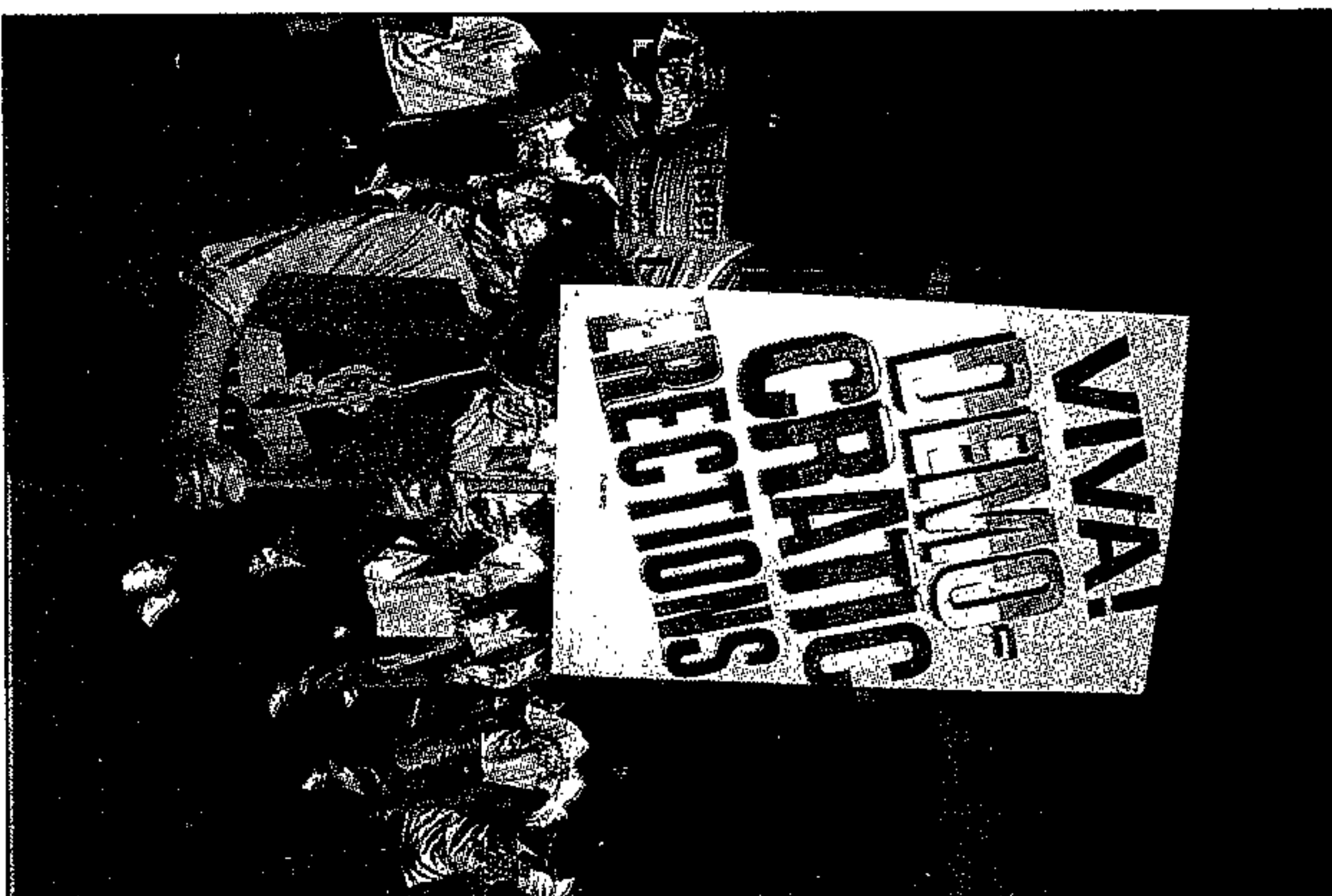
But ANC spokesman Baleka Kgosisile says: "We don't hesitate to welcome Glow's endorsement." She believes the ANC won it "because of the positive work we've been doing with respect to human rights and individuals' rights to choose what they prefer for themselves. In future, if two men or two women want to marry, no one should prevent it — even if they do disapprove."

Many ANC leaders do disapprove. And while many others have come to terms with constitutional protection for gay people, they do not want the ANC's role in this victory to be too loudly trumpeted in the run-up to the election.

In fact, the inclusion of gay rights in the ANC's Bill of Rights slipped in with barely a word. "We knew it was the right thing to do," says a senior ANC constitutional negotiator, "but we didn't want to make too big a fuss about it. South Africa remains a religious and conservative society."

So will the gay card be played in the next few weeks? Absolutely — if the DP and its openly gay PWV regional candidate, Craig Oakley-Brown, have anything to do with it.

At the launch of the DP campaign last month, Oakley-Brown — 29th on the party's provincial list — was one of



WPM 11-17/3/94

(30414)

Thanks to the ANC, the rights of homosexuals is enshrined in the constitution. But the only party to have actively campaigned for gay rights is the Democratic Party
PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

10 featured speakers. He made an impassioned call to gay voters: "The NP has legalised homophobia and encouraged discrimination against sodomites". The ANC has publicly said that it has no truck with what it calls 'social deviants and perverts'. It is only

the DP, with its proud tradition of freedom and its record on human rights, that is deserving of our vote.
In the 1987 general elections, the gay newspaper *Exit* conducted a survey of all candidates, urging its readers to vote only for those who support-

ed the gay cause. In white constituency politics, gay voters could exercise communal political power and it made sense to court them actively in constituencies like Hillbrow and Sea Point.

In a nationwide (or even regionwide) proportional representation poll, however, gay votes — in terms of regional strength — are barely worth fighting for. Unless, of course, you happen to be the DP — when an extra few thousand votes can win you a seat in the cabinet.

"We have defined ourselves as a niche party," says DP campaign manager Paul Ascherson, "and in the communities we are targeting, gay issues are not a problem." Potential DP voters, he says, are civil libertarians. "They're the sort of people who might well say, 'I abhor it! I don't like it! But I'll uphold their right to do it.'"

Oakley-Brown claims that in the 4 000 canvassing calls his Johannesburg East branch office has made, only one respondent has objected to the party's strong pro-gay stance.

Not so for the ANC's target constituency. "There's still so much education that needs to happen around sexuality in black communities," says the ANC constitutional lawyer. "I don't even think most ANC candidates would be comfortable waving the gay flag."

There are at least three lesbians on the ANC's national list, but none has publicly declared their sexuality to date, and all are in unelectable positions.

There probably won't be an openly gay MP in the new parliament. But, for the first time in South African politics, gay issues are squarely on the agenda.

FIRST lady Marlie de Klerk's attempts to woo women and rural blacks to the National Party have received a controversial R2-million boost from the German ministry of international co-operation and development, the BMZ.

The grant to the Women's Outreach Foundation, which De Klerk heads, was allocated on the express orders of the responsible minister, rightwinger Carl-Dieter Spranger, against the advice of his officials.

The organisation has so far received R600 000, with the rest apparently due once a formal "financial allocation agreement" has been signed.

Interviewed by telephone this week, overseas aid officials in Germany confirmed the minister had been advised against making the grant, but refused to comment further. "This is a very hot potato in Bonn at the moment," said one, who spoke on condition of anonymity. "Call again next week." It is understood Spranger was told

German grant for Marlike

WMM 11-17/3/94

The Women's Outreach Foundation, headed by Marlike de Klerk, has received a controversial grant from the German government, writes **Stephen Laufer**

(304A)

by his officials De Klerk's foundation was not strong enough organisational-ly to carry through the projects it was proposing. But the minister overrode his advisors, and gave his okay to the controversial grant.

De Klerk also heads the National Party women's organisation, Women's Action. She has been campaigning particularly among women and rural communities in recent weeks, visiting villages in the Cape, Free State, and Eastern Transvaal.

ANC representative Baleka Kgosi-sile said it had to be assumed Spranger's R2-million grant was a form of election aid. "What else can it be, if you give them that much money

at this time? It is to prop up people who oppose the liberation of South Africa. Anyone supporting that camp deserves scrutiny."

The Women's Outreach Foundation was founded in December 1992 with the help of the University of Pöschel-stroom after De Klerk took part in a UN first ladies summit in Geneva on the economic advancement of rural women. On a trip to Bonn the same year, she met BMZ officials and the federal minister for women's affairs, attempting to gain their support for her foundation.

The foundation is understood to have told the Germans it was involved in voter and health education, but

attempts to obtain details of its projects proved impossible. Foundation consultant Johann van den Berg said he couldn't release a detailed list until he had the go-ahead from senior foundation officials, whom he was unable to reach. "The problem in South Africa is not a lack of funding, but getting to it and getting it released," Van den Berg said, explaining the foundation's role.

Before its windfall from Bonn, the organisation appears to have had a difficult time raising funds, with major local and international donors expressing reservations. The Berlin daily taz reported last week that European Union funders in South Africa and the Development Bank of South

Africa gave it the thumbs-down.

Although De Klerk's foundation denied it had applied for EU funding, taz said European representatives had confirmed the organisation had rejected an application for funding.

The Development Bank criticised the foundation because it had no contact with the rural women whose lives it purported to be working to improve, reported taz.

Attempts by this newspaper to obtain confirmation from the EU were unsuccessful as responsible officials were in Brussels. The Development Bank's official responsible for Germany was said to be travelling in Europe.

The BMZ support for the foundation differs from most made by German government agencies to South African projects because it is a one-off grant. Most projects run for three to five years, with frequent assessments of their progress and efficiency by German aid officials.

IEC struggling to be ready for vote

(304A) WRM 11-17/3/94

International experts fear the Independent Electoral Commission won't be ready for the elections, reports **Mark Gevisser**

WITH under seven weeks to go to the election, the Independent Electoral Commission is struggling against late registrations, a debilitating office move, the logistical strain of a last-minute change to two ballots, and conflict between its commissioners and its directorate.

International observers and non-governmental organisations members fear the IEC is dangerously behind deadline, though senior IEC members insist that they are "on track". Both insiders and outsiders agree, however, that the election date cannot be changed.

After just over a month on its feet and a disruptive move from the World Trade Centre to premises in Johannesburg, the IEC is only beginning to put its national infrastructure in place. Furthermore, the lack of clarity on final registration deadlines and the sheer pressure of the task at hand, has caused serious tensions between the IEC's senior directorate staff and its commissioners.

According to senior sources, director of electoral administration Piet Colyn tendered his resignation late last week because of interference by the commissioners, but was persuaded to stay. Colyn, the director-general of home affairs, denies that this incident took place.

Several commissioners confirm, however, that this tension does exist. "All the authority seems to lie with the directorate," said one, "and it's almost impossible for us to find out what's going on. But we are the ones who are ultimately responsible to the electorate." But another commissioner said "our working relationship with the directorate does not have major problems".

Is South Africa going to be ready for an election that will see up to 25-million people pass through about 80 000 voting booths in 10 000 polling stations observed by at least 10 000 monitors and staffed by 207 000 officials?

Senior officers have just been appointed in the nine regions, from which they have until the end of the month to set up offices and recruit and train regional monitoring and administrative staff. And the last-minute registration crises, along with the late decision to move from one ballot to two, have placed an unexpected burden on the electoral timetable.

Many in the international observer missions and in the NGOs that have been doing monitoring and voter education are anxious that the commission appears to be behind schedule.

"People have great expectations," says Alice Coetzee, project director of Idasa's Pretoria branch. "I'm scared. If it is a shambles, we're going to muck up our only chance."

This sentiment is generally shared by members of the international observer community. The following issues have been raised with the IEC by members of these organisations:

- That only a small percentage of the requisite administrative field-staff have been appointed, and that the appointment process is a month behind the timetable the IEC set for itself.
- That provincial offices are behind deadlines.
- That the double-ballot system might put pressure on voter-flow, which might result in tension at the polling stations.
- That the IEC has estimated too few voting

compartments.

- That the double-ballot system means many of the polling stations will be too small.

- That the security forces who will play a crucial role in safeguarding the passage of the ballots have not yet been identified and trained.

IEC commissioner Ben van der Ross responded: "We South Africans are a pretty resourceful lot. We're getting the message from the UN crowd that we can't do it. But we'll put this thing together. We're not a Cambodia or one of those places in a state of collapse."

Said Bheld Sibya, the IEC's regional director in KwaZulu/Natal: "Certainly, the situation is slower than it should be... If the job is 'substantially' well done, that's the best we can hope for."

Senior officials of the IEC's monitoring and electoral administration directorates are convinced that, even with the delays and hitches caused by the registration uncertainty, they can have their structures in place in time.

Colyn said that nearly 2 000 district electoral officers will be in place in two weeks. "And once

they are there, it's an easy job recruiting officials to staff the polling stations."

Monitoring director Peter Harris said his department was also "on track". His department is recruiting and training monitors at the rate of around a thousand a week, and he is certain the 10 000 monitors will be in place by early April.

Monitoring logistics chief Francis Wilson knows that anxiety is rife at the apparent lateness of appointments, but said "the bulk of the monitors aren't needed until the polling days".

Van der Ross underscored this point: "Yes, it's true that we need 200 000 electoral officials. But about 150 000 of these are just to be employed for a couple of days, and their job will be quite mechanical. Really, they don't need more than an hour of training."

Mary Burton, presiding officer in the Western Cape, is cool and confident about the task ahead of her: "The time scale looks manageable."

She, along with many other newly-appointed IEC officials, noted that applications for positions and offers of secondment from the busi-

ness and non-governmental sectors are pouring in. "I think," said one official, "that a few people are panicking. That's to be expected... give us a chance to actually put our structures in place."

Colyn acknowledged that "our major concern is violence. What happens, for example, if the situation is so violent in an area that polling officials don't report for duty? It is my duty to plan for alternatives."

Van der Ross said the double-ballot system has caused logistical problems and there was difficulty in locating large enough polling stations.

The overwhelming sense from all the senior IEC officials canvassed is the election will not be smooth and flawless but, given the limited amount of time, it will happen.

There's an aphorism going round the IEC's new nine-floor premises on Kruijs Street: the commission's work is like building a ship while already at sea. Swimming against a tide of unpacked boxes and unconnected telephone-lines earlier this week, one wag was moved to quip: "Let's hope it's an ark, and not the Titanic."

»» SATIN LEAF ««

SATIN SMOOTH
GOLDEN LEAF

SPECIAL MILD



The politicians have plenty to say about most topics as the election winds up. But there are some key issues which none of the parties will tackle

Mark Gevisser looks at three of them: polygamy, abortion and gay rights

Ssh ... three taboo election topics

WM 11-17/3/94

304A



1/Polygamy

WHEN it seemed, at the World Trade Centre last year, that negotiators were going to capitulate to traditional leaders and exempt customary law from the Bill of Rights' equality clause, rural activist Mam' Lydia Kompe took a stand: "If they give way on this," she said, "I'll organise a boycott of the election."

What was at stake was the position of women in traditional society. The chiefs were deeply troubled by the manner in which the interim constitution entrenched gender equality. Would this mean a man could no longer take more than one wife? Or that a woman would be allowed to own her own property, or inherit her husband's property? Or, most worrisome, that a woman could succeed as a chief?

The Patriotic Front parties were in a particular quandary. Two very important constituencies were at loggerheads — women and traditional leaders. But, with the support of negotiators from other parties, the women won — in what was perhaps the first effective display of female lobbying power this country has seen.

The compromise, says to deputy justice minister Sheila Carner, "is that a woman now has a choice. If she wants to live under customary law she can, but if she wants to challenge it the constitution empowers her to do so."

The women's campaign was orchestrated and well informed, and presented persuasive constitutional arguments. But there is no doubt Kompe's threat played a role. There are certainly more rural women voters

than there are traditional leaders.

Kompe is now doing everything in her power to mobilise the rural women's vote. But though she is an ANC candidate for the national assembly, she is sceptical of her party's commitment to rural women's rights.

Under its section on land redistribution, the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Plan calls for "institutions, practices and laws that discriminate against women's access to land [to] be reviewed and brought in line with national policy", and for tenure and matrimonial laws to be "revised appropriately".

But Kompe has noted a deafening silence from ANC leaders on polygamy, which is, she says, "the number one issue of oppression we rural women face. I don't think the old men in the movement think it is important."

Which is why, once she is in parliament, her first task will be to push for legislation to legalise customary unions, "so women who enter these arrangements have full marital rights".

The constitution does provide the basis to challenge customary law, but whether laws are passed to counter women's oppression under customary law, says ANC candidate and constitutional law researcher Brigitte Mabandla, "will depend on the political will of the new government".

"One wonders, for example, what the consequences of the negotiations with the IFP and KwaZulu will be. If the customary law debate becomes a



Deafening silence ... Polygamy, the number one issue of oppression facing rural women, is not even mentioned

PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBIEH

sticking point, then negotiators may decide that discarding the issue of women is a small price to pay."

Mabandla believes, however, that the ANC's male leadership is now firmly committed to gender equality "as an essential component of reconstruction and development".

And ANC National Working Committee member Cheryl Carolus goes one step further: "There's a window of opportunity for gender issues now. Suddenly, all the old men have woken up and realised that women are the majority in this country and that they

need women's votes. So now all parties are talking about women's rights. It might be opportunism but what the hell, we should make the most of it ..."

Research by the ANC Elections Commission has identified women's issues as one of the four major areas, along with education, housing and jobs, upon which its campaign should concentrate. This week, an ANC campaign ad featured an image of microphones affixed to a mop, with the text: "Our plan will give women a much stronger voice."

The ANC's "plan", according to the

ad, is "to improve the lives of women". But it remains vague on the issue of women under customary law (saying only that it aims to "guarantee women the right to home and land ownership") and is utterly silent on polygamy.

Carolus acknowledges there was much "diplomatic egg-dancing" over the customary law dispute, and that the question of women under customary law still needs to be resolved. "Men," she says, "have been too chicken to challenge it head on."

If they don't, however, Mam' Lydia Kompe's threat still stands.

Viljoen to hone the right's military might

AVF leader Constand

Viljoen will relinquish his political role and focus on rightwing military strategy, reports Jan Tajaard

AFRIKANER Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen is to withdraw from politics and focus on honing the far-right's military plans.

On the record as saying he is more comfortable in a military milieu, Viljoen this week indicated he would be taking a back-seat to politics and would instead concentrate on building and maintaining the armed potential of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

But Viljoen does not see a military option as the only one remaining. Perhaps more than any other rightwing leader, he realises a volkstaat emerging out of armed conflict would have a very limited lifespan. A firm believer in the concept of a "balance of powers", Viljoen sees a strong military potential as a way of forcing other parties' hands in granting concessions and even in getting an internationally recognised volkstaat deal.

It is understood that while Viljoen will leave the Freedom Front (Vryheidfront) as a vehicle for army rightwingers willing to test their support at the polls, it is unlikely he will get into the driving seat.

Perhaps too eager to retain broad rightwing unity, Viljoen has expressed himself on numerous occasions as unwilling to cause a split in rightwing ranks. His political position within the AVF has, however, become untenable. With old-style apartheid advocates in the Conservative Party leading the way, even former supporters

accusing him of being a sell-out and traitor by ostensibly trying to force them to take part in the election. And while Viljoen may privately be of the view that the ballot box is the best place to prove support for a volkstaat, he is held back by his desire not to split the ranks.

While he is still pushing for a plebiscite among whites before April 27 to determine support for a volkstaat, it is highly improbable Viljoen will get his wish.

On Wednesday evening he spelled out the new role he envisages for himself on the SABC's *Agenda* programme. Interviewed by Freek Robinson, Viljoen said in future he would act more in an advisory capacity to Volksfront politicians.

Claiming that the military potential of the Afrikaner and the AVF constituted an integral part of their power base, Viljoen stressed his future task

would be to build up and maintain that power. Apart from numerous private armies such as the Weinkommando of the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, and the Pretoria Boerekommando (PBKG), this military potential is thought to largely consist of ordinary rightwingers who are part of the SADF commando structures.

Rightwing sources supportive of Viljoen say his decision to step down from a political platform also enables him to bypass his hardline detractors within the AVF.

Viljoen's registration of the Vryheidfront last Friday night nevertheless left open an option that may still come into play if the Inkatha Freedom Party and other members of the Freedom Alliance decide to contest the election.

Apart from the registration stirring up vehement feelings against Viljoen within rightwing ranks, it also postponed the long-awaited public disclosure of the borders of the volkstaat.

Last weekend everything was ready, with a large number of maps already printed for circulation among AVF members.

The "new" map, that is still being kept on ice, differs in important aspects from the earlier volkstaat map that originated from the Vekom think-tank of Major General Nicie Groenewald and Koos Rynneke.

While advocates of the Vekom volkstaat were at pains to prove that demographics may be on the side of their boundaries, the new map has reverted back to old historical claims involving the restoration of the Boer republics.

Another significant change is that the envisaged corridor cutting through Northern Natal to Richards Bay has been discarded for the more historical option of finding a route to the sea via Maputo.

Decision on prison votes

WM 11-17/3/94

Mduduzi ka Harvey.

(304A)
OVER 100 000 prisoners will know by Monday whether they will make their cross in the country's first democratic election.

This follows a meeting between the Independent Electoral Commission and the South African Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights, which is campaigning for inmates' right to vote. SAPOHR spokesman Marcus Cox said his organisation had decided to suspend mass action in prisons pending the outcome of the meeting.

"The IEC has given us their support, they have promised to take our demands to the TEC and there is a high probability the TEC will allow prisoners to vote," said Cox. But he warned: "If our demands are not met, the hunger strikes and go-slows in prisons will continue," he said. IEC spokesman Niki Moore said: "The TEC has agreed to support and help prisoners in their demand to vote," she said.

TEC spokesman Dries van Heerden said the TEC was awaiting the IEC's recommendations.

With or without IFP and Freedom Front, the presses will roll

304A
Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The buttons on the printing presses in Basingstoke, England, that will churn out millions of ballot papers for South Africa's first democratic election will be pushed on Saturday. CT 10/3/94

And that's absolute, said a spokesperson for the Independent Election Commission today.

A London-bound flight last night took the list of 26 registered parties with their photographs and logos to the British-based printers who will produce 80 million full-colour ballot papers to be delivered to South Africa by April 17.

"We're on deadline. It's now up to the printers," said the IEC spokesperson.

What remains unclear is whether, between now and Saturday, the reproduction team which must prepare the material for the printers can accommodate any changes.

The failure of the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Freedom Front — the party provisionally registered by Constand Viljoen last Friday — to submit election candidate lists by yesterday's deadline has not helped to reduce the confusion

surrounding these parties as both have indicated that their options are still open.

The IFP is now seriously pushing for an extension of the April 27 deadline and Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Viljoen said on television last night that he thought a two-month postponement would be realistic.

But there has been no softening in the ANC or government position that, notwithstanding the willingness to be as flexible as possible in negotiations, the election date itself stands fixed.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Kriegler said yesterday that the IEC was not a traffic inspector imposing deadlines. "We are trying to organise an election of national reconciliation."

IEC member the Rev Frank Chikane said the key word for the IEC was flexibility.

"But the IEC also has print deadlines of a profoundly technical nature to meet."

The Volksfront executive meets today while the IFP tonight continues its talks with the ANC on international mediation.

(News by D. Lautenbach, 216 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

SIX new serious and not so serious parties registered for April's election before last Friday's final deadline, bringing to 29 the number of political organisations which will contest the election.

Also scraping in just before the deadline were the Inkatha Freedom Party and Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front.

Whether they will all take part in the election is still unclear, but what is certain is that all their names will appear on a 60cm-long ballot paper.

It may sound like a recipe for confusing an almost virgin electorate, but spare a thought for Italian voters who will have to choose from 300 parties when they make their crosses later this month.

The Independent Electoral Commission has received only one complaint about the new parties: the African National Congress objected to the registration of the African Moderate Congress, saying that the name was too similar to the ANC's and would confuse voters. They also complained about that party's peace doves symbol.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Frank Mdlalose also registered his party nationally and in all the regions on Friday night, while Afrikaner Volksfront leader, Constand Viljoen barely made the deadline when he registered his Freedom Front 15 minutes before midnight, provoking a near-split in the far right-wing. The Freedom Front also registered nationally and in all the regions.

The new parties are:

African Moderate Congress

Leader: None. Its registered leader, Peter Magwaza, is also an Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader and was this week forced to resign when he refused to quit the IFP.

Registration: National and in all nine regions

Widely regarded as a spoiler party. The ANC objected to the registration of the AMC, saying the new party's name was a "deliberate attempt to

Behind six new names on the election list



Twenty-nine political organisations will contest the election.

Ferial Haffajee outlines the leaders and aims of six little-known new parties which registered before the deadline

confuse people". If its objection is not successful, the African Moderate Congress could appear just before the ANC's on the ballot paper.

The party did not respond to numerous requests for information about its plans and policies.

Africa Muslim Party

Leader: Imtiaz Sooliman. A member of the Islamic Medical Association, Sooliman is a medical doctor who raised money in South Africa to send a mobile hospital to Bosnia.

Registration: National; Western Cape, Natal and PWV

Funding: "The community"

The party is attempting to attract "a massive proportion of the the Muslim vote". Its manifesto — based on quotes from the Quran — pledges the party to racial harmony and religious tolerance, respect for human life, women's rights, honouring parents, the elderly and the electorate as well as accountability to God and the electorate.

Sooliman claims "a fantastic response" since he registered his party. "There have been no faxes and no press releases, but I've been on the phone for three days." Muslim voters, who make up a sizeable proportion of the coloured and Indian communities, are among the most undecided groups in the country and this party could draw support from their ranks. It is also attempting to attract black Muslims and Muslim women.

The party is aiming at a total of 15 seats in the national assembly and



Frances Kendall ... Federal Party

the regions in which it has registered. It will form an alliance with the Islamic Party, which has registered in the Western Cape.

Federal Party

Leader: Frances Kendall. Described on her registration as a Nobel Peace Prize nominee and author, Kendall is married to Free Market Foundation head Leon Louw and is herself a vocal free marketer.

Registration: National and PWV

Funding: Private donors

Kendall believes her party is the one true federal party in the country. The Inkatha Freedom Party and those calling for a *volksstaat* will opt

for "asymmetrical federalism", content to implement federalism only in their regions, she says. The DP is, in her opinion, "not a strong federal party".

The party believes central government should have power over only defence, finance, foreign affairs and the Appeal Court, while the regions should formulate their own health (including abortion), social welfare and economic policies.

"The regions must compete for citizens, taxpayers and investment," says Kendall.

Kendall claims "fantastic interest" in the party from both black and white federalists.

The Federal Party has struck an election pact with the Realist Party and the Wes-Kaapse Federale Party, which have registered in the PWV and Western Cape respectively.

The party is aiming for five percent of the vote, which will translate into 20 seats in the national assembly, and wants a cabinet seat. It could attract some voters from the Democratic Party.

Green Party

Leader: Nathan Grant

Registration: Western Cape

The party, established some years ago, claims a membership of 20 000 drawn from a number of environmental pressure groups. It plans to campaign on green issues among both black and white voters in the Western Cape. One of its campaigns is to stop the University of Cape Town develop-

ing land around Valkenberg, Observatory.

The Greens hope to win four out of 42 seats in the Western Cape regional parliament.

Luso (Portuguese) - South African Party

Leader: Manuel Mouthho

Registration: National and PWV

Funding: Private donors

Meant as a political voice for the country's 500 000-strong Portuguese community, the party was launched because of a dearth of Portuguese people on existing party lists. Mouthho insists that his is not an ethnic party, saying the party will cater for different races in the Portuguese community.

A survey in the *Citizen* newspaper this week revealed apathy among Portuguese people polled. One woman said: "I don't give a shit," when asked what she thought of the new party.

The party, which hopes to win two seats in the national assembly, could dent the National Party which enjoys healthy Portuguese support.

Soccer Party

Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights

Leader: Neil Helman, who registered his party soccer ball in hand. He says he worked underground for two years — as a mining engineer — and learned what little he knows of politics when he served on the Wits University SRC.

Registration: National

Funding: Business and individuals

The Soccer Party's manifesto comprises one promise: "We are not going to promise anything". Helman says its aim is to "unite the country through sports and arts; to develop a healthy spirit and bring back national pride".

He is confident of a substantial vote: "More people are interested in sport and music, you just have to look at the polls."

The Soccer Party insists that it is not a joke party and urges its detractors to watch its list of candidates.

Desperate DP urges piggy bank robberies

REPORT BY

South

11/3 - 15/3/94

By Quentin Wilson

IN A DESPERATE bid to bolster its ranks, the DP has angered unsuspecting Cape Flats residents by sending out a wave of membership cards and a letter requesting that a donation of R50 be sent to the party.

If you don't have the R50 then you could perhaps help yourself to the money from your children's piggy-bank, the DP advises.

Many of the recipients are active in other political organisations.

"I was absolutely furious," says Ms Ntomboxolo Sitole from Mandalay. "I do not know how they got hold of my address but last week I received this DP membership card in the post."

Sitole, an ANC member, says there was "no way" she would have

applied to join the DP. "If I could sue them I would. I hate the DP and I certainly would never have anything to do with them." Sitole was further angered because "they spelt my name wrong on the card".

SOUTH is aware of at least 22 similar DP recruitment cases in Mandalay, Guguletu and Eastridge.

Once on the DP mailing list, "members" then received letters asking for money to fill DP coffers.

In letters signed by DP leaders, Mr Hennie Bester, Mr Joe Marks and Mr Jasper Walsh, they ask for R50 from each member.

"It is extremely simple," reads the letter. "Take a R50 from your purse — or from your child's piggy bank." You shouldn't feel guilty of taking the money from your children's piggy-bank because, the DP

says, dis hui toekoms. The "members" are instructed to approach another nine people for their R50 contribution.

"There have probably been many more such incidents," says Mr Herbert Miller, chairperson of the ANC's Eastridge/Beacon Valley branch. "These are some of the cases that have come to our attention. I presume many people would have just thrown their cards away." (304A)

Miller slammed the DP's recruitment tactics as "a disgusting attempt to exploit the ignorance of our people".

"Many people in Eastridge are fearful of the DP. They believe that the DP controls the City Council and therefore has control over people's electricity, water and housing. "So when the DP approaches

people for money, many think it will cut off their electricity or kick them out of their homes if they do not pay the donation," Miller said.

Mr Stuart McClaughlin, DP Western Cape organiser, admitted that "The DP owes these people an apology."

"We can't individually verify each application form that comes into the office from our activists in the field. But those people who have received membership cards, and did not apply, are owed an apology."

"It must be made clear that we are not interested in members for the sake of members. We are only interested in recruiting people who will be active and committed to our policies," McClaughlin said.

Quentin Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town 8000.

Hope for SA women

South Easter suppl to South

in Charter

3048

11/3-15/3/94

BY MICKY STARK

March 8 was International Women's Day, celebrated all over the world.

But in South Africa women still have very little to celebrate.

This could change with the drafting of a women's charter, which will be presented to the new government in June.

The draft charter was prepared by the National Women's Coalition and presented to 300 delegates from more than 80 women's organisations.

The charter aims at improving the position of all South African women.

After two years of research, the Coalition included sections on the economy, law, education, development, rape and battery in the charter.

It is deemed enough to cater for rural farm workers, city executives and everybody in between.

The draft calls for equal taxation for women.

Women in politics will also be protected. The draft charter says no rung of government will function without women representatives.

It also calls for equal access to education and training facilities, and improved child care facilities for women with

dependants. Controversial topics like freedom of choice for abortions and the legalisation of prostitution are supported in the charter.

It also calls for more women judges and magistrates to be employed after the new government is in place.

The charter also calls for state-funded counselling centres for raped and battered women but does not promise free health care.

The charter will not be included in the Bill of Rights. Instead it will be used as a document to pressure parliament and organise women.

Bonteheuwei

pupils learn *Southeaster (Suppl to South)* how to vote

BY JOSEPH ARANES

11/3-15/3/94

IT WAS school as usual for pupils of Bonteheuwei High — only the subject changed.

Instead of normal lessons in maths, history and geography, the pupils were given voter education.

The "teachers" were Matla Trust's Ms Walene Mostert and Ms Aziza Charles, who came to the school to explain to pupils and teachers the importance of voting in the April elections.

The school assembled in the courtyard while Matla set up their mock polling booth — then the education began.

Ms Mostert explained that Matla Trust did not promote any political party, except democracy. It informed people about the elections and the role they can play in ensuring its success. *(S2) (304A)*

"We know the majority of you won't be able to vote in the first democratic elections to be held in this country, but after five years, when we go back to the polls, many of you will qualify," Ms Mostert said.

"It is important for you to know how to vote so you can go home and explain to your parents, who can vote, the importance of them casting their ballot and having a say in the running of this country."



VOTING: Pupils at Bonteheuwei High are given a chance to cast their ballots.

"We have struggled for years and some of us, like Ashley Kriel, who was a pupil at this school, were killed trying to get the government to allow all the people to vote in this country."

"The time has now come for us to vote and we must use this opportunity to vote for the parties we believe will best represent us and

fight for the things we believe in."

Although no teachers had questions, their was an enthusiastic volley from the pupils.

Questions ranged from which party they should vote for to whether it was possible for murderers in jail to vote.

The Matla team was able to reply to most of their concerns and

avoided answering anything even slightly party political.

Twenty pupils were chosen to take part in a mock election which went off smoothly.

There was just one spoilt paper and the result of the election was kept a secret as part of the trust's commitment to not promoting any party.

Getting it right from the start

Southwester (except to South)



MONITORS ... from the international community will ensure that voting is free of intimidation

PUTTING voting stations in the wrong places is tantamount to denying people the vote, at least according to Dr Brian Fenney, an Irish politician who visited South Africa.

There are many subtle forms of intimidation. Expecting people to vote in places that are not secure is one of them.

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), which is responsible for organising the election in April, intends to set up 9000 voting stations nationwide.

Its Deputy Chairman, Advocate Moseneke, has stated publicly that "No voting station should be beyond walking distance."

"Location of voting stations will be announced"

The location of all voting stations will be announced by the Chief Director of the election in the government Gazette on or before Saturday March 12th.

That's 45 days before Special Voting Day, the first day of voting for people in hospitals or prisons, on April 26th.

The Chief Director is appointed

"The SAP and the SADF will not guard voting stations"

11/3 - 15/3/94

by the IEC to encourage every adult South African over the age of 18 to vote

(30442)

Most voting stations will be located in suitable local buildings like schools and community halls.

Others, especially in rural areas, will be mobile.

So even if the Bophuthatswana administration does not officially participate on April 27th, the IEC has a contingency plan to send mobile voting stations to the border to enable its citizens to vote.

"Violence isn't a reason for not having an election," continued Dr Fenney at a conference convened to discuss the monitoring of the election from April 26th to 28th this year.

Drawing on his experience in Ireland, he said: "I intend to find that people who are involved in violence don't want an election anyway. It's a way of disrupting proceedings."

People who attempt to interfere with a free and fair election can be fined R100 000 or sent to prison for five years, or both.

Security at voting stations will be discreet.

The IEC does not want the SAP or SADF to guard voting stations because armed forces may deter voters.

However, troops from the new peace-keeping force will be on alert in troubled areas, and some security staff may be armed. But even then, their weapons will be concealed.

It is important to know the difference between monitors and observers. The difference between a monitor and an observer is that monitors can only be appointed by the IEC and have the right to intervene and resolve complaints from the public.

"Elections depend on tolerance and democracy"

Elections depend on democracy and tolerance, so any obvious display of weaponry could create the wrong atmosphere at voting stations.

Political campaigning will be forbidden within 600 metres of a voting station to ensure that the voting station is in a neutral zone, where political parties cannot campaign as people are going to vote.

Democracy must triumph

Inside the voting station

VIDEOS from IFFEE

The following VHS videos are available from IFFEE.

KHULULEKA:

A 13-part TV series now showing on CCV every Tuesday evening.

MOMENTS:

An hour-long video of Matla Trust's voter education play.

HOW TO VOTE: WHAT IS DEMOCRACY.

Available in nine different languages

IFFEE

Box 1178
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2000

must register with the IFEC. As a guarantee of their commitment to democracy, all parties that register must abide by the Electoral Code of Conduct devised during the multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre last year.

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The Code of Conduct

Under the terms of the code, every party must

- *Accept the final result of the election, no matter who wins
- *Condemn violence and intimidation
- *Support voter education in all areas, and for all people
- *Refuse to allow party supporters to carry weapons at political meetings or demonstrations
- *Encourage women to participate in politics, and to vote

Parties are forbidden from:

- *Bribing any person or organisation to join or support their party
- *Interfering with the campaigns of other parties
- *Organising political events in the same venue or at the same time as any other party
- *Stealing the symbols, colours or name of any other party and using it for their own campaign
- *Damaging posters, banners or any other campaign material belonging to other parties
- *Discriminating against any person or party on the basis of race, sex, ethnic identity, class or religion.

the same election, parties declare their belief in the values of a democratic society.









The Code of Conduct ensures that they practise what they preach, and calls on each party to defend the rights of rival parties.

Any party candidate who breaks any part of this code, can be removed from his or her party list by the IFEC (B0449)

Other parties have rights

- Democratic parties have a duty to defend the rights of their rivals, defined as the right to
- *Express differing political views.
- *Discuss and disagree with the policies and programmes of their rivals.
- *Campaign freely for membership and votes amongst supporters of rival parties.
- *Hold public meetings without intimidation in any state, town or township that they choose.
- *Attend the public meetings of other parties.
- *Distribute pamphlets, leaflets, posters and other material.

If you know of a problem that could prevent a free and fair campaign in your area, telephone the IFEC on (011) 928-1000

1		You show your ID document
2		Your hands are checked
3		Your hands are marked
4		You are given a ballot paper
5		Your paper is stamped
6		You go into an empty booth
7		You vote for your party
8		Place your paper in the ballot box

HEAL
OUR
LAND



VOTE
APRIL
27 TH

POLITICS Inkatha waits for mediation • President

25 parties set to campaign for votes

Sowetan 11/3/94
304A

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

ONLY 25 of the 28 political parties which have registered to take part in next month's election submitted their lists of candidates to the Independent Electoral Commission by Wednesday afternoon.

Contrary to a report in yesterday's *Sowetan*, neither General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front nor the Inkatha Freedom Party submitted their lists of candidates by the 4.30pm deadline.

Although having previously registered to participate in the election, the Realist Party also failed to submit its lists.

However, a final decision on international mediation between the IFP and the African National Congress might see the party — even the FF — submitting their lists before the final seven-day cut-off date.

■ CANDIDATE LISTS Only

two parties still on the outside:

The following are the parties that have submitted their lists to the IEC:

- African Christian Democratic (to contest all elections);
- Democratic Party (All);
- Merit Party (Eastern Cape);
- African National Congress (All);
- National Party (All);
- Dikwankwetla Party of South Africa (National Assembly, Free State and PWV);
- Minority Front (National Assembly, Natal);
- Islamic Party (Western Cape);
- Ximoko Progressive Party (National Assembly, Northern Transvaal and PWV);
- Pan Africanist Congress (All);
- African Democratic Movement (All);
- Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International (SA) (Western Cape);
- The Keep It Straight and Simple Party (National Assembly);
- Women's Rights Peace Party (National Assembly);
- Northwest Democrats (Northwest);
- Worker's List Party (National Assembly);
- South African Women's Party (Western Cape);
- Luso South African Party (PWV);
- Wes-Kaap Federaliste Party (Western Cape);
- The Green Party (Western Cape);
- Federal Party (National Assembly, PWV);
- Africa Muslim Party (National Assembly, PWV, Western Cape);
- African Moderate Congress (All);
- Sport Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights (National Assembly);
- Regte Party (Eastern Transvaal);

(Report by L Luti 61 Commando Road Industria West Johannesburg.)

Other components include the Cape Action League, Action Youth, Forward Youth and Mayibuye. The party has its strongest base in the Western Cape, followed by the PWV. It has branches in the Eastern Transvaal, Northern Cape and Southern Cape.

Support for the party has also come from individual trade unionists within both the Congress of Trade Unions and the National Council of Trade Unions.

The party has fielded only 100 candidates nationally, with the first 30 comprising at least 12 shop floor workers.

The party says in its manifesto that it does not hope to be government but intends to promote the formation of a Mass Workers' Party.

Firmly rooted in socialist programmes, the WLP says other parties have compromised with capitalism.

These are excerpts from the election manifesto:

The right to work

We stand for the right to work for every worker including the unemployed. We demand an immediate end to all retrenchments, an end to unemployment and work for all on a living unemployment benefit.

We stand for a massive public works programme of electrification, building houses, schools, creches, parks, halls and roads primarily in townships. This programme must be under workers' control. The unemployed must be drawn in at a living wage. There must be a state run training scheme for youth.

Health, education, housing and social services

We stand for state provision of free and compulsory education for all up to and including matric.

State provision of adequate housing for all, as well as state provision of free health, legal, recreation and other community services that will ensure the highest possible quality of life.

We stand for paid education leave of 30 days for each worker per year and longer periods of training to be negoti-

privatised or about to be privatised like railways, electricity and steel should be renationalised under workers control."

Trade unions

"We stand for strong, united and democratic trade unions and community organisations.

We believe in a living wage, 35-hour week with no loss of pay, an end to retrenchment and a full right to picket.

Land

The land shall be redistributed among all those who live and work on the land in accordance with acceptable principles of agricultural economics and democratic consultation.

The land of absentee landlords and the defence force must be confiscated and used for productive purposes.

Equality

"The party will fight against oppression of women. Sexism at home, at the workplace, in the township and on the farms must be exposed and fought against. The disabled must receive proper rehabilitation.

Children's rights should be entrenched in the constitution. The state must ensure that every child has three nutritious meals a day and be given adequate shelter and care.

Apartheid crimes

No general amnesty and we will bring to trial those who defended the apartheid capitalist regime. We must have our own Nuremberg trials in SA.

We also stand for the bringing to book of all those involved in state corruption.

Foreign debt and IMF loans

Will campaign against the repayment of loans made by the apartheid state from international capital including the IMF/World Bank.

Tribalism

We reject these divisions and we are against federalism based on ethnic principles.

workers with the most basic essentials and will crumble within five to six years.

This will happen primarily because the settlement is based on the accommodation of nationalist interests and those of capitalism, a combination that benefits only the rising black middle class.

When the crunch comes, forces dedicated to socialism should be on hand to offer a home for the workers, hence the entry into the race of the Workers' List Party.

These are the views of the party's chief ideologue, deputy chairman and acclaimed academic, Dr Neville Alexander. Speaking to *Sowetan* in an exclusive interview in Cape Town, Alexander said the workers' party would field about 100 people nationally, most of whom would be workers from the shop floor.

He would also "probably be on the list", he said, even though he was not a worker in the simple sense of the word.

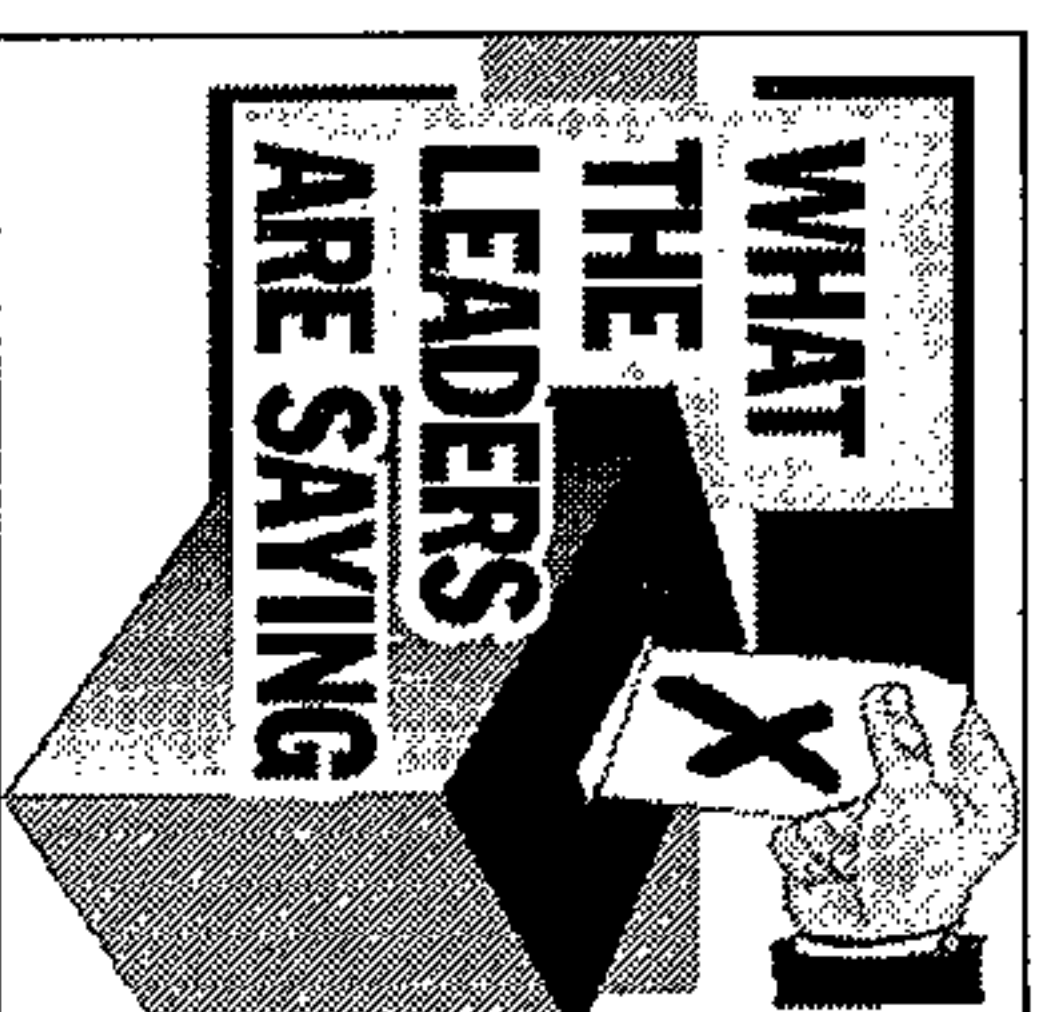
The party saw the period between 1990 and 1994 as a dividing line in the history of the struggle of black people, where compromises from the negotiations process in Kempton Park brought nationalism to the end of its road.

"Nationalism compromised with capitalism. It cannot fight it any more. The black middle class will be absorbed into its structures and will share in power. This has happened all over Africa, with the middle class rising in power.

"We say that other more radical forces will have to carry the struggle forward. We say that capitalism has not cured the conditions of poverty that it created. And only a workers' party can carry on this struggle," he said.

Alexander however said the party does not have a blue print for a socialist revolution. In fact, he said, revolution was not on the agenda, but socialism as a critique of capitalism, must continue and the party was introducing that dimension into the election debate.

He said the party accepted that the fall



of the Soviet Union had put all socialists worldwide on the defensive, due to a perception that what the Soviet Union had practiced was socialism.

But socialism remained the only viable solution to continued exploitation of man by man, and the efforts of all those still committed to it, such as Fidel Castro in Cuba, and the contributions of people such as former Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung, were valuable.

The present constitution that came out of the negotiations left 60 000 farmers and companies owning and controlling over 90 percent of the land. It also guaranteed property rights.

This meant that the power relations would remain as they are and was therefore unacceptable, Alexander said. While supporting multiparty democracy because the clash of ideas was necessary for democracy, the party, in its formations such as Wosa, had opposed negotiations because these were structured for power sharing.

"We believe that parties should negotiate as enemies and not as friends", he added. He said his party saw the ANC as an organisation that had always struggled to bring the government to the negotiations table and not for socialism.

"We say that is not enough," he said. While the constitution did not meet the basic minimums of the party, it would still participate in the elections because it saw the achievement of the franchise as a victory of the struggles of workers

11/03/94

3041

over the years. "White minority was, compelled by the struggles of the people. This is not a byproduct of the negotiations, the force of the people would have brought the Boers to give the vote even if the negotiations had not taken place.

"Our participation is to promote the establishment of a workers' party that will draw the line between nationalism and socialism. We believe that all those committed to socialism must gravitate together to ensure that a complete sell out of the workers does not occur.

"But mass struggles must not be marginalised, and replaced by parliamentary debate. For this system will fail, and the bourgeoisie will find the same reasons as the old oppressors why they cannot find solutions for the problems of the poor, as in Namibia, which is a depressing situation.

"It is therefore important for us that while we send people to parliament, the terrain outside should always be there as a revolutionary one for mass struggle", he said.

The party was collecting 10 000 signatures to qualify for state funding and state media exposure, both of which were important to get the party's message across. A Barometer poll had found that 63 percent of blacks believed in an independent workers' party, results which showed that there was a shift from race to class, he said.

Trade unions had supported the party but he did not envisage an electoral pact. Co-operation with other parties on specific issues would however be possible, he said. He dismissed the idea that his was a "loony" party, saying those who thought so should also remember that all great movements in history, including Christianity, started as "loonies".

If the new set up was to work at all, stability would be important, and he foresaw the new regime dealing with the rightwing threat decisively.

(Tomorrow: The view from outside the elections as we speak to the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania)

THE WORKERS' LIST PARTY 100 candidates — mostly from shop floor — to be fielded

(2044) 11/03/94

Alexander jailed and banished

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

NEVILLE Alexander was born in Cradock, Eastern Cape, in 1936. He entered politics through the Unity Movement at the University of Cape Town in 1953. He stayed with the UM until 1961 when he was expelled.

Between 1958 and 1961 he studied for a doctorate in literature in Germany. On his return he formed the Yu Chi Chan Club, which was devoted to promoting socialism along the lines of Chinese leader Mao Tse-tung. This led to his expulsion from the UM.

He was arrested in July 1963 and sentenced to 10 years for promoting communism. He served the sentence on Robben Island where he spent time with many of the other leaders, among them Nelson Mandela.

On his release in 1974, he was banned for five years but was later allowed to

teach. He was director of the Cape Town Centre of the South African Council for Higher Education until 1986.

He continued his underground involvement in civic and trade union matters during his years of banishment. In 1982 he was instrumental in the formation of the Cape Action League, which together with organisations such as the Azanian People's Organisation, Council of Unions of South Africa, and others, formed the National Forum to oppose the tricameral parliamentary election in 1983.

In 1990 he went to Yale University and later helped in the formation of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action, the main component of the Workers' List Party.

He serves on numerous community education structures and is presently director of research at the University of Cape Town, involved with alternative education in South Africa.

The Workers' List Party a newcomer

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

THE Workers' List Party is a newcomer to the political landscape and was formed this year to contest the elections.

Its major component is the Workers' Organisation for Socialist Action, which gained notoriety for bringing the biggest banner at other people's marches.

ated with worker organisations.

Economy

"We believe in working class control over the means of production and distribution."

We believe in socialism from below. We stand for nationalisation under worker control of the monopoly companies, banks, mines and land without compensation. All areas that have been



Neville Alexander ... served 10 years in jail on Robben Island for promoting communism.

Socialism is the only viable route

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

HE negotiated settlement on which the elections are based will not provide

ANC SLIPPED 'Compromise'

brought nationalism to the end of its road?



Cosatu voter education official Zodwa Nxumalo explains the voting procedure to a worker at the mock ballot in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

Eager passers-by cast votes at mock ballot

PASSERS-by eagerly cast their votes at a mock ballot at Johannesburg's Library Gardens yesterday in preparation for the election.

The practice ballot was part of Cosatu's voter education day. But to judge from the ballot papers, voter educators still have a long way to go.

The main problem encountered by Cosatu officials running the Library Gardens ballot was illiteracy. With

KATHRYN STRACHAN

SA's illiteracy rate of 60%, officials found many people had difficulty making an X. Many scribbled an indistinct cross which would be considered a spoilt ballot paper.

Cosatu spokesman Shareen Singh said the concept of a double ballot had also caused a lot of confusion.

The most common concerns expressed by voters were about vio-

lence and intimidation.

The voter education programme run by the Independent Mediation Services of SA had not reached most of the community, said Singh, yet Cosatu was prevented from holding workshops at factories (304A)

Yesterday was the only day that Saccola had granted Cosatu permission to hold lunch-hour voter education workshops at factories, she said.

CP man quits over election boycott

□ Increasing indications of split in party

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Conservative Party has lost one of its leading members amid increasing indications that it will split over whether or not to take part in the election.

Yesterday CP Natal leader and member of the party's executive Carl Werth said he was quitting over the decision by the People's Representative Council (PRC) — the alternative "parliament" created by rightwingers, including the CP — not to contest the election.

The decision seems certain to strengthen the hand of those in the CP who want to take part in the election and makes it increasingly likely that they will take up General Constand Viljoen's registration of the Vryheidsfront party.

Government and Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) sources indicated that parties could hand in candidate lists today but not later if they wished to contest the election.

But last night Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate said there was "no chance" the IFP would submit lists today as there would be no finality on the issue of international mediation.

IEC administration directorate head Norman du Plessis said ballot papers were ready to go to print today or tonight. IEC deputy chairman Dikgang Moseneke said any delay in printing would endanger the IEC's ability to stage the election on April

27. The margins were very narrow, he said.

It is believed Mr Werth has support from several younger MPs in the CP and last night party sources said another MP had also indicated to the leadership that he was to resign.

Mr Werth said soon after handing in his resignation at midday yesterday that he would be relinquishing his CP membership as well as his position on the executive of the PRC.

He said the PRC decision not to contest any election but one for a volkstaat effectively excluded members who lived outside the likely site of any volkstaat.

He pointed out that it was clear from all proposed volkstaat maps that at least 85 percent of Natal would be outside the area.

"This places me in the position that although I support the concept of a volkstaat I can no longer participate in the politics of the broader South Africa.

"It becomes meaningless for me to continue in the CP and I have thus regrettably decided to resign all my positions."

Mr Werth said his decision could lead to his retirement from politics, but should General Viljoen decide to take part in the election, he would be available.

There is speculation in right-wing circles that Mr Werth's resignation is a "strategic" move to break the impasse between the moderates and the hardliners.

(News by C Whitfield and H Grange, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).

ANC accuses Nats of intimidation

Political Staff

THE Worcester branch of the ANC today accused the National Party of "blatant acts of intimidation and destabilisation".

The NP dismissed the allegations as "the greatest lot of nonsense".

ANC election posters were being systematically removed and damaged while NP posters were left untouched, said Worcester ANC spokesman R J Williams.

He said that in many cases NP stickers appearing on the same object as ANC ones were left untouched while the ANC stickers were removed or damaged.

In one instance an ANC member confronted a NP member at the scene where ANC posters had been removed. The NP member produced a firearm, preventing the ANC supporter from finding out what he was doing there.

Mr Williams said on Tuesday there was a bomb threat at the Esselen Park secondary school where the majority of the pupils support the ANC.

This formed part of a larger campaign of destabilisation and intimidation against the ANC.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

continue to work for Mr Greenberg said he was playing the same role for the ANC as he plays

ANC officials resign to join the DP

□ "This is a rejection of violence" 304A

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

A NUMBER of coloured ANC office bearers in the Western Cape have resigned to join the Democratic Party, DP Western Cape leader Hennie Bester announced today.

They are former Gansbaai ANC branch chairman Kamies Claasen, and former members of the ANC election executive in Malmesbury Rodney Maarmann, Dawid van Wyk and Daphne Maarmann.

Other members of the ANC in Malmesbury are in the process of joining the DP.

Mr Bester said the defections were "symptomatic of a widespread haemorrhage of ANC support in the Western Cape".

He added: "Voters are rejecting a party perceived to be increasingly violent, intolerant and dedicated to economic policies and promises which will

bankrupt our country.

"According to our new members, the ANC no longer has any credibility. They believe intellectuals previously committed to the ANC are starting to doubt its sincerity and trustworthiness."

They alleged that black members of the ANC in Malmesbury were telling coloured people that they were "not part of the struggle".

Some of these people had been pushed aside and were no longer part of the decision-making process in the ANC, Mr Bester said.

Another complaint was that the ANC was totally disorganised and that it received no co-operation from the regional office.

The DP welcomed its new members. "Here they will encounter true democracy and non-racialism," said Mr Bester.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

ARG 11/3/94

FW heckling 'out of order'

THOHOYANDOU. —
The ANC, the PAC, and
the Azanian Peoples Or-
ganisation (Azapo) have
condemned the political
intolerance displayed by
supporters during the
visit to Dzanani on Wed-
nesday by President F W
de Klerk. (304A)

Mr De Klerk was
shouted down and
threatened as he tried to
address political meet-
ings in the area.

The ANC condemned
these "barbaric ac-
tions" CT 11/3/94

A joint PAC/Azapo
statement said their sup-
porters needed to be
taught political toler-
ance. — Sapa

Deadline may be extended

DURBAN. — The government was willing to allow Inkatha more time to prepare its candidates' lists if the party undertook to submit the lists by this afternoon, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

Inkatha and the Freedom Front both failed to meet the deadline for lists to be handed in.

The ANC, too, is prepared to ask for the deadline to be extended.

However, the government and the ANC both repeated warnings that the April 26 to 28 election could not be postponed.

Mr Meyer said the government was prepared to request the Independent Electoral Commission and the TEC to extend the time for submission of lists.

However, this was subject to a "clear indication" from the Inkatha Freedom Party and the right-wing Freedom Front that they intended to do so.

If this indication was not received, the parties would be removed from the ballot paper.

The IFP's decision to hand in lists — an act which would effectively commit it to contesting the election — hangs on the outcome of talks between it and the ANC

Time runs out to print ballot papers

on the question of international mediation.

Negotiations led by IFP national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose and ANC deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma are continuing.

The key issues are who will mediate and what issues will be subject to mediation.

It is believed the ANC favours certain high-profile roving diplomats and former heads of states as well as some involvement by the United Nations. The IFP wants mediators who specialise in constitutional law.

But both hardline and moderate, pro-election camps in the

CT 11/3/94 (304A)
IFP said the party would abide by any ruling of mediation.

"Once you have agreed on the mediators, the moral pressure on you is immense... we would have to go along with the recommendations of the mediators," said one IFP source.

Meanwhile, the Independent Electoral Commission has produced a draft of the April election ballot papers, but the IFP and the Freedom Front will be deleted unless they submit candidates' lists by tonight. The draft features party names, logos and pictures of party leaders including IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen.

IEC deputy chairman Mr Dikgang Moseneke said any delay in printing would endanger the IEC's ability to stage the election. He said margins were very narrow.

An IEC official said printing of the 80 million ballot papers had to start tonight in England if the deadlines were to be met.

The only way an extension of the candidates' lists deadline could be accommodated, was if printers in Germany and the US, for instance, were contracted to assist. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Elderly people 'robbed blind' by staff in old-age homes

ARG 11/3/94 (300)

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Staff Reporter

FRAIL elderly people in some old-age homes are being robbed blind by staff, in what has been described as "a rapidly deteriorating situation".

Taking advantage of their charges' dependency, frequent confusion, and fear of losing their place in the homes, staff allegedly steal jewellery, clothes and linen, and dentures, spectacles, and even hearing-aid batteries.

Syd Eckley, executive director of the South African National Council for the Aged, said it was time that institutions began prosecuting offenders, in spite of possible unpleasant publicity.

"It has become a major problem in most homes and I'm afraid it's going to get worse as homes cut down on professional staff and employ more untrained people.

"It is time for the homes to act. They cannot expect the aged to take responsibility themselves.

"They should start prosecuting

the people they catch — which they are not doing because they are scared of the publicity it would generate.

"The situation has deteriorated rapidly. It has become a huge concern. Homes for the aged should be safe havens and we find they are certainly not."

Mr Eckley said the council had asked homes to step up security — regardless of the added expense — and accept responsibility for theft "but they are too lenient".

The matter came to the attention of The Argus when a caller related the sad experience of a 90-year-old widow who died last week.

She was a "society lady" but when she died she had nothing left — a succession of petty thefts had taken care of her possessions.

She spent about 10 years in old age institutions, during which time her jewellery went, as did her clothing, linen, food — and even her reading glasses.

But her final humiliation was

reserved for her final journey. Somewhere between Murambi House in Wynberg and the Kingsbury Hospital, where she died, she lost her dearest possessions: her gold wedding band and platinum and diamond eternity ring.

Murambi House said she was wearing them when she was put into the ambulance. PriMed Ambulance Service says the ambulance crew were Muslim and it was against their religion to steal and Kingsbury Hospital says she arrived there without them.

A spokesman for the Concerned Friends of the Frail and Aged said theft was "fairly rife" in some old age homes.

"We are aware of it and concerned about it ... there are so many fires to put out."

She said jewellery and clothing were commonly stolen, but even hearing-aid batteries had been known to disappear.

"We advise that elderly people take no valuables with them into homes and appoint someone they trust to manage their financial affairs."

FW and rain queen ignore the weather

PIETERSBURG — President FW de Klerk met Venda rain queen Modjadji at Mooketsi during his northern Transvaal roadshow yesterday, but they spent more time talking politics than discussing the weather.

The meeting with the rain queen, a position that has existed for centuries in the Venda culture, and with other traditional leaders was intended to demonstrate the NP's support for the maintenance of traditional values.

To this focus on traditionalism De Klerk added a new theme of "Christian values".

He told an audience at Tzaneen that the NP was against abortion on demand.

He also said his party was in favour of the retention of existing laws on homosexuality which outlawed sodomy.

However, he indicated that within the principles of Christian values, it was possible to "improve" the law governing abortion.

He did not say how.

De Klerk said the rain queen told him she was concerned about the possibility of an increase in violence in the area.

She said she would support any action that would lower the potential for violence.

Members of De Klerk's entourage regarded the audience as something of a coup for De Klerk as the rain queen did

not meet ANC leader Nelson Mandela during his visit to the area.

However, De Klerk said it was important not to politicise the role of traditional leaders, who had to play an important role in stabilising their communities and settling disputes. (304A)

On a farm in Hoedspruit, De Klerk was introduced to another traditional custom — that of throwing snuff on the ground and casting traditional marula beer on top of it.

According to Doctor Sibuyi, who performed the ritual in front of De Klerk, it was intended to appease the forefathers, who were angry with the white man for what he had done to blacks.

The ritual was performed to demonstrate that the NP was a new party which no longer supported discrimination.

De Klerk travelled to Sekhukhuneland on the last day of his northern Transvaal roadshow yesterday where he was due to meet traditional leaders, but the meeting was cancelled.

De Klerk aide Chris Fisser said the meeting had to be cancelled because about 200 ANC supporters were blocking the area where the meeting was to take place.

Security for the trip was scheduled to be provided by Lebowa policemen, but they were on strike, he said.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Red Cross to help voters

KATHRYN STRACHAN

THE SA Red Cross will have 40 ambulances and 3 000 volunteers available 24 hours a day for the entire election week, said Vincent Nicod, head of the organisation's international committee in SA.

The idea was to maintain high visibility, especially in flashpoint areas such as the PWV, Eastern Cape and Natal. The Red Cross would spend R9m in preparation for the elections.

Nicod said he was not sure the organisation had enough volunteers, "but at this stage it is all that we can mobilise". It was hoped more volunteers would be trained.

The organisation would co-ordinate with other emergency services and the SAP during the election, he said, but it had to be perceived as fully independent and impartial.

Neutrality had given the Red Cross access to violent areas where even peace monitors were not allowed.

Report by K Strachan, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Tuks right-wingers hurl eggs at Roelf's meeting

PRETORIA — Right-wing University of Pretoria students hurled eggs and disrupted a meeting addressed by government chief negotiator and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer yesterday.

Campus security officials removed riotous students from the university's Aula auditorium after they attempted to storm the stage, where a visibly agitated Meyer battled to make himself heard above chants of "volksstaat".

At least one student was handcuffed and detained.

Meyer was rushed from the auditorium when a brawl broke out between NP supporters and the right-wingers. (304A)

University principal Prof Flip Smit yesterday "lamented" the actions of the right-wingers. The incident would be thoroughly investigated and steps would be taken against those responsible. Vice-rector Theuns Erasmus apologised to Meyer afterwards.

The CP Transvaal youth

STEPHANE BOTHMA

council said tempers flared after Meyer "blatantly insulted" the volkstaters.

At a news conference after the meeting Meyer condemned the intimidatory and disruptive tactics and called for disciplinary action, Sapa reports.

NP Tuks branch chairman Christo Els criticised the "barbarism" displayed and said the NP would lay a formal charge with the relevant structures.

Students' Representative Council chairman Anton Smit said this would be a test for the university authorities to act against right-wingers. (304A)

"Shock week" — during which politicians including Tony Leon (DP), Carl Niehaus (ANC), Themba Khoza (Inkatha Freedom Party), Schalk Pienaar (CP) and Patricia de Lille (PAC) would address students — would go ahead at the end of the month, he said.

Report by S Bothma, TML, 216 Vermeulen St, Pretoria; and E van Wyk, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 11/3/94
Therefore, says LHR, the IEC does have the power to intervene.

As does the TEC, which was expected to address the Bop issue as the FM went to press. "The point we have consistently made to the TEC and the IEC is that we don't want the election declared invalid because about 1.8m voters in Bophuthatswana had been excluded," says McBride.

THE RIGHT WING

Broedertwis over poll

FM 11/3/94
There was disarray in rightwing ranks this week as the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) battled to maintain unity in the face of a bitter dispute over participation in next month's election.

A boycott will almost certainly drive the vast majority of potential rightwing voters into the National Party's arms and leave hardliners with little option other than UDI in what would ultimately be a futile effort to establish a volkstaat.

As the FM went to press, most commentators were betting on a split in the AVF before Wednesday's midnight deadline for the lodging of candidates' list with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). There was widespread consensus that AVF leader General Constand Viljoen would head a breakaway group which could include about a dozen Conservative Party MPs. They would participate in the election as the Freedom Front, a party registered by Viljoen on Friday night. The registration was overwhelmingly rejected by the AVF's citizens' council at a meeting in Pretoria on Saturday.

Viljoen and other pro-election leaders in the AVF said they would abide by the decision, but there was immediate pressure on them to reassess the situation. **(3044)**

AVF and CP spokesmen went to ground this week or were noncommittal on the chances of a split. The CP said the situation would probably be clarified within a day or two. The party's senior spokesman, MP Pieter Mulder who is part of the pro-election faction, could not be contacted. No-one at the party's Pretoria head office knew where he was. CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg was also unavailable for comment. The response at the AVF's Pretoria office was similar. Spokesman Steven Maninger and Viljoen were both unavailable.

CP MP Fanie Jacobs tried to portray unity by denying knowledge of a pro-election group in the organisation. He said the Freedom Front's registration would lapse if no list of candidates was submitted and the AVF would continue to set up democratic alternative structures to secure a volkstaat. This would include a meeting of the citizens' council to approve a constitution and finalise the volkstaat's borders.

Speaking on Radio 702 this week, AVF leader General Tienie Groenewald also denied a split, though he conceded that there was lively debate on how to attain a volk-

staat.

FM 11/3/94
However, Cape Town university political scientist professor David Welsh believes Viljoen will lead a breakaway and contest the election. But even then it is probable that a significant percentage of Rightwingers will vote for the NP, as happened in the referendum in 1992, when about 30% of rightwing supporters voted "yes". **(3044)**

Welsh says recent opinion polls show a substantial percentage of CP supporters regard the party's plans as unrealistic and would rather vote for the best counter balance to the ANC, which would be the NP. Even Viljoen's participation in the election would garner no more than about 60% of the potential rightwing vote with the rest going to the NP.

Welsh believes Viljoen is currently the most popular rightwing leader. His humiliating defeat by hardliners at Saturday's citizens' council meeting and reports of death threats against him, have probably increased his status among the "average" rightwing supporter who is not the sort of zealot portrayed at public meetings or "holed up in forts."

He says the options of hardliners who do not take part in the election are difficult to assess. The number of Rightwingers who would actually take up arms is probably very small, but, nevertheless, potentially dangerous.

Welsh says he believes the citizens' council will soon declare a volkstaat in an area that includes most of the 60 or more local authorities controlled by the CP in the Transvaal and Free State. The party could also make a concerted effort to win the support of the commandos in the area, which could lead to a "very ugly situation," particularly if there are repeats of the sort of anti-volkstaat protest action among black residents that was seen recently in Standerton.

If this happens before the election, which Welsh believes is likely, President FW de Klerk will probably be extremely reluctant to send in security forces to take on the rebels.

But an indication of possible opposition by CP local authorities to unilateral action came this week when the Brakpan Town Council resigned from the rightwing Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA), rather than heed a TMA directive to establish alternative local government structures in towns earmarked as part of a volkstaat. The TMA asked the local authorities to accept AVF-nominated local citizens' councils by Saturday. The councils would take over all municipal functions in the volkstaat. The TMA also asked Rightwingers to disrupt the current process of transition to democratic local government.

Brakpan management committee chairman Stefan Kruger said his council opted out of the TMA because the PWV's economy was dependent on all the people in the region and it was unreasonable to convert the Transvaal into a volkstaat.



Viljoen



Hartzenberg

NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk says there is a misconception that the party would prefer the Right wing to boycott the election because it would mean more votes for the NP. In any event, NP research indicates that about 66% of whites will vote for the NP even if the Right wing participates.

Van Schalkwyk says while there obviously is a danger of isolated incidents of violence by rightwing extremists who will not participate in the election in any circumstances, the NP's impression is that the vast majority of Rightwing supporters do not back this type of action.

The party also believes there is little chance of a UDI succeeding in establishing a volkstaat. Most CP town councils realise the potential implications of consumer boycotts and other opposition action that this could provoke and are not in favour of this route.

Meanwhile, the first round of talks between Inkatha and the ANC on the possible use of foreign mediators got under way at the World Trade Centre this week and appears to have ended on a positive note despite initial signs of different approaches.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose says the parties are preparing for mediation but details (as to terms of reference and who would mediate) could not be released before meeting their leaders. A second meeting was scheduled for Thursday. The ANC negotiating team includes its chairman Thabo Mbeki and deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma.

Inkatha's Joe Mathews expressed doubt about his party being able to meet the Wednesday deadline for candidates' lists to be lodged with the Independent Electoral Commission. However, possibilities were being explored. The Transitional Executive Council has, fortunately, said that it is in principle in favour of extending the deadline for parties to file their lists and is to take up the matter with the IEC.

According to Mdlalose, Inkatha's decision on whether to contest the election would be made once mediation had started.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela this week categorically ruled out any chance of delaying the election date itself: "Our own members would hang us if we did," he said. ■

BLACK EMPOWERMENT

Leading the charge

The beer division of SA Breweries has instituted a commercial equity policy in an effort to promote black business. The aim is active-

Freedom Alliance breaks off talks with ANC over homeland crisis

DAVID GREYBE

THE Freedom Alliance last night broke off all talks and mediation with the ANC until the ANC stopped its action in Bophuthatswana, Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen announced.

He said the decision had been taken by alliance leaders and the ANC should allow Bophuthatswana President Lucas Manen to make the decision to give up or maintain the sovereignty of Bophuthatswana without being intimidated.

"All negotiations, mediation, submission of candidates' lists and efforts by the alliance to rejoin the process will be stopped."

The alliance warned that if the ANC/IFACP alliance was allowed to proceed

with its destabilising tactics the next target would be KwaZulu and the Afrikaner people. "This is a shocking development and the question arises whether government is involved," Viljoen said.

However, talks on mediation went on last night between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party and negotiators were expected to finalise details.

The talks coincided with an ANC call to extend to Wednesday the deadline for the submission of candidates' lists.

"If we are flexible enough on the deadline issue we, Inkatha and Gen Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front could still participate in the elections," ANC negotiator

Pennell Maduna said.

The agreement on mediation was expected to provide for mediation by "neutral high-profile political leaders", possibly under the auspices of an international body such as the UN, before constitutional experts were brought in to "capture" the political agreement.

"Our problems are political not constitutional," Maduna said. "First we must find a political agreement, and only then concentrate on the constitutional terms."

Prospective mediators were expected to be discussed last night.

Maduna said extending the deadline for the submission of candidates' lists to the Independent Electoral Commission could provide enough time to resolve the problems keeping Inkatha and the Freedom Front out of the elections.

However, the IEC official responsible for the 80-million ballot papers said the printing had to start tonight in England if the deadlines were to be met.

"It is not logistically possible in terms of the present arrangements to extend the deadline," Norman du Plessis said.

The only way an extension of the candidates' lists deadline could be accommodated was if printers in Germany and the US,

for instance, were contracted to assist. Maduna said the ANC was ready to continue its negotiations with the Volksfront to conclude a political accord on the Afrikaner demand for a volkstaat.

The accord, originally scheduled to be completed by March 15, was expected to include an ANC undertaking to pursue the issue of a volkstaat, despite ANC opposition, if the April election showed "overwhelming" support from all residents in the proposed volkstaat area.

Maduna said the ANC would comply with this if the volksstaaters "followed the democratic route of elections".

Report by D Greybe, IMU, 111 Diagonal St., Jhb.

Land demands to be put before De Klerk, IEC

By Day 11/3/94

MARIANNE MERTEN

A DELEGATION representing rural and landless communities will meet President FW de Klerk and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) today to submit land demands and voice concerns about the election. (304A) (304A)

Yesterday it met ANC president Nelson Mandela and the TEC to hand over a list of key demands drafted at the National Land Conference in Bloemfontein last month.

Western Cape regional representative Patricia Kamana said communities were concerned that white farmers would prevent workers from voting.

The delegation would call on the IEC to exert its authority and challenge recent threats from agricultural unions to stop voter education programmes on farms.

She said the IEC should use its resources to get information into rural areas and ensure chiefs allow voter education and voting to take place, especially for women.

Southern Cape regional representative Lewis Louw said the ANC's redistribution policy was raised at yesterday's meeting with Mandela and the TEC.

Louw said there was not enough state-owned land available for redistribution and that land owned by the SADF, forestry companies, absentee landlords or indebted farmers should also be considered.

Louw said Mandela had conceded the ANC had not had adequate consultations with affected communities. The ANC had committed itself to drastically changing or even scrapping the controversial property and redistribution clauses of the interim constitution.

The restitution clause effectively meant displaced communities had a right only to claim compensation, not necessarily to receive it, said Louw.

He said the TEC had agreed to take up the problems faced by landless and rural communities after the delegation asked it to stop the sale of state land.

Louw said the Land Allocation Commission was ineffective. Only 12 communities had been given back their land, and the delegation had requested that the commission report to the TEC until a representative land claims court had been set up. The delegation also objected to the commission's joint administration of land in homelands.

ANC ploughs si furrow in farm

□ Watchdogs to hear of farmers who defy a

■ In spite of recent regulations aimed at allaying farmers' fears, disputes continue about access to farms by election officials.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

FARMERS in the Western Cape have been accused by the African National Congress of refusing ANC election officials access to some of their farms — in defiance of electoral laws and regulations.

In some cases it is alleged, farmers have found ways of circumventing the regulations so as to prevent or hamper election work on their farms. Allegations were also made of on-going intimidation of farm workers.

The latest accusations came from ANC officials this week at a news conference attended, among others, by visiting members of the European Parliament. The visitors, including Michael McGowan of Leeds and Barbara Simois, said they would be back in April to observe and monitor the election.

Western Cape ANC electoral agent Essa Moosa said all substantial complaints about violations of the electoral laws and regulations would be reported to the Independent Electoral Commission. Some of the structures for dealing with this had only been set up in recent days or were still being set up.

Outlining some of the provisions of the Electoral Act, Mr Moosa said the penalty for violations of this law was a fine of up to R60 000 or three years' imprisonment, or both.

Mr Cecil Esau, ANC organiser in farming areas and former Robben Island prisoner, told of alleged transgressions in several farming areas and attempts by the ANC to discuss complaints with the farmers concerned.

In one case a farmer in the Piketberg area refused "point blank" to grant ANC election officials access to his farm.

"When we said his conduct was contrary to the Electoral Act, he slammed down the telephone," Mr Esau said.

In the Robertson area a farm worker was allegedly assaulted by four people, including three whites, for having displayed ANC posters on a wall of his home. The victim had made a sworn statement about the attack and a charge had been laid against the alleged attackers.

Mr Esau said the ANC had set up meetings with farmers in some areas to discuss election matters such as access to farms. The general response from farmers had been "favourable", but some farmers were still trying to "wriggle" out of provisions of the Electoral Act.

Mr John Schuurman, ANC organiser in the Ceres area, said many farmers were not adhering to the law and were still denying election workers access to their farms. The farmers concerned were using "loopholes" in the law to prevent ANC election workers from gaining access.

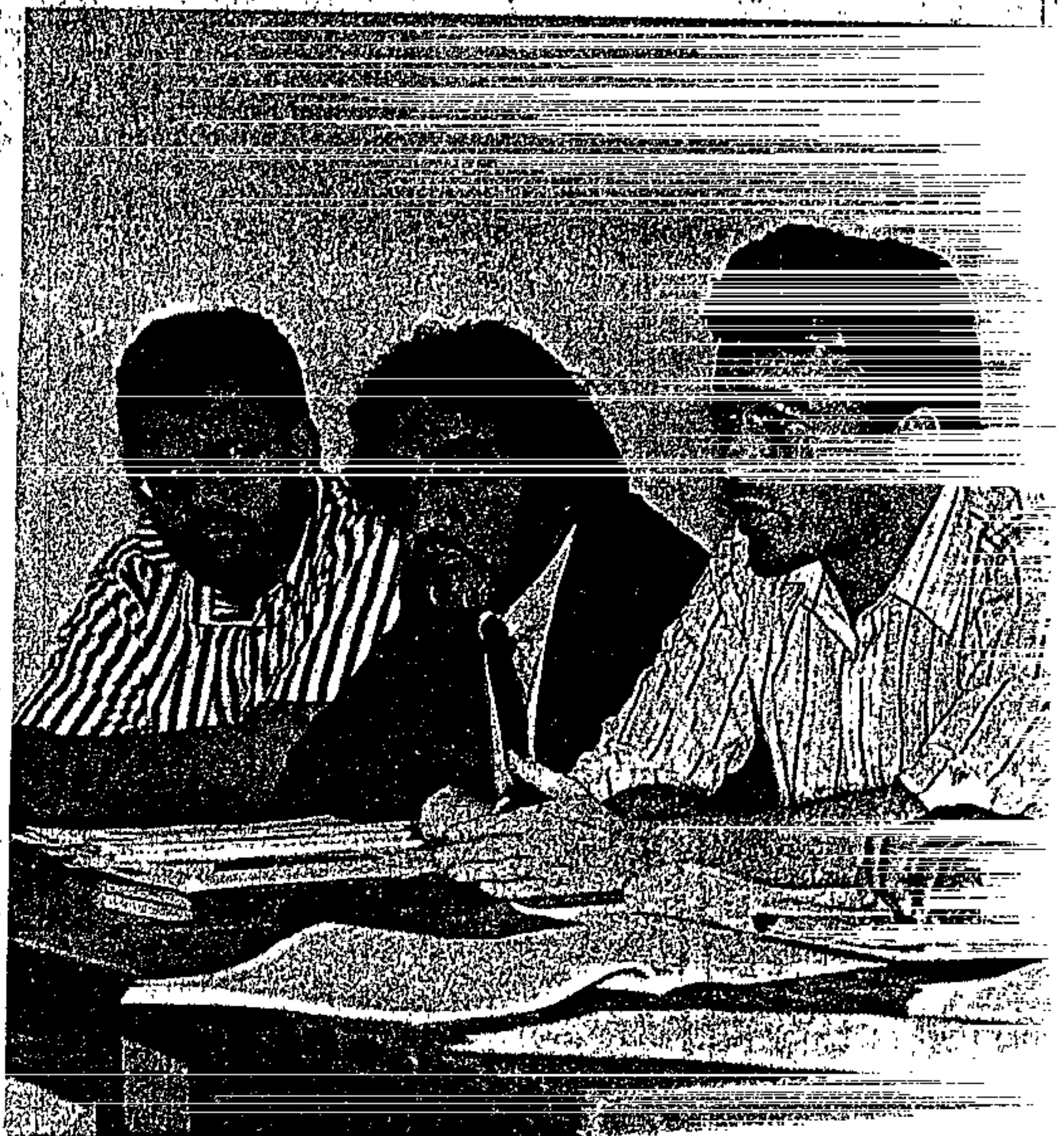
One method used was to offer to provide transport for taking farm workers to venues in nearby towns, for example, so that election workers could speak to them.

However, the ANC argued that this was not good enough because many farm workers were semi-literate or illiterate and needed to be visited individually in their homes so that voting procedures could be explained to them.

Mr Esau said farm workers had received misleading information from farmers. The transport offers appeared to be "a smokescreen to prevent us from getting on to farms."

The ANC's Western Cape leader and candidate for prime minister, Dr Allan Boesak, said some farmers had chased people off their farms after meetings. Farm workers had to be made aware of their rights.

The Electoral Act makes it a punishable offence to impede any party representative or officials engaged in voter education, or to prevent their entry into any area, whether public or private, for election activities.



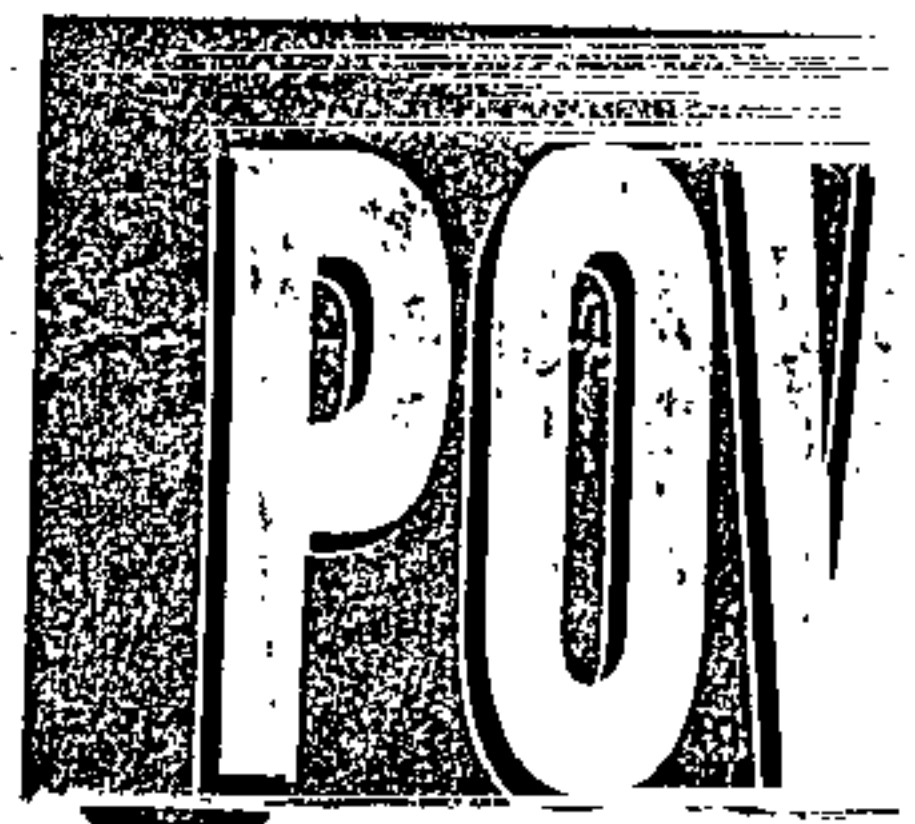
□ **ANC TEAM:** Election officials of the African National Congress who are visiting Western Cape farms for electioneering. They are, from left, Ebrahim Rassoul, ANC election agent, Cameron Dugmore, head of the ANC's organising department, and John Schuurman, organiser in the Ceres area.

Hustlers EC banned

HUSTLERS Entertainment Club, third issue, produced by J T Publishing, Doornfontein, has been banned for distribution.

Announcing this yesterday, the Directorate of publications said that although it was the only publication found to be undesirable during the past week, eight films had been rejected.

They are: *Draufgespritz*; *Dreaming about Dick*; *Fear of a Black Hat*; *Herma Perversions*; *Starbirds* Vol 1, 2 and 3 "Leather, Lace and Lingerie"; and *Tobe Hooper's Night Terrors* (TV version). — Sapa.



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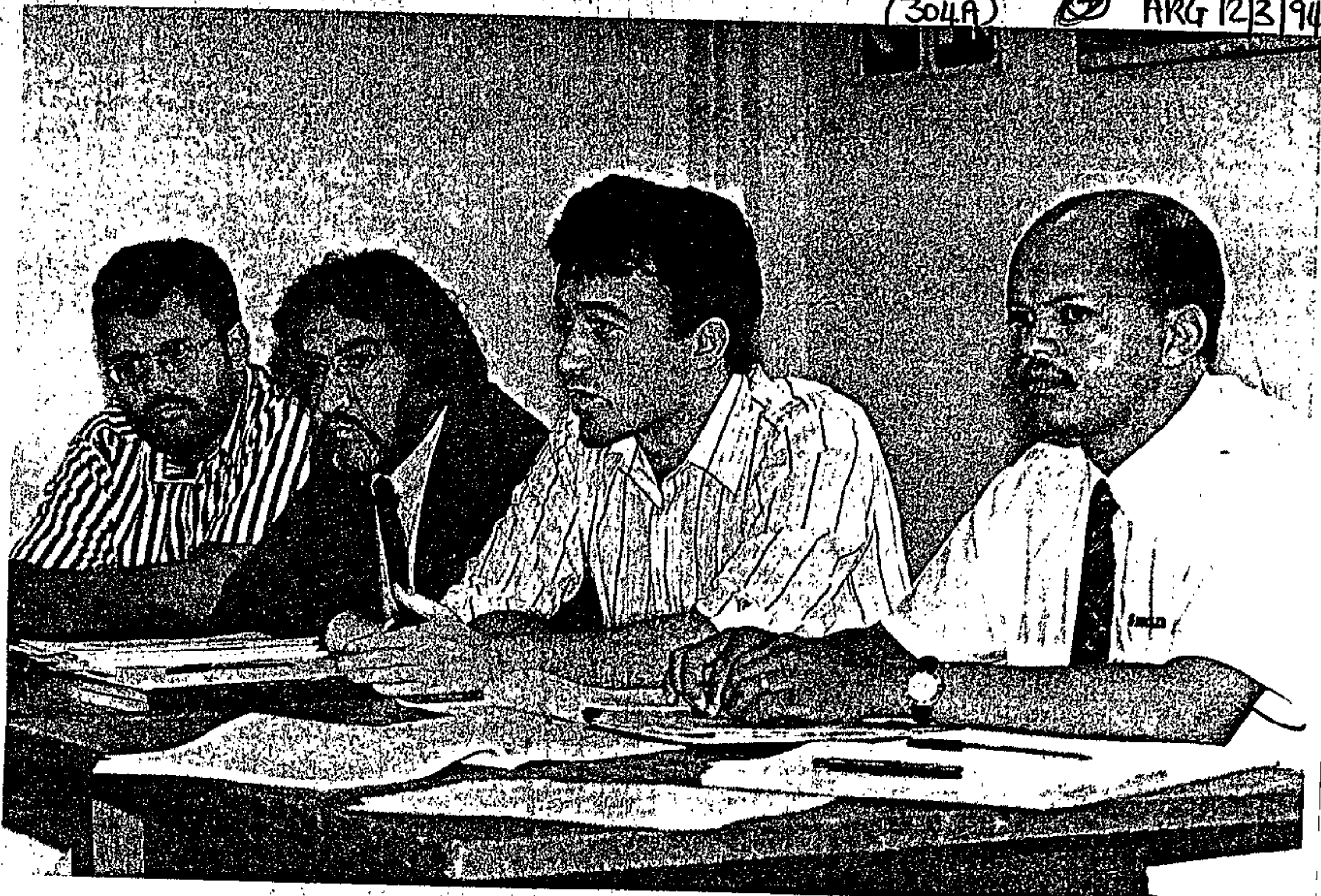
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ANC TEAM: Election officials of the African National Congress who are dealing with the thorny issue of access to Western Cape farms for electioneering. They are, from left, Ebrahim Rassool, election co-ordinator, Essa Moosa, regional election agent, Cameron Dugmore, head of the ANC's organising department in the Western Cape and John Schuurman, organiser in the Ceres area.

Picture: LEON MULLER, Weekend Argus.

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POWER UP

Solly sees merit in quality rather than quantity

304A

■ A lonely road lies ahead for the Merit Party in its election campaign — but it is a party whose leader does not rule out miracles. A report by **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**, Weekend Argus political correspondent

ARC 12/3/94

LEADER of the Merit Party Solly Schkolne is a political loner in virtually every respect.

He stands alone as party leader and has no supporting structures apart from a committee in the Eastern Cape. He is his party's one and only candidate so far, and he is contesting the election in one region only — the Eastern Cape.

His party has no organisation, and hardly any funds or membership worth mentioning.

As Mr Schkolne puts it: "We ain't got boodle. We ain't got large numbers. All we have is conviction."

When it comes to party policy, he is also a loner in the sense that he has no alliances with other like-minded parties or groupings, and the intricacies of his vision of Meritocracy are not widely understood.

Nevertheless, Mr Schkolne fights on bravely for what he believes is the best option for South Africa's future. He is, in fact, planning to embark on a one-man election "road show" in the Eastern Cape soon.

Until recently Mr Schkolne had set his sights on the Western Cape as potentially the most fertile area for his political ideas to take root. His hopes were dashed after a visit to this region. He suffered various setbacks in efforts to gain public support and media attention.

Finally he decided to pull out of the Western Cape and to concentrate all his efforts on his home region — the Eastern Cape. He lives in Port Elizabeth.

Mr Schkolne told Weekend Argus: "I grew up in the Western Cape and knew it as a vibrant province. But it is not so anymore. I could not find the necessary infrastructure there."

His impression was that the existing mainstream parties such as the National Party, the African National Congress and the Democratic Party did not offer viable political alternatives, and their members had little enthusiasm.

What does the Merit Party offer?

Mr Schkolne explains that the goal of his party can be summed up in one word — quality. By making merit his yardstick, the challenge he sees is to promote quality everywhere — "at all costs, however low present standards may be."

The present choice before South Africans, as he sees it, is between only two options — either "people's power" or apartheid. Both these options would suffocate quality, he says.

Apartheid does so by excluding the merit of black and brown people on the basis of race and colour. People's power does so by not distinguishing between the relative merit of individuals and giving the masses direct say at all levels.

"By its nature, the mass tramples quality underfoot and excludes sharing of power and democracy," says Mr Schkolne.

The system of government he envisages is one based on a qualified vote.

At national level MPs are to be elected according to defined qualifications. At municipal level the qualifications are to be based on ownership or hiring of fixed rateable property.

(News by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

Election burn-out looms for voters

PART of the problem with South Africa's first "uhuru" election is the apparent certainty of the result.

The polls are uniformly emphatic in declaring a substantial victory for the African National Congress. Even the position of the runner-up looks certain and definitely takes the edge off the excitement of the eventual outcome. The drawn-out four-year negotiation process has also taken its toll with much of the country already geared towards a change of government.

Seasoned election campaigners are perhaps most frustrated. Their attempts to find voluntary party workers from prior voters are hampered by a lack of understanding and enthusiasm from these quarters. Long-time voters are proving to be the most difficult audience to canvass. They are set in their ways and in many cases continue to believe that they will be voting for a constituency MP.

Any contrary message often alienates this voting body. It is an effort on the part of prior-voters to educate themselves in the ways of the party lists and proportional formulae and therefore militates against self-education of the system. Amazingly, it is easier to explain proportional representation to first-time voters who fortunately carry no electoral baggage.

Moving away from the Westminster constituency-system has also created its own set of unique problems. In the past, constituency candidates had a very personal stake in the campaign. If they did not perform within their demarcated boundaries, they would lose out.

As the new system only allows for party voting, the personal touch has been lost. Candidates are now just names on lists and the responsibility has shifted from their individual persona to the broader political parties as a whole. This has resulted in a lessening of active political campaigning on their part, particularly if they are placed low down on a party list and have little chance of being elected.

The race has also become presidential in style with both Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk the apparent front-runners. The media have latched on to these two figure-heads and are following them around the country on their often meticulously staged roadshows.

■ With seven weeks to go before the 1994 General Election, voters will be rightly asking themselves whether they can endure much more of the current campaign. Remarkably, this election looks set to go down as perhaps one of the duller liberation campaigns in recent times, writes **DANIEL SILKE.**

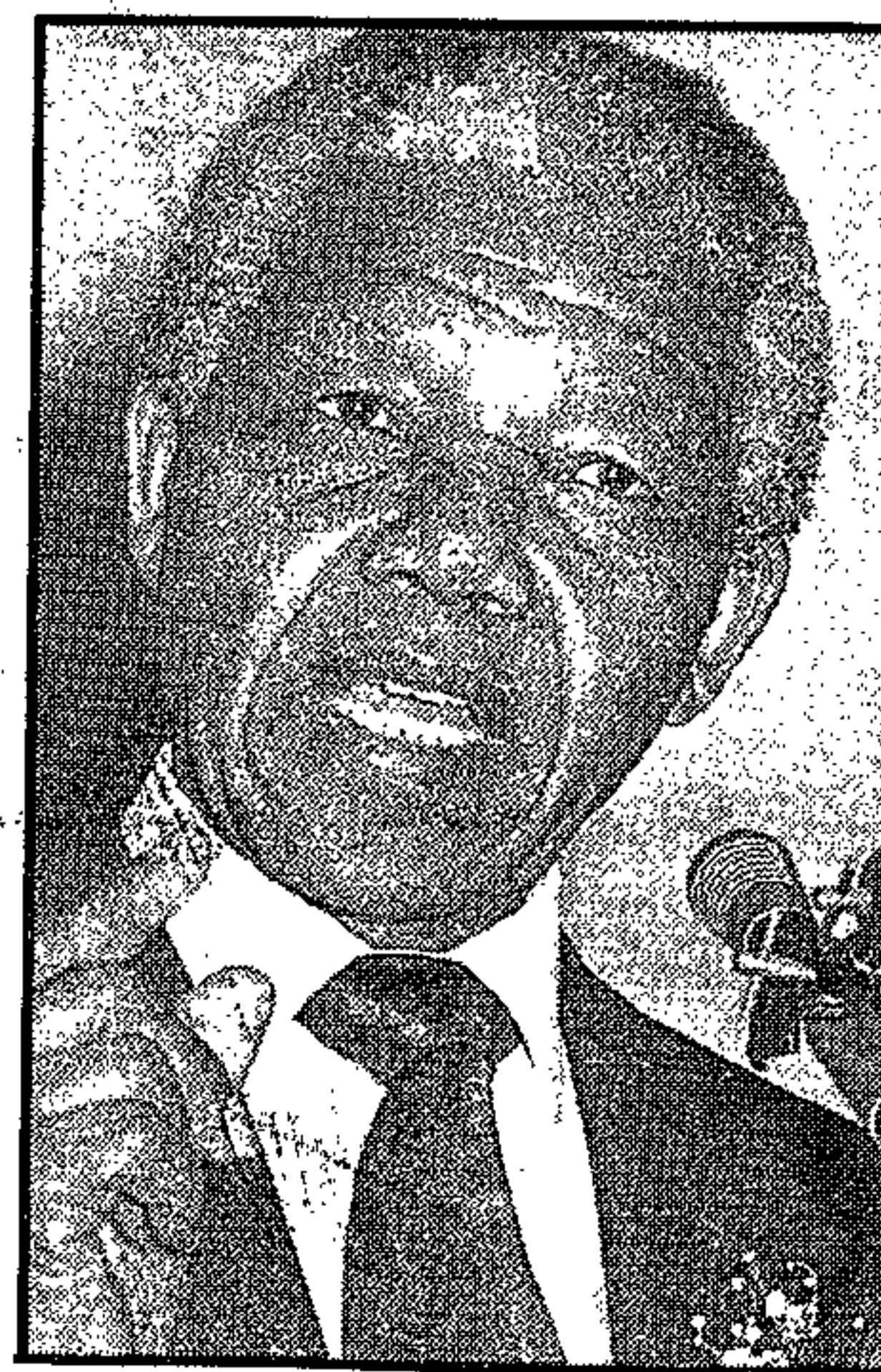


□ F W DE KLERK

This is reminiscent of the US election campaigns which revolve around off-heard political issues and drum-major-ettes prancing around week after week — differentiated only by a variety of geographical backdrops.

Both leaders are setting the election agenda at the expense of the smaller participants, but while proportionality should encourage the more minor players, it has instead marginalised them thanks to media myopia.

Whereas the constituency system left each candidate a chance to personalise his campaign, the proportional method standardises the message. The party rather than the individual talks and the character is that of the often amorphous group-view rather than the potentially exciting candidate. Even the likes of Winnie



□ NELSON MANDELA

Mandela and Peter Mokaba have been very effectively and efficiently silenced by their party bosses and now hardly warrant media attention.

Furthermore, the relative similarities of the party manifestos has shifted the key election question from a matter of policy differences to the question of "who do you trust best to implement that policy". Only the Pan Africanist Congress, on paper, is proposing a drastic variation and at best, its policy seems practically unworkable given similar examples elsewhere in the world.

Another dulling factor is the almost gentlemanly fight thus far between the ANC and NP. Although harsh personal attacks do occasionally occur, the gloves are definitely not off. It is possible that this lack of personal animosity between the two larger parties is an attempt to

keep the egg off both their faces. **ARC 12/3/94 (304)**
An easy election campaign for both players will see their vote secured whereas if dirty revelations were the order of the day, major voter drifts might occur.

It may be that lack of mud-slinging thus far contributes to a more peaceful and calm election campaign and therefore works against the present climate of violence. However, the rivalry is so meek and mild that it hardly compares with the vehemence of a British parliamentary election. Either we have matured beyond recognition, or the campaign is a dull non-starter.

The role of television has not really encouraged exciting debate. The often laboured *Agenda* discussions where each representative has his say is hardly earth-shattering. Long-winded replies to answers that are not challenged by the audience or the moderators lend little to effective voter-information. Repetitive radio advertising from the myriad of voter-education associations also add to the boredom.

Only the rare one-on-one TV debates like the recent one between the PAC and the Democratic Party produce some meaningful contrast. After all, elections are about contrasting views and participants should be given the opportunity to interact in front of the cameras rather than be hounded by over-protective newscasters.

Finally, both the NP and ANC have yet to break the traditional mould of South African politics. As a liberation movement, the ANC largely articulates the views of the black majority. As the former oppressors, the NP is voicing the fears of the minorities that were once privileged under apartheid.

No major player has yet broken away to capture a meaningful cross-section of voter support. The same issues are therefore being played out to predictable support bases.

There is still some time to go before April 27 and the old adage that "a day is a long time in politics" should not be ignored. However, unless you are a first-time voter enthused by the long-awaited liberation election, chances are that you will be burnt out by the time election day comes. All the parties will do well to fire-up their campaigns lest the electorate become alienated and lack-lustre.

■ Daniel Silke is research assistant in Professor Robert Schrire's Institute for the Study of Public Policy at UCT.

Front split looms as Viljoen quits

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

GENERAL Constand Viljoen yesterday resigned from the Afrikaner Volksfront, thus precipitating a split in the organisation and further fracturing the country's right-wing forces.

Announcing his resignation as head of the Volksfront's directorate of generals to take up the leadership of the newly registered Freedom Front, General Viljoen said conflict between himself and the leadership of the Volksfront had reached the point where it could not be solved easily.

He was not "politically acceptable" in the Volksfront any more and "maybe it is time that we rather accept the facts".

He strongly criticised the un disciplined and uninvited intervention in Bophuthatswana of the AWB, allies in the Volksfront which, he said, had left him in the lurch. The AWB yesterday responded

by calling General Viljoen "a political Judas goat sent by the Broederbond/ANC/NP/Communist Party alliance to lead us to the slaughter."

The resignation also spells crisis for the Conservative Party, a lynchpin of the Volksfront, which has refused to register for the April elections.

Seven Conservative Party MPs risked party discipline by signing a document in which they explained why they were in favour of taking part in the election.

The CP had decided two weeks ago not to take part in the election, while the largely CP-dominated Volksfront Volksraad (executive council) condemned General Viljoen's initiative to register a white right-wing party for the election, voting 73 to 20 not to take part.

Two of these MPs were with General Viljoen at the media conference yesterday. They are Dr

Pieter Mulder (Schweizer-Reneke)

and Mr Pieter Groenewald (Stillfontein). The other signatories were Dr Corne Mulder (Randfontein), Mr Joseph Chole (Pretoria West), Mr Carl Werth (former CP Natal leader who announced his resignation from the CP this week), Mr Willem Botha (Uitenhage), Mr Leon Louw (Welkom) and others.

CP leader and Volksfront "Volksstaat president" Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday acknowledged the possibility of a split in the Volksfront and the "definite possibility that General Viljoen could take many supporters with him".

He said a committee would handle the discord and the Volksraad would be convened to decide on General Viljoen's successor.

Dr Hartzenberg said a committee would also be established to discuss the continued CP membership of at least six MPs who had

signed the document.

"At this stage we are not prepared to reconsider our position on taking part in the election and it is only logical that you cannot be a member of two parties or support two policies," Dr Hartzenberg said.

"There is not a hope in hell that participation in the election would achieve our goal of self-determination in a volksstaat."

Dr Mulder said at the media conference he was still a member of the CP and he would, along with other CP MPs who supported taking part in the election, try to convince the caucus to change their stance.

General Tienie Groenewald, widely regarded as the crown prince of the Volksfront, said yesterday he had a moral obligation towards General Viljoen and would follow him. He, too, could not work with certain people, specifically the AWB.

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

HEADS rolled at the presentation of the first draft of the April election ballot paper this week when men put forward to represent two very different parties were substituted at the last minute.

Presenting the pastel-shaded ballot paper, the Independent Electoral Commission asked for last-minute changes from the Soccer Party and the African Moderates Congress.

The Soccer Party, likely to be voted the most congenial contestant in otherwise bitter elections, had to effect a quick change in its candidate photograph after an IEC linesman raised the flag at a picture of "team manager" Neil Hellmann holding aloft a football.

If both ball and portrait were to be accommodated, Mr Hellmann's face would be so small as to be unrecognisable, the IEC pointed out.

A mugshot of dreadlocked Robben Islander-turned-musician James Mange will now represent the Soccer Party on the ballot paper.

Soccer Party is ruled offside in IEC photo-finish

Sunday Times 13/3/94

The party — an acronym for Sports Organisation for Collective Contributions and Equal Rights — feels Mr Mange's charm and waist-length dreadlocks capture its "free spirit".

Mr Mange, an ANC and Umkhonto we Sizwe member who spent years on Robben Island after a treason conviction, was too reticent to discuss his apparent shift in allegiance this week, but eventually said:

"There are things that are very important in life. We have brought this country to the level that it is today but, having done that, we have to look further: what has to be done to cure deficiencies in other areas such as sport and culture."

The Soccer Party aims to "unite the country through

sport and the arts", said Mr Hellmann, whose politics of reconciliation won him a strong showing 10 years ago when he stood for the Wits University Students' Representative Council on a similar ticket.

"Everyone is so sick and tired of politics and the arguments. We decided we must give the country a sense of national pride, of national spirit... and make the most people the happiest." (30/4/94)

The party is to complete its candidate list and manifesto this week.

Another party which was given moments to change its ballot configuration at the IEC hearing was the African Moderates Congress.

It was accused by the

ANC of being formed solely to confuse voters — its acronym at that stage, AMC, would appear directly above that of the ANC on the ballot — and of abusing the peace-doves symbol which it had taken as its party logo.

The party will now add the word "party" to become the AMCP and has changed its symbol by colouring the doves yellow and green — two of the three colours used by the ANC.

The AMCP also suffered an embarrassment involving its candidate's photograph on the ballot. The party leader was at first Pieter Magwaza until "we discovered that he was still the Inkatha Freedom Party's West Rand secretary-general and asked him to resign", said AMCP executive committee member Herman Odendaal.

However, IFP office-bearer Pieter Magwaza, who is in fact chairman of a Dobsonville branch, said the whole affair was "just Greek to me. I don't know what you are talking about". The new leader is Marvin Pirie, described by AMCP executive committee member Anton Jordaan as "a business consultant".

V. *Special Reports and Analysis of Accounting Information*

18. The Statement of Cash Flows
19. Financial Statement Analysis
20. International Accounting and Intercompany Investments

VI. *Basic Concepts of Management Accounting*

21. Introduction to Management Accounting
22. Cost Behaviour and Cost-Volume-Profit Analysis

VII. *Product Costing Systems*

23. Cost Allocation and the Job Order Costing System
24. The Process Cost System

VIII. *Decision Analyses for Planning and Control*

25. Decision Analyses for Planning and Control
26. Standard Costing and Performance Evaluation
27. Management Decision Analysis, Including Capital Budgeting
28. Just-in-Time, Activity-Based Costing, and Measures of Quality

Sowetan 14/3/93 (304A)

Date: 10/03/24
Time: 15:00
Vorms: Dierckx, J.

SoCETAN 14/3/94 3047A

charged with organising a free and fair poll, appealed to the public to report cases of intimidation.

"All citizens must realise that reporting of intimidatory acts is a civic duty," he said. "The commission requires your cooperation. In turn, the IEC is committed to a full investigation of every proper complaint brought."

In the first instance, complaints can be made to the IEC by letter, fax or telephone. Official complaints forms will soon be available from any office of the Monitoring Directorate.

Ultimate authority
The IEC's powers over the election exceed those of any other authority, including the government. By the time the first vote is cast on April 26th, Special Votes Day, its staff will total 180 000.

The Monitoring Directorate of the IEC is deploying staff up and down the

"but they will impose penalties on anyone who interferes with a free and fair election."

The Deputy Chairman of the IEC, Advocate Moseneke, claims the Electoral Courts should not take more than two days to bring offenders to trial and pass sentence.

Ready to help
On the days of the election, political campaigning will be forbidden within 600 metres of voting stations.

Monitors at every voting station will have authority to intervene if there are complaints from the public.

They will wear brightly coloured vests marked with the IEC logo, and you will be able to speak to them in your own language directly or through an interpreter.

Telephone the IEC
011 928 1000

NNTV	The Peace Train (episode 1) Zulu — 5-minute insert around 13:30.	13:30. Puppets for democracy - 17:30.	Date: 10/03/94 Time: 19:00 Venue: Los Bos Date: 17/03/94
	TUES. 15/03 TV1	THURS 17 MARCH TV1	Time: 15:00 Venue: Filanders Bron Date: 17/03/94
CCV	Die vredestrein (episode 2) - Afrikaans - around 7:15.	Die vredestrein episode 4 - Afrikaans - around 7:15.	Time: 19:00 Venue: Mier Date: 18/03/94
	Khululeka - Zulu — 20:00 - 20:30.	Puppets for democracy - 16:30. The Peace Train episode 4 (Political Tolerance) — North-Sotho — 5-minute insert around 18:30.	Venue: Kenhardt Date: 20/03/94
NNTV	Puppets for democracy — 1-minute insert around 16:30. The Peace Train (episode 2) - Who can vote - North-Sotho - 5-minute insert around 18:30. Make your Mark Quiz Show - English - 26 minutes - 20:00 hrs.	Words of the Wind — 26-minute English drama - 22:00.	Venue: Hay, Griekwastad. Theatre group Date: 13/03/94. Time: 4.30 Venue: Justice & Peace Catholic Cathedral Contact: 637-2153 Date: 20/03/94
	The Peace Train Omnibus - Xhosa - 26-minute docu-drama - 13:30. Puppets for democracy - 18:30. It's Your Vote Quiz Show — English - 26-minutes from 23:00.	SAT 19 MARCH CCV	Venue: Dioces Centre, Vosloorus. Contact Minky Date: 25/26/03/94 Time: 13:00/10:00
WED 16 MARCH TV1	Die vredestrein. Episode 3 — Afrikaans — 5-minute insert around 7:15.	SUN MARCH NNTV	Venue: Lionel Kent Centre Contact: 836-8061 Date: 27/03/94. Time: 3.30 pm
		Uncle Amos Last Night — English 26-minute docu-drama - 15:00.	Venue: KwaThema Civic Centre. Date: 27/03/94. Time: 12:00 Venue: Alliance Church, 590 Twala Section, KATLEHONG

HEAL YOUR LAND
VOTE APRIL 27 TII



Parties allocated radio time

Prepare for 150 hours of *Star 15/3/94* electioneering

■ BY JOHN SODERLUND

If the election adverts haven't yet pushed you over the edge, 150 hours of party election broadcasts (PEBs) ought to do it. That's the total time allocated by the Independent Media Commission for political parties to campaign on radio stations, starting this Monday and ending on April 24.

Four PEBs will run for three minutes during peak time each day on each of the SABC stations, all homeland stations and commercial station Radio Ciskei. ~~(2100)~~ (304A)

Total time was limited in an attempt to discourage the listening public from switching off — something which has proved a problem with PEBs in recent elections in Canada and the UK, commissioner Raymond Louw said yesterday.

The yardstick used in deciding how much time to allocate to



parties was the number of candidates fielded by each for the national and regional elections.

The party with the lowest total PEB time is the South African Women's Party with 51 minutes, while the highest time allocation of 945 minutes goes to the NP and the ANC.

Negotiations were under way between the parties and seven SABC stations — BRFM, Highveld Stereo, Port Natal Stereo, Radio Algoa, Radio Goudveld, Radio Jacaranda and Radio Oranje — for the stations not to carry PEBs at all, Louw added.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Viljoen plans to seek a pact with Buthelezi

PRETORIA — Gen Constand Viljoen is to seek urgent talks with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi to discuss the formation of an electoral and negotiations alliance between his Freedom Front and Inkatha.

"I will try to secure the idea that we should in future work together in an alliance," Viljoen said in his first interview after he resigned as co-leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront.

He said he had not yet discussed with Buthelezi his decision that the Freedom Front should take part in the elections.

However, he would soon travel to Ulundi to discuss an electoral and negotiations pact with Inkatha.

A negotiations alliance was more important than an electoral one, he said, referring to the post-election period when a constitu-

tion-making body would rewrite the constitution.

But he warned: "If push comes to shove, I will not take part in the government of national unity unless I am assured of a volkstaat." He said an SACP negotiator, whom he declined to name, had assured him that if the volkstaters got as few as 400 000 votes "a volkstaat is a reality".

Now that the Bophuthatswana crisis had been resolved, talks between the Freedom Alliance and the ANC and government could resume, he added.

Viljoen has headed talks between the Volksfront and the ANC on a volkstaat. But these were now in jeopardy.

"I don't see how I can carry on the talks with the ANC, because I have no mandate," he said.

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

DAVID GREYBE



Cairo yesterday, the end of the
Picture: AP

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Alliance chairman gives up politics

BOPHUTHATSWANA's State Affairs Minister and chief negotiator, Rowan Cronje, said yesterday he was quitting politics and looking for something else to do with his life. (304)

"I am finished. But I am calm and relaxed," he said.

He said in an interview yesterday that an administrator had been appointed to run the territory and President Lucas Mangope had been told to step down.

"Find me a job and then I will tell you what I plan to do," he said in response to a query on his future.

Cronje, who is also chairman of the Freedom Alli-

ance negotiating team, said he regretted that his cabinet had not supported participation earlier and that the alliance could not foster an inclusive settlement.

"I always supported participation in the elections but the cabinet regularly rejected this by majority decision.

"This week I pushed hard for participation and this was rejected. But in view of that decision and the events of the past week I am finished. I feel I need a break from politics."

Cronje was a minister in

Ian Smith's government in UDI Rhodesia and Abel Muzorewa's Zimbabwe/Rhodesia cabinet before he became an adviser to Ciskei's Charles Sebe. After being fired by Sebe, he moved to Bophuthatswana to advise Mangope.

Cronje said he could not formally state he had resigned because it was not right for his boss to read in the papers that he had done so. "I first have to tell my boss before announcing it."

He added that he would do whatever was required of him until the elections.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Unrest areas anger ANC

GOVERNMENT and the ANC clashed over the unilateral imposition of emergency police powers in the wake of the Bophuthatswana unrest. *B/D*

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel announced on Friday that he had declared 52 towns and cities "unrest areas". *14/3/94*

Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the declaration of an unrest area allowed police to search people and property without a warrant, to set up roadblocks and to impose curfews.

ANC president Nelson Mandela told supporters at a rally on Saturday that President FW de Klerk had made no mention of the measures when they met for several hours on Friday to discuss the Bophuthatswana crisis. *(109) (104)*

"He never even hinted that that sort of action was being planned. I was absolutely stunned to learn about it," he said. *(109)*

Mandela said he would protest strongly to De Klerk.

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said at the rally that the emergency powers had been invoked without the Transitional Executive Council being consulted.

"How can we have a free and fair election when 52 areas are in a state of emergency? We will defy these powers," Sexwale said.

Kotze said the intervention was legal in terms of the transitional arrangements, but added that the TEC could review Kriel's action.

He said the intervention was designed partly to halt "the sort of barbaric looting and violence we saw in Bophuthatswana".

But he said the special powers could also help police to contain any backlash against the execution-style killing of three AWB members in Bophuthatswana.

Sapa reports that the areas include Alberton, Boksburg, Benoni, Cullinan, Christiana, Coligny, Delareyville, Ellisras, Germiston, Johannesburg, Kempton Park, Klerksdorp, Krugersdorp, Pretoria, Potchefstroom, Randburg, Randfontein, Springs, Swart-ruggens, Thabazimbi, Vanderbijlpark, Ventersdorp, Vereeniging and Bloemfontein. — Reuter.

ANC 'behind takeover of Bop'

B/D

14/3/94

DAVID GREYBE

THE ANC worked feverishly behind the scenes at the weekend to ensure the Transitional Executive Council took charge of Bophuthatswana after ANC accusations that President FW de Klerk had acted unilaterally.

The ANC accused De Klerk of reneging on an agreement with Nelson Mandela on Thursday night that the TEC would appoint an administration to replace Lucas Mangope.

The ANC national working committee sanctioned the deal on Friday morning, only to find out De Klerk had agreed Mangope would remain at the helm in the beleaguered homeland in exchange for participation in the elections, ANC sources said.

The ANC accused De Klerk of deploying the SADF in Bophuthatswana without discussing specific aspects of the deployment despite an agreement to do so, which led to a row between the ANC and government at an emergency TEC management committee meeting on Saturday.

Mandela and De Klerk held separate news conferences at the Union Buildings on Friday night after they failed to resolve their differences over the handling of the crisis at a tense two-hour meeting.

De Klerk said he had been assured by Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje that Mangope would comply with TEC resolutions which demanded the embattled leader allow free political activity. However, Mandela demanded the assurances in writing from Mangope.

De Klerk argued Mangope should be permitted to remain Bophuthatswana's head until the election, as was the case with Brig Oupa Gqozo in Ciskei and Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa in Transkei.

When Independent Electoral Committee chairman Judge Johann Kriegler failed late on Friday night to secure Mangope's co-operation, the ANC led the charge within the TEC management committee to take control of the situation.

Not all the management committee members attended the emergency meeting in Pretoria. Present were the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and Mac Maharaj, the SACP's Joe Slovo, government's Roelf Meyer and the DP's Colin Eglin. *(109) (104)*

In an extraordinary development, the management committee decision to replace Mangope was announced by Ramaphosa, flanked by Slovo and Maharaj, at an "ANC Press conference". A management committee news conference scheduled immediately afterwards, to have been addressed by Eglin, was cancelled without explanation. *(109)*

Meyer yesterday denied the ANC had hijacked the handling of the crisis after Mangope's refusal to give the necessary assurances. He said De Klerk had taken the initiative with his statement on Saturday morning in which he said he had given Meyer a mandate for the TEC to act against Mangope.

He added Foreign Minister Pik Botha and SADF head George Meiring "were in the driving seat" when a management committee team informed Mangope in Mmabatho on Saturday night his rule had ended.

The TEC will finalise details of the replacement interim administration this week when interim leader and SA ambassador to the territory Prof Tjaart van der Walt meets the management committee today and the TEC tomorrow.

Meyer said the ANC decision to hold a news conference at the TEC had been an attempt to "score party political points" and was "totally unacceptable".

Not so, argued a senior ANC negotiator yesterday: "There's no doubt about it. It was the ANC resolve which eventually prevailed. De Klerk made a half-hearted attempt to give Mangope a last chance to see if he would abide by the TEC ultimatum."

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CP splinters^(307A) as 7 MPs set to join Viljoen

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

A MAJOR split has opened in the Conservative Party, with seven MPs planning to join Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front and take part in the election.

Meanwhile leaders of the Freedom Alliance were meeting in Kimberley today where General Viljoen hoped to regain some of the unity that was forged under the alliance banner.

While he will no doubt come under immense pressure from CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, deposed Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope and KwaZulu leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, he is unlikely to go back on his commitment to the front.

In an interview today, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg conceded that the MPs would be leaving and said it was a "wretched situation", although he dismissed suggestions that the "rebels" had any substantial popular support in party ranks.

But a dissident said if the CP did not contest the election it would become "irrelevant" in South African politics.

Uitenhage MP Willie Botha has already resigned from the CP and Joseph Chiole, of Pretoria West, indicated today that he was available as a Freedom Front candidate but that he would not voluntarily leave the CP.

Other rebels ready to join the Freedom Front are Pieter Mulder (Schweizer-Reneke), Corné Mulder (Randfontein), Wille Botha (Rustenburg), Petrus Groenewald (Stilfontein) and Leon Louw (Welkom). A number of other MPs are sympathetic.

Mr Botha, who announced his resignation today, said the realities that had to be faced were that the election would take place and the ANC would be in the majority.

He said it was necessary to restrict that majority as much as possible.

White rightwingers had to be mobilised to prevent their votes being driven into the hands of the "traitorous" National Party, which had landed the country in its present situation when it unbanned the ANC and the Communist Party.

Mr Botha said rightwingers wanted to vote against the ANC but if they were not given an opportunity by a party of their own they would vote NP.

He said he continued to support the CP's volkstaat ideal and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), but if the CP did not take part it could become politically irrelevant and lose its power base among rank-and-file supporters.

Mr Botha estimated that the Freedom Front could draw between five and seven percent of the vote, which would give it between 20 and 28 MPs in the National Assembly.

Mr Chiole, who is secretary of the AVF, said he was resigning today. He was available as a Freedom Front candidate.

General Viljoen handed in the front's provisional candidate list last week and said a more comprehensive list would be submitted tomorrow.

The executive committee of the CP in Natal has pledged support to the Freedom Front and its election decision.

The committee's move follows the resignation last week of Natal CP leader Carl Werth, who also pledged support for the Freedom Front.

Speaking from Lichtenburg today, Dr Hartzenberg said the defections echoed the situation in 1992 when Andries Beyers and four other CP MPs broke away to form the still-born Afrikaner Volk-sunie.

Dr Hartzenberg said events in Bophuthatswana had shown what the Afrikaner could expect in a new system.

Promises made to Lucas Mangope that he could continue in power until the election had not been kept.

(Report by T Wentzel, 122 St George Mall, Cape Town).

● See page 4

old monitor the crowd.
Sporadic shooting was heard in the vicinity of the stadium on Saturday night but there were no reports of casualties.
— Sapa.

3 killed in church

Sowetan

THREE members of the Ba'hai faith were shot dead by gunmen during a service in Mdanstane, near East London, yesterday. 14/3/94

A local Ba'hai leader said six armed men had entered during the service and ordered whites present to stand aside.

Three Iranians, who had been living in South Africa for some years, were then shot. Black congregants were not harmed.

At Umlazi in Durban, four people were killed in clashes between the Inkatha Freedom party and African National Congress yesterday. Three were killed in the afternoon following the killing earlier in the day of an IFP supporter.

The three were killed after ANC supporters left their gathering place near King Zwelithini Stadium in the township.

Police reinforcements were deployed in the township last night.

The stadium was occupied by IFP supporters earlier yesterday ahead of a planned ANC rally there, resulting in increased tension between supporters of the two parties. — Sapa.

and was shot dead by police as he

a Ms Moeng (24), no address given.

Inkatha won't be in April election

Sowetan 14/3/94

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will definitely not be contesting next month's election, a senior MP and central committee member confirmed yesterday.

But the Freedom Front, led by former Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen, will be contesting the poll. Several Conservative Party MPs — including Dr Pieter Mulder and his brother Corné — are expected to be nominees under its banner when candidates' lists are announced this week.

The Freedom Alliance is now all but in tatters, with former Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope deposed by the TEC this weekend, announcing he would participate in the election under the banner of the North West Christian Democratic Party (NWCDA). Ciskei's Brigadier Oupa Gqozo left

the FA last month.

Now only the severely split Conservative Party, the IFP, and the shattered AVF are part of the alliance.

The IFP, meanwhile, will discuss its strategy of opposition to the constitution and the election at its central committee meeting in two weeks, said Mr Farook Cassim, nominated MP in the House of Delegates.

However, IFP spokesman Ms Suzanne Voss said it was possible the State President could, in consultation with the Transitional Executive Council, extend the deadline for registration of candidates.

She was optimistic that some way around could be found for the IFP to participate, including the possibility of discussing with other parties the delaying of the election.

(Report by D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg.)

Our telephone number: (011) 474-0128

Political comment in this issue by Aggrey Klaaste and Joe Thlolo. Newsbills, sub-editing and headlines by Mike Tissong and Sy Makaringe. All of 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg. The reproduction or broadcast without permission of articles published in this newspaper on any current economic, political or religious topic, is forbidden and expressly reserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Section 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.

Talkback

15/05/94 (304A)

epublic.

It came to power for the first time 10 years later in coalition with the (white) Labour Party of Colonel FHP Creswell.

When it amalgamated with General Jan Smuts' South African Party in 1933 in pursuit of broader national and international aims, a new purified NP, under Dr DF Malan, was formed in 1934 to further the Afrikaner cause.

It is this wing of the party, which became the main opposition to the new United Party and swept to power on separate development policies in 1948 and remains in power today.

The party went on to introduce a plethora of apartheid legislation depriving blacks of freedom of movement and political and even sexual association — notably the Population Registration Act, Group Areas Act, Mixed Marriages and Immorality Act.

It encouraged — both overtly and covertly — pushing blacks into homeland regions and set up the nominally independent states of Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana.

Since President FW de Klerk's reforms in 1990, the mass of apartheid legislation has been swept aside and the party, entirely white until 1991, now boasts more black members than whites.

The following are snippets of the party's manifesto on various issues:

EDUCATION:

Compulsory schooling for all for at least nine years;

Mother tongue education for those who want it;

State-funded schools with a distinctive character in respect of language, culture and religion for those who prefer it.

The NP boasts that education as a percentage of national spending has increased from 16,2 percent in 1986-87 to 20,7 percent in 1993-94. It slams ANC promises of a free and compulsory pre-school year which would cost "roughly R1 billion" a year and doubling the number of text books "which will cost R500 million a year."

The NP also criticises the national loan and bursary scheme proposed by the ANC. In Zimbabwe, it says, 80 percent of such loans are never repaid. The annual cost, the NP says, would be R600 million for 200 000 students at R3 000 a year.

HEALTH:

Basic medical services must be a function of local authorities; Highest priority must be given to primary health care.

ECONOMY:

An "investment friendly climate" must be created to encourage domestic and, particularly, foreign investments;

Competition and entrepreneurship must be promoted by opening up economic opportunities through deregulation;

The tax system "must promote saving, investment and initiative";

The Reserve Bank must have a high degree of autonomy to ensure sound monetary policies;

The right of free economic activity must be entrenched in the Charter of Fundamental Rights;

Socio-economic under-development must be comprehensively addressed within the limits of available resources;

A "proper balance" must be maintained between labour and industry.

It boasts that under NP rule company tax has been reduced from a high of 48 percent in 1991 to 44 percent this year.

HOUSING:

The NP will vigorously pursue its new Housing Endowment Scheme, launched in January, "which will eliminate under-development" and also deal with the needs of a growing population.

The NP had "in proper consultation with the communities involved", developed a strategy to bring proper housing within the reach of everyone "in reasonable time".

In its briefing notes to candidates the NP slams the ANC for wanting to stop the R90 billion housing plan which provides subsidies to the poor — starting with a lump sum payment of R12 500 for household with a monthly income of under R1 500.

The ANC says the plan was announced prematurely by Housing Minister Louis Shill ahead of a negotiated agreement.

JOBS:

"There can only be prosperity for the whole nation if each person has the opportunity of a decent job";

"Job opportunities can only be created in a strong economy";

Small businesses and the informal sector con-

The NP route to prosperity was through private property, private enterprise (private business) and market orientation (free trade). These are the foundations, together with hard work, of a strong economy to provide jobs, houses, education, health care and "happy, prosperous people".

"Only if taxes are reasonable will people want to work harder."

Socialism and communism "destroy the economy". This had been proved in Eastern Europe and in those African countries which had experimented with it.

PROTECTION:

The NP "negotiated a Charter of Fundamental Rights" which forms part of the constitution. Freedom is worth nothing, says the manifesto, if it can be taken away at the whim of the Government or armed political formations.

The constitution can be changed only "if a very large majority in Parliament votes to change it".

FREEDOM:

The NP stands for freedom:

Of speech and information;

Of political association;

To vote for the party of your choice;

Against arbitrary arrest;

To own property without fear of confiscation;

To participate in the economy without arbitrary restrictions;

Of worship and religion.

JUSTICE:

The "new NP will ensure that the police service gives equal and fair protection to all";

The Courts of Law will remain open to all and give equal protection to all;

No discrimination in the workplace, in education, in the streets "or anywhere".

SAFETY:

The NP claims it initiated the Peace Accord, created the peace structures, and increased the size of the SA Police from 75 000 to 121 000 men and women.

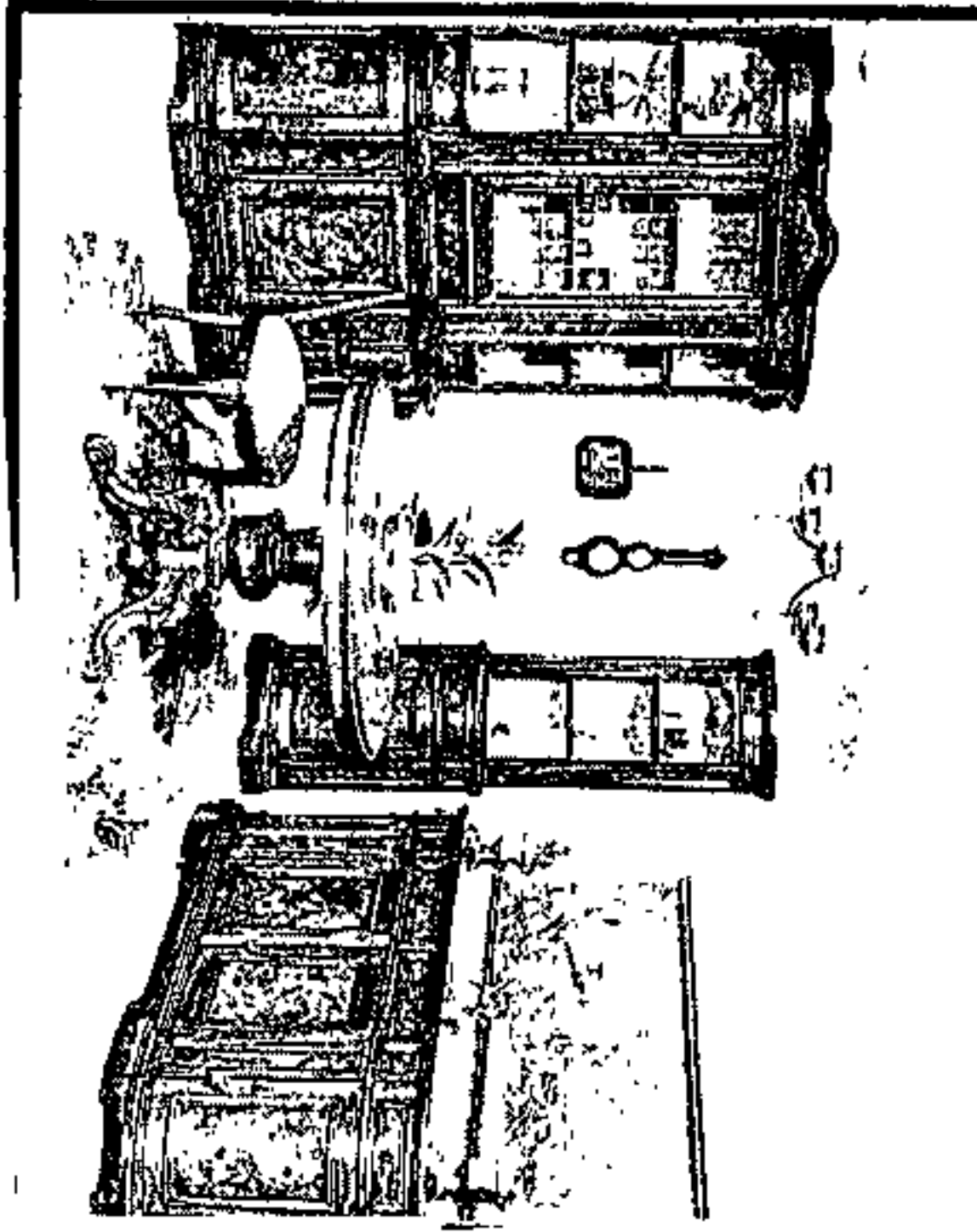
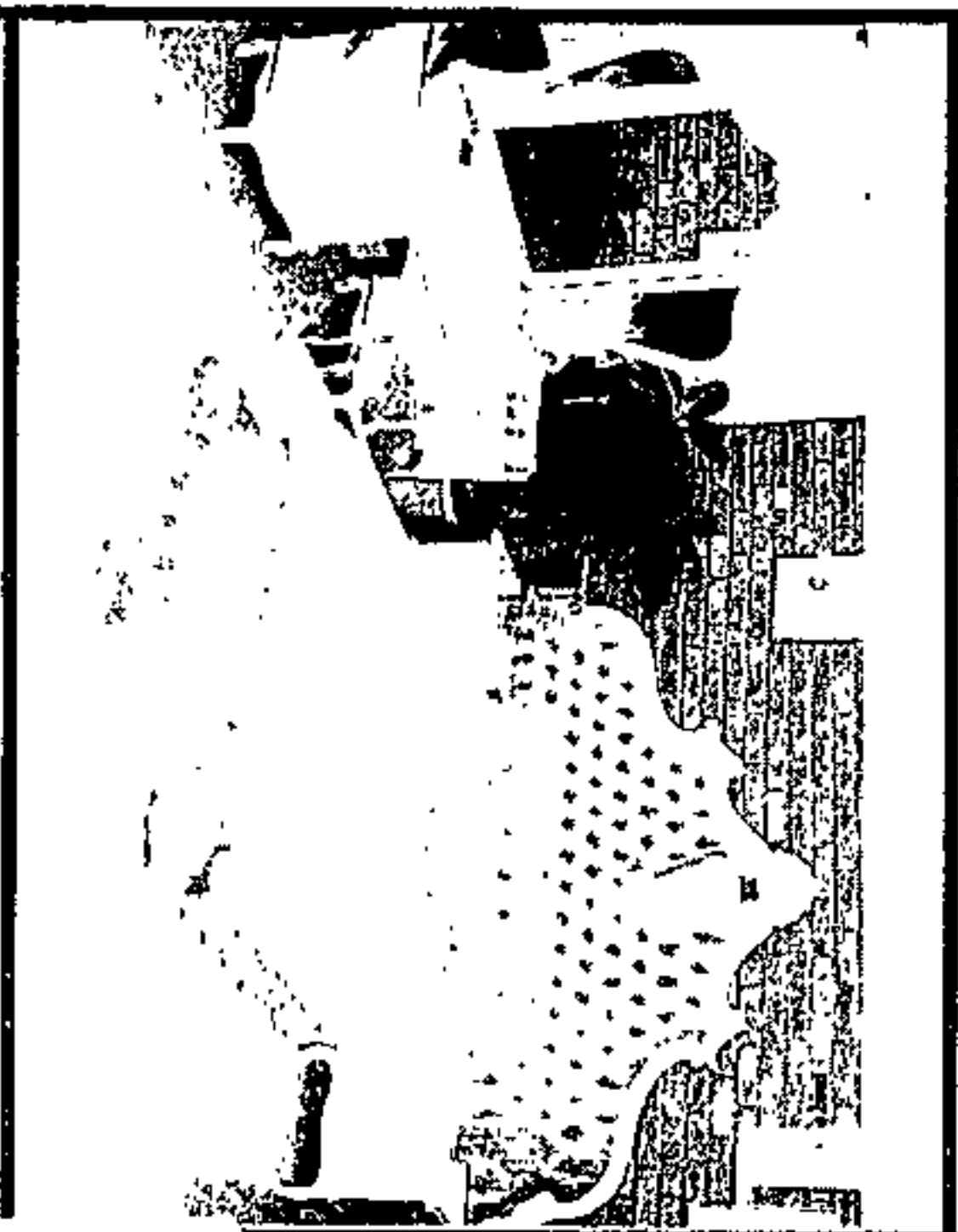
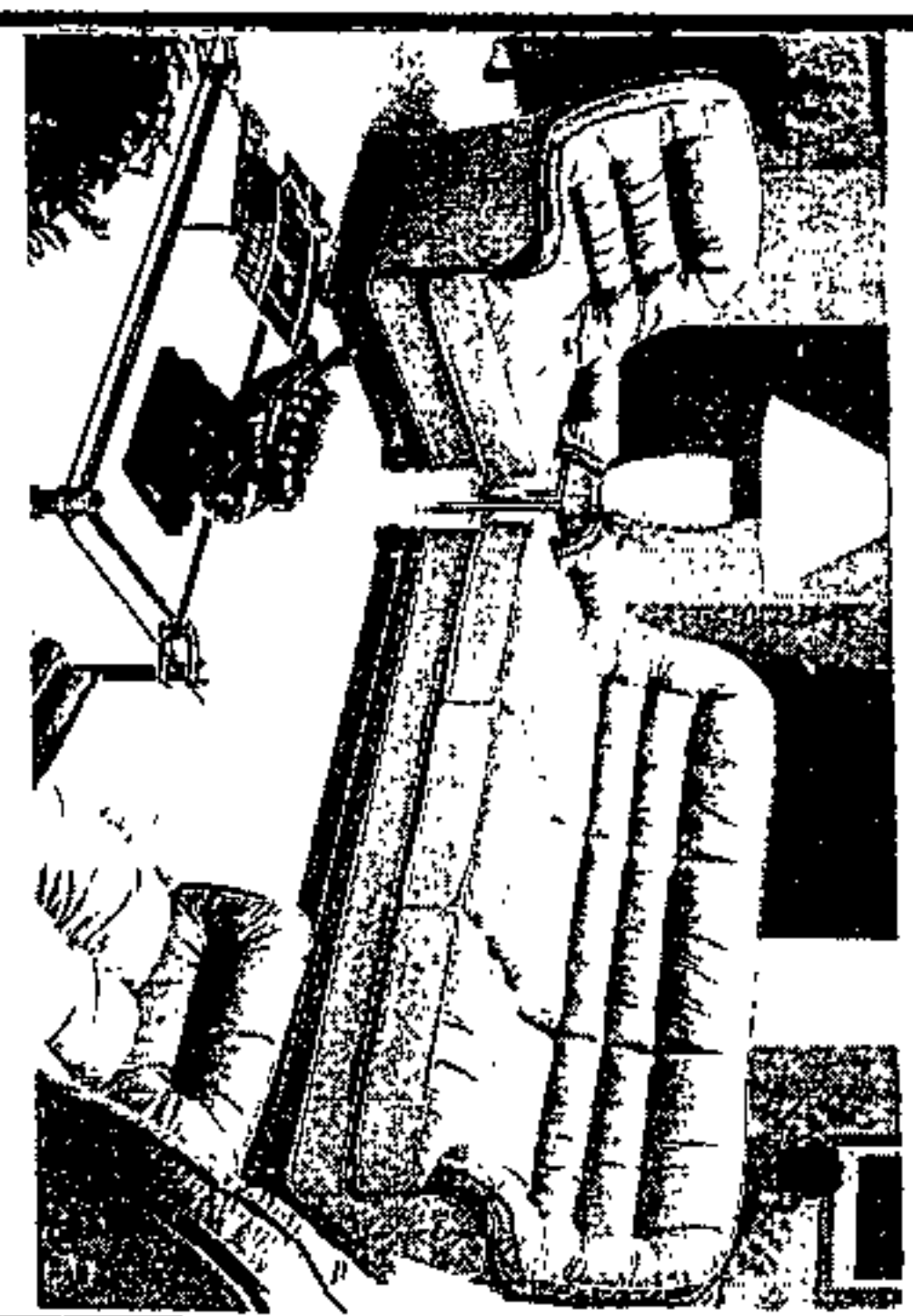
The police must protect all people and political parties equally and serve the community;

Enough policemen and women must be appointed to bring crime and violence under control;

(D Pressley, 61 Commando Road, Indagatla)

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The National Party *NP* wooing votes it once spurned ● Potted biography of De Klerk

Rise of a President *is/3/94*

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

FREDERIK Willem de Klerk was born in Mayfair, Johannesburg, on March 18 1936 in a family of long political involvement.

His father Jan served as a trade unionist and was a cabinet minister in JG Strijdom's government.

FW attended the Monument High School in Krugersdorp and went on to obtain two law degrees with distinction at the University of Potchefstroom.

He practised as an attorney in Vereeniging and entered politics as MP for the town in 1972.

Rapid rise

He rose rapidly within the National Party, becoming a member of Mr John Vorster's cabinet six years later in 1978.

In 1982 he became leader of the NP in the Transvaal and three years later, with the tricameral policies in place, he was chairman of the Minister's Council of the white House of Assembly.

A year later he became leader of the

In 1982 he became leader of the NP in the Transvaal, and three years later, with the tricameral policies in place, he was chairman of the Minister's Council of the white House of Assembly

same house. When then president and leader of the NP Mr PW Botha suffered a stroke, De Klerk was elected leader in February 1989, and was sworn in as State President on September 18 of the same year.

Coming in with an image of being a conservative, De Klerk launched his reform programme with the release of

political prisoners aligned to the ANC, including Walter Sisulu, a month after taking office.

He went one step further on February 2 1990 with his world-renowned speech unbanning black political organisations and releasing Mr Nelson Mandela from prison nine days later.

These developments launched South Africa on a new path and opened doors to De Klerk that had been closed to all previous white leaders.

He has visited many African states, was honoured by several international organisations, and last year shared the prestigious Nobel Peace Prize with Mandela.

He has failed to stem the tide of killings in black areas, leading to accusations that deep down he remained a racist for whom black life still meant less than white life.

De Klerk changed his party from an all white Afrikaner-based organisation into a multiracial grouping that has secured black support from conservative blacks and dissidents from the ANC.



FW de Klerk ... his father was a trade unionist.

Promoting the Boere

By Donald Pressly
Political Staff

FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS Promising

blacks those things denied them before.

THE NATIONAL PARTY WAS FORMED by General JBM Hertzog in January 1914 at a congress in Bloemfontein. It was a party to promote Afrikaner influence in government,

The NP pledges to:
Set up local health committees for each community by the year 2000.

tribute "a great deal to the creation of jobs",
PEACE and PROSPERITY:

K & K

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SHOP No. 2.20

DP lodges a third complaint

From page 1

tors to the technikon.

In terms of the law a party has to give five days' notice of its intention to canvass in an area.

Mr Coulson said that in the end it was decided not to have the table, although one there previously had not led to confrontation.

In other developments yesterday DP leader Zac de Beer challenged ANC leader Nelson Mandela to control his followers and allow free speech.

And the DP called off an election "blitz" on the UWC campus because it feared for the safety of its members.

Mr Leon said resistance to free speech on the UWC campus was "ironic" since UWC itself "has felt the sting of oppression of free speech and intolerance".

A DP complaint to the IEC followed yesterday's visit to Good Hope College in Khayelitsha, where about 50 students, many with ANC placards and stickers, chanted "Down with the DP, down", before pushing Mr Leon and his campaigners towards their bus.

A group of IEC monitors linked arms to try to separate the demonstrators from the DP group.

A DP spokesman said the party had given five days' notice in terms of the Electoral Act that it intended campaigning at the Khayelitsha college.

But South African Students' Congress spokesman Monde Ngonyama said: "The DP must take responsibility for whatever happened."

The DP had broken an undertaking to discuss arrangements for the campaign with college authorities and student representatives.

College rector Willie Scholtz told Mr Leon that he had no objection in principle to parties coming to the college, but that the issue had first to be cleared with the college council, which was due to meet today.

Mr Leon, who is visiting the Western Cape on a two-day campus campaign, said at Stellenbosch University yesterday that it was ironic that the University of Stellenbosch was the only campus in the country where somebody could present a viewpoint with which the majority did not agree.

Referring to the harassment of DP canvassers at Western Cape campuses, Dr De Beer said at a public meeting in Plettenberg Bay: "Free speech is not much in the vocabulary of the ANC."

The DP's Western Cape candidate premier, Hennie Bester, said the ANC's commitment to human rights had to be seriously questioned.

Earlier yesterday DP canvassers were undeterred by a noisy ANC demonstration at the Peninsula Technikon at the beginning of the two-day campus campaign.

(News by M Morris, D Cruywagen and T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

The 'new' tyranny



CAMPUS CONFRONTATION: Top Democratic Party candidate Tony Leon locked in heated debate with a Pentech student during the DP election campaign at the Technikon.

It's necessary to stand up to and confront the new tyrannies facing South Africa, and people have to fearlessly confront authoritarianism and fascism. It is no use throwing up your hands in defeat. You will not be wasting your time confronting this type of behaviour because the new South Africa has to succeed on the basis of a spirit of persuasion.

— Democratic Party PWV leader Tony Leon

Crisis over free electioneering after Democratic Party campaign disrupted on Cape campuses

IEC can make parties toe line

Political Correspondent

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has wide powers to ensure parties taking part in the election adhere to the principles of tolerance and democracy.

The code, contained in the Electoral Act, is backed by stiff penalties:

- A formal warning.
- A fine not exceeding R100 000.
- Forfeiture of deposits.
- Permanent or temporary prohibition from time on radio and TV.
- Prohibition from holding meetings, rallies or canvassing.
- Prohibition from receiving State electoral funds.

Infringements of the code will be adjudicated by an electoral tribunal appointed by the commission.

The first such case, based on a complaint by the DP Youth against the Students' Representative Council of the University of the Western Cape, will be heard at the Bellville magistrate's court on Monday.

DP claim to be probed

JOHANNESBURG. — The Independent Electoral Commission would verify reports that DP candidate Tony Leon was prevented from speaking by ANC supporters at three education institutions in the Western Cape, chairman Judge Johann Kriegler said today. — Sapa.

focus on De Klerk

Sowetan 15/3/94

Despite 45 years of oppressive rule, apartheid's architects believe the black electorate will vote for them. Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** spoke to State President FW de Klerk:



BLACK people should find it easy to vote for the National Party because it is a new organisation that has forsaken racism.

It is also the most representative party in the country, with membership from all significant components of the South African nation.

Blacks should also vote NP because it offers economic policies that are in line with successful economies of the world.

That, in a nutshell, sums up the position as stated by NP leader and State President Mr FW de Klerk in an exclusive interview at his office in Cape Town.

He said while all parties, including his own, were promising voters houses, improved health and new jobs, the new government of national unity would only be able to keep its promises if the NP's economic policies were applied.

He felt the ANC policies, "which still cling to state intervention in the economy, threats of nationalisation hanging over the private sector and interference in normal business activity, would seriously harm the economy".

Theirs, he added, was an investor friendly climate-creation exercise. De Klerk also believes that black people should vote for his party as it would end violence once it was returned to power.

Why not now we asked? Your party is in power and in charge of security forces as matters stand.

De Klerk said his party and the Government presently suffer from an image problem where they are seen as illegitimate and unrepresentative of all people.

"The consequence of this is that unilateral strong action by the National Party Government is made suspect by most of our opponents, especially the ANC. A National Party with the highest percentage of votes in the elections would no longer have that image and would have a mandate from all South Africans.

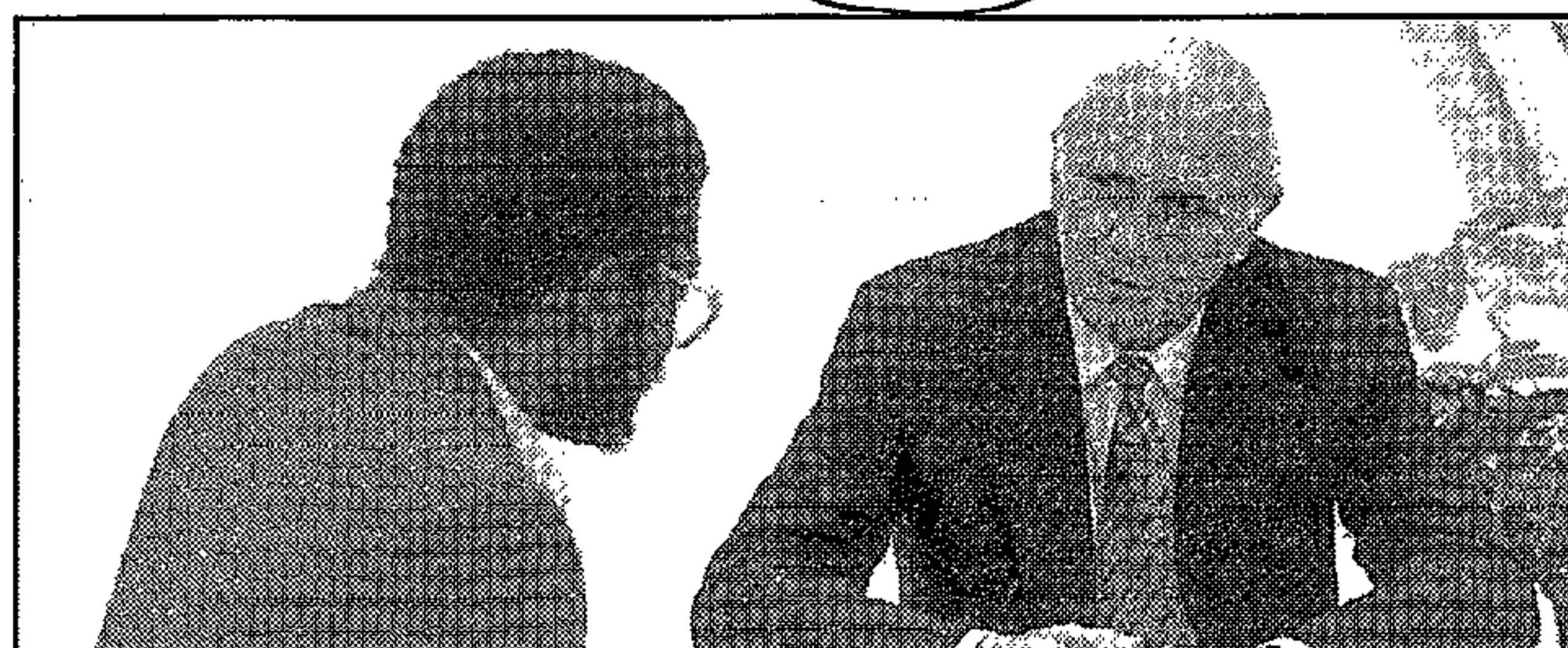
"But, secondly, I do not agree with the assertion that the NP is failing to address violence. The causes of violence would make it difficult for solutions in the short term. Even the ANC would find it difficult," he said.

The solution to violence lay not only in government action but in defusing the political conflict between, for instance, the ANC and the IFP, he said.

He denounced allegations that he was soft on black deaths and the violence in black areas, saying a third of policemen spent their days dealing with politically motivated violence.

There is also extensive use of the SADF to ensure enough manpower. "No government could really do more," he added, saying that his was a no-win situation.

"Sometimes when we send the troops in we are accused of occupation. When we do not, we



Face to face ... Mathatha Tsedu and FW de Klerk.

are accused of ignoring the violence and not doing enough."

The NP does not hope for a pre-election alliance, but foresees possibilities of co-operation with other parties on specific issues.

Asked specifically about a pact with the IFP, De Klerk said the mainly Zulu organisation was nearer to the NP in their economic policies, "but they have a strong identity of their own and I do not foresee formal alliances but co-operation is on the cards". (304A)

Level of violence

De Klerk said he had never advocated a troika of himself, Mandela and Buthelezi to lead the country, but had only wanted the leaders of the three main parties in the negotiations to come together and sort out their differences and reach an understanding to bring down the level of violence.

"The fact that this never materialised has caused lots of delays and is one of the main causes of the lack of inclusivity of the agreements reached," he added.

De Klerk said it was not true that he dealt softly with the ultra-rightwing. Those declaring *volksstaats* all over the country would be dealt with in terms of the law should their actions impede the process of elections.

"As the matter stands now, the declaration is meaningless because they have no legal basis. They are therefore party political statements with no legal consequences. They cannot be interpreted as a unilateral declaration of independence such as happened in Rhodesia."

People in the areas affected would be guaranteed their full rights as citizens of South Africa and should the ultra-rightwingers try to stop elections from in places such as Newcastle, they would be breaking the law and the law would take its full course.

He was happy that his party had achieved its aims in negotiations with the ANC, with even more gains caused by the Freedom Alliance resistance.

"I have achieved my goals in negotiations which were to ensure that this Government would govern until a government of national unity is elected in free and fair elections," he said.

He rejected allegations of being a lame-duck president, and said he regretted the handling of the Radio Pretoria saga, where ultra-rightwingers were allowed to broadcast without a licence and in violation of a court order.

"In the early stages of the matter mistakes were made. We should have acted more firmly at the expiry of the temporary licence, but it was allowed to get some permanency.

"We should also have pressed much sooner for the Independent Broadcasting Authority to be established and not have allowed delays," De Klerk said.

Once the matter developed into a crisis, the manner in which it was handled was in the best interests of the country, he said.

He saw his party doing extremely well, especially in the Western Cape, and hoped that more South Africans would vote for it.

● Tomorrow PAC president Clarence Mkwetu speaks his mind.

Inkatha joi

IFP, Volksfront register provisionally

CHRIS WHITFIELD and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

HOPEs for a peaceful transition have risen dramatically with the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront officially registering for next month's election.

The provisional registration — only three hours before the midnight deadline — ended months of speculation.

An IFP delegation headed by national chairman Frank Mdlalose arrived at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park at 9:05pm yesterday to register.

ment released by the IFP central committee yesterday that it would be pressing for the election date to be changed.

Weekend Argus has reliably learned that senior members of the government have in recent days been contemplating shifting the election date, but only in exceptional circumstances.

Last night Bophuthatswana indicated it would not register.

The IFP made it clear that its participation would be conditional on:

- Mediation to try to resolve outstanding constitutional differences,

- Mediation on amending the 1993 constitution, and

- "Rationalising the electoral process and timetable to translate constitutional agreements into a fair and free election in which all parties can compete on an equal footing".

This appears to be a demand that the election date be shifted to allow latecomers to the campaign time to catch up.

The statement also said the mediation should address steps for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to secure the interests of the kingdom of KwaZulu.

The Independent Electoral Commission said that from a "technical" and "practical"

In terms of registration procedures the IFP also bound itself to adhere to the Independent Electoral Act, which binds parties to a code of conduct.

Dr Mdlalose said the issue of international mediation to help resolve outstanding constitutional differences remained a crucial factor.

He said the IFP would meet the African National Congress on Tuesday to "compare notes" on the issue.

Dr Mdlalose denied his party's decision to register provisionally indicated a split between itself and its allies in the Freedom Alliance.

He said the IFP would meet its allies on Monday "to form a strategy to make this mediation come through".

Dr Mdlalose gave the assurance the IFP would have sufficient time to campaign for the election and said mechanisms were in place to deal with this.

President De Klerk welcomed the IFP's provisional registration.

Speaking at a National Party meeting in Chatsworth, south of Durban, he said the IFP's decision indicated the "strong possibility" of participation in the elections.

"I would have preferred registration with no strings attached," Mr De Klerk said.

The ANC also announced that it was willing to enter into "political accords" with other parties in terms of which a new government would amend the Interim Constitution should changes be agreed on between now and the poll.

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki told journalists his organisation would also consider extending last night's deadline for registration of parties if the Independent Electoral Commission recommended such a step.

Gen Viljoen said this was the last opportunity with other members of the Freedom Alliance, to settle what he called this unacceptable situation in a peaceful manner.

Mr Justice Krieger said it was imperative that the IEC finalise its registration list by this afternoon, to enable it to have ballot papers printed and ready in time.

Observers yesterday also noted that the in-principle agreement for international mediation was only concluded between the IFP and ANC. This agreement was later endorsed by the FA.

Gen Viljoen said: "As the Inkatha Freedom Party has indicated, the registration does not imply that we are in any way recognising the 1993 constitution, but register only in anticipation of possible results of negotiations or international mediation."

He hoped this international mediation would point out the

AVF registers as the Freedom

From page 1

point of view late registrations of parties could be accepted by the IEC until 4pm today.

IEC chairman Justice Johann Krieger said that from a legal point of view, the midnight cut-off remained in place. He said that the only way the deadline could be extended was if "the law was changed".

Mr Justice Krieger said it was imperative that the IEC finalise its registration list by this afternoon, to enable it to have ballot papers printed and ready in time.

Gen Viljoen said: "I realised that the freedom to exercise the strategic options of the Afrikaner people would be severely restricted if we did not register provisionally."

"Due to the limited time available, this decision could

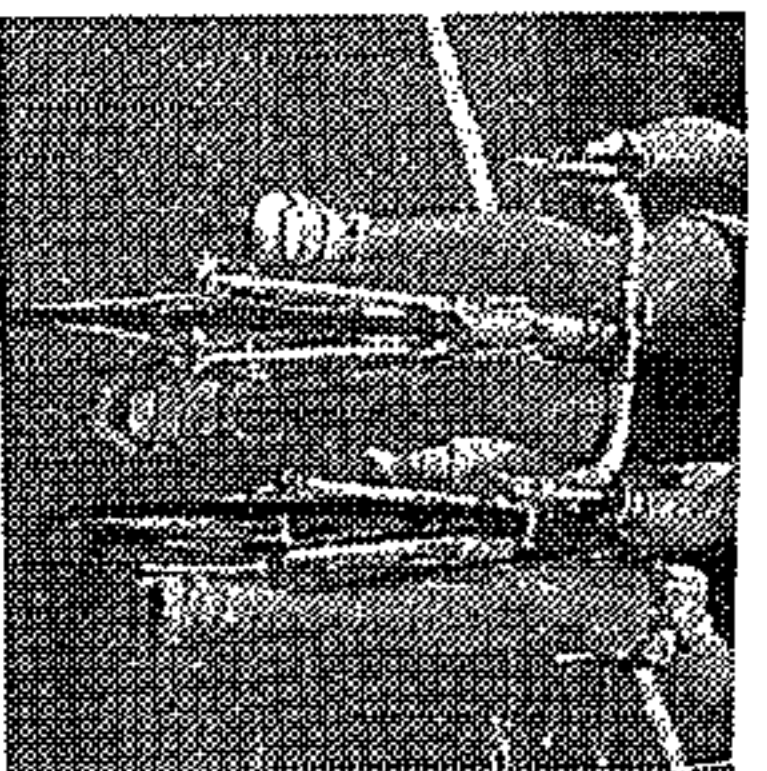
not be approved in advance by the Afrikaner Volksfront," the statement added.

Gen Viljoen said the AVF had been registered as the Freedom Front.

Gen Viljoen said: "As the Inkatha Freedom Party has indicated, the registration does not imply that we are in any way recognising the 1993 constitution, but register only in anticipation of possible results of negotiations or international mediation."

He hoped this international mediation would point out the

In all earnest.
Today we
publish the last
article in the
training tips
series.
SUZETTE
BUCKLAND
takes Argus
Tour



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Party old
mild with
showers.
Namaqua
SW Cape
Party old
with scatt
thunderst
clearing fr
west.

Front
3044

Bartlett confirms IFP, NP talks

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Natal NP leader Mr George Bartlett confirmed yesterday that IFP and NP officials had been "talking to each other" about the possibility of IFP members joining the NP's Natal list.

But the talks were being held on the basis they would provide the IFP with a voice in

parliament rather than IFP members formally changing parties.

Mr Bartlett said no firm proposal had yet been tabled and declined to mention who the IFP members were who may be included on the NP's Natal lists of candidates.

All parties have until this afternoon to make changes to

their candidate list in terms of an extended deadline. The IEC corrected yesterday a statement it made on Monday that the deadline was yesterday afternoon.

Mr Bartlett said there had never been any suggestion that he may stand down from the leadership of the party in Natal to make room for a

senior Inkatha member.

If it meant that Inkatha would "have a voice" in Parliament, now that it had decided not to participate in the election then, Mr Bartlett said, he would put the proposal to his executive committee.

No names of Inkatha members had been put forward yet, he said. (276) (304A)

(~~XXXXXXXXXX~~)

TEC bid to merge SA public service

Sowetan 16/3/94

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

■ JOB FEARS Task force to dispel anxiety over future over civil servants:

THE Transitional Executive Council is to set up a task force to investigate the rationalisation and reintegration of the various public services in South Africa.

A resolution, taken after a debate on continuing strike action by Lebowa public servants — including the homeland police force — over cancelled promotions, mandates the force to consult public servants' bodies over the process.

African National Congress member Mr Mac Maharaj, in urging the strikers to return to work, said there had to be uniformity of grading as public servants could not just be given "the highest possible grade" under the new dispensation.

It was important to remove the perception that tax payers' money could be

squandered without thinking. The force, to be manned by law and order and regional and local government subcouncil members, will reassure public servants across the country that their jobs and employment benefits are not threatened.

(3044)
Warning that if the TEC did not take steps to reassure government workers of their continued value to the new national unity administration, ANC representative Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said it would "be courting disaster".

What was happening in Lebowa and the events in Bophuthatswana could be revisited in other areas of the country, notably KwaZulu, said Ramaphosa.

"There are already reports of public servants becoming restive because the

(KwaZulu) government is not taking part in the transition process."

TEC co-chairman Mr Pravin Gordhan said the intention was not to disrupt reintegration initiatives already initiated by the Commission for Administration, but to provide greater transparency and reduce uncertainty. In terms of the Interim Constitution all public servants are assured of their jobs after April.

Government workers at present employed by homeland administrations would be allocated posts in the new central and regional governments.

Minority Front leader Mr Armichand Rajbansi said there was particular anxiety among House of Delegates staff who had not been told of their future positions.

Pretoria to stay as the capital city

Sowetan 16/3/94
PRETORIA is still likely to be South Africa's capital city in a new constitutional dispensation, with Johannesburg as the PWV's regional seat.

According to informed political sources, the city's status as national capital, possibly in the form of a new Pretoria Capital District functioning as a separate region on its own, remains a powerful option. *(304A)*

Diplomatic view

Diplomatic sources also expressed the view that any decision taken on the provincial seat for the PWV — where Johannesburg has been tipped to get the vote — should not affect Pretoria's status as the nation's capital.

It is said that there is too much invested in bricks and mortar and technological infrastructure to make any move practicable.

NP may sign up Inkatha defectors

TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk said yesterday it was possible the NP would change its election candidates' list for Natal to include senior Inkatha defectors. *By Day 15/3/94*

De Klerk was responding to speculation that the NP was wooing senior Inkatha members and that Natal NP leader George Bartlett could stand down as the party's premiership candidate to make way for a senior Inkatha member. *(304A)*

Speaking during his electioneering roadshow through the PWV area, De Klerk said he had been informed of the possibility that some senior Inkatha members who supported participation in the election might "join hands" with the NP. "There is a possibility of Inkatha people becoming involved in our camp, whether as candidates or in other ways."

De Klerk said he had not been informed of any developments regarding Bartlett but added there was a "technical possibility" the Natal leader could lose his place.

Sapa reports from Pretoria that De Klerk received a mixed reaction on his election tour.

In what was described as a first for the NP, De Klerk boarded a Metro train to Pretoria at about 7.30am. As the president moved through the carriages and stopped to speak to commuters, he was cheered by some and jeered at by others.

The president sat down between two commuters who questioned him about the NP's policies on housing and education.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and M Schneha, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

ANC supporters *By Day 15/3/94* chase Leon away

CAPE TOWN — DP MP Tony Leon was chased from a Khayelitsha education college near Cape Town yesterday by ANC supporters yelling "Go, go, go".

Barely audible above the chanting and shouting protesters, Leon said Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler should go to Khayelitsha to see how the Electoral Act was being infringed. "We will send a protest to the IEC," he told reporters.

Leon said the DP would also take up "this kind of intolerance and physical prevention (of speakers) with the Transitional Executive Council".

A woman had shouted: "Before we get angry, just leave."

At least 50 students, many with ANC placards and stickers, then started chanting "Down with the DP, down", before pushing Leon and his campaigners towards their bus.

A phalanx of IEC monitors linked arms, trying to separate the demonstrators from the DP group.

Leon's appearance at the Good Hope College of Education followed an earlier DP election walkabout at the Peninsula Technikon, where ANC supporters captured the limelight with loud chanting and toyi-toying.

Leon's first appointment of the day, at the University of the Western Cape, was cancelled because "our safety could not be guaranteed", DP Youth chairman Colin Douglas said.

According to DP spokesmen the party had given five days' notice in terms of the Electoral Act that it intended campaigning at the Khayelitsha venue. *(304A)*

"Everything was done in terms of the Electoral Act; we followed procedures," they said.

SA Students' Congress spokesman Monde Ngonyama said: "The DP must take responsibility for what ever happened today."

He claimed the DP had broken an undertaking to first meet college authorities and student representatives on arrangements for the campaign at the college.

Another Sasco member, who identified himself as the organisation's treasurer at the college, said: "We are sorry if we have infringed the IEC (regulations)."

But he was adamant there should first have been a meeting to plan the DP campaign incursion.

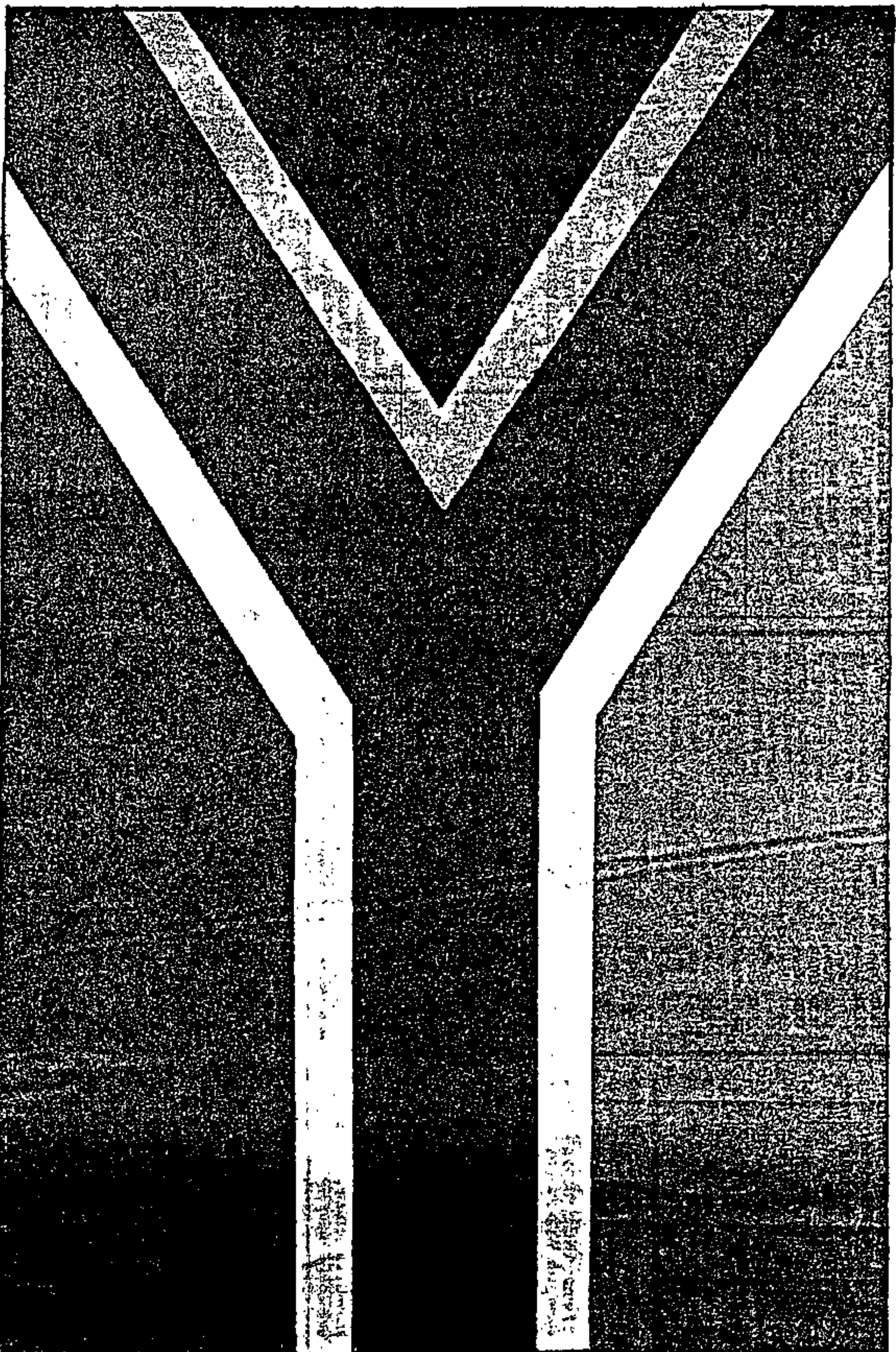
College rector Willie Scholtz told Leon, while surrounded by a loose ruck of students, he had no problem in principle with parties coming to the college.

However, the issue first had to be cleared with the college council, which was due to meet on Tuesday.

An apparently stressed Leon nonetheless managed to give his detractors a smiling goodbye from the steps of the bus before it drove away. — Sapa.

Report by CC de Villers, Press Gallery, Parliament.

SOUTH AFRICA'S new flag



NEW FLAG ... Here it is — South Africa's new "transition flag". Designed by state heraldist Mr. Fred Brownell, it was one of 7 000 submitted to the TEC. The flag will first be raised at the inauguration of South Africa's new State President after April 27, and then flutter over official buildings.

Unveiling has mixed reception

CT 16/3/94

(304A)

By CHRIS BATEMAN

SOUTH AFRICA'S new "flag of transition" was unveiled yesterday after years of debate, acrimony and confusion — just in time to meet manufacturing deadlines for the mid-May presidential inauguration.

Reaction last night ranged from outright condemnation to cautious or provisional acceptance for a design that will flutter above public buildings and police stations within a month of the election.

Either the Independent Electoral Commission or the National Peace Committee logo is expected to grace national flagpoles on polling days.

A Transitional Executive Council (TEC) sub-committee on national symbols also decided yesterday to twin Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika with Die Stem as national anthems.

The Constituent Assembly is empowered to change the flag and anthems when they are put back on the agenda — but this could take up to a year.

Chief negotiators Mr. Roelf Meyer and Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday two criteria were used — allowing for transition and a final decision by the Constitutional Assembly, and "maximum recognition toward national unity".

The design by state heraldist Mr. Fred Brownell was one of 7 000 submitted during the tumultuous multi-party negotiating process which saw public approval over designs favoured by top officials.

The ANC's regional publicity chief, Mr. Bulelani Ncuka, commented the TEC criteria yesterday but slammed the new flag as having "nothing with which one identifies". It's not appealing, maybe that's why everybody agreed.

The Democratic Party said national symbols such as a new flag should be decided by referendum.

The TEC is empowered to recommend to the State President that the new national symbols be proclaimed as part of the new constitution.

Yesterday's announcement is the result of sustained pressure that began to build last week when flag manufacturers warned that time was running out for them to meet the mid-May deadlines.

An estimated 30 000 flags will be produced by the nation's three main flag manufacturers in Johannesburg, Phoenix and Pinehaven.

No excitement over symbol

By WILLEM STEENKAMP

SOUTH AFRICANS were not wildly excited by the new flag, a snap survey last night showed, but a group of foreigners voiced their approval of what the African National Congress' Mr. Cyril Ramaphosa labelled a "compromise".

"It's gross," commented Ms. Renée Vermaak, who thought the flag contained "a bit too much ANC".

Another, Mr. Wouter Lubbinge, who

said he had "nothing against the flag", wanted to know what it meant.

"A flag is a symbol, something to identify with," he said, "if they can tell me what the colours represent then I'll be satisfied."

"It's fine by me — I'm in the middle," said fellow South African Mr. Anton Schmidt.

French visitors Mrs. Nicole Beyhurst and Mrs. Annie Bally did not have

much comment on the new flag and did not know what the old flag looked like, but they pronounced satisfaction with the new design.

"It's very nice," said Mrs. Bally, and Mrs. Beyhurst said it was "beautiful".

Another visitor, Mr. Andy Meier of Liechtenstein, said it was "not too bad for a flag".

All of the visitors agreed with Mr. Ramaphosa's assertion that the new flag displayed an African slant.

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WIN three cellular phones! Starting tomorrow, our great new competition offers three Nokia 1011 cellular phones! PLUS airtime! subscriptions and SIM cards.

ANC invites IEC to probe DP charges

By CHRIS BATEMAN

THE ANC last night invited an Independent Election Commission (IEC) probe into the series of alleged ANC disruptions of Democratic Party meetings at city campuses and predicted that it would show cynical political manipulation by the DP.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said that the IEC would verify the accuracy of reports that ANC supporters prevented DP election candidate Mr Tony Leon from speaking at three local campuses.

Judge Kriegler said that if the reports proved accurate he would call for an urgent meeting with the regional ANC leadership to find out what the organisation intended doing about the

matter.

Mr Leon said he would personally call Judge Kriegler about election disruptions after a "heavenly choir" of ANC supporters heckled him at the University of Cape Town yesterday.

Last night the ANC's regional publicity chief, Mr Bulelani Ngcuka, said the DP "seemed to go out of their way to ensure that their meetings are disrupted so they can get publicity".

The ANC's Western Cape leader, Dr Allan Boesak, said yesterday that university and technikon students would be "wrong" to exclude certain political parties and allow others on to their campuses.

"We are taking a very serious view of that. We cannot allow that to happen."

CT 16/3/94

NEWS FEATURE *Lone white seeks reassurance from Mandela* • *Police adopt new approach*

Concern about new SA

Sowetan 16/3/94

(304A)

■ **JOBS LOST** Coloureds worried about their status after the election:

FRITZ Mason went to a dusty field in the dirt-poor Merino Park district of De Aar recently to tell his troubles to Nelson Mandela.

A lone white among 2 000 blacks, he poured out a story that embraced much of the tragedy of apartheid and some of the triumph of ordinary people against it.

Mason told Mandela about meeting his black wife Lorraine 13 years ago, when it was illegal for a white person to sleep with or marry anyone of another race.

Speaking in Afrikaans, he talked about jobs lost, school doors slammed and rightwing petrol bomb attacks endured because he had turned his back on the traditional values of his *volk*.

"We need your help, President Mandela. What is the ANC going to do to help us poor white people?" he asked.

A 39-year-old unemployed steel worker, Mason is among the one per cent of South African whites expected to vote for the African National Congress in the first all-race election in April.

Lorraine, classified coloured, plans to give her vote to President FW de Klerk's ruling National Party.

While Fritz queued in the dry 40-degree heat of the Karoo for a turn at the microphone, she watched in silence with their six-year-old son at her knee.

Mason was one of hundreds of mainly black people who have had a chance to put their doubts and fears to Mandela at a series of open-air "people's forum" meetings across the country.

"I am here to listen. Don't be soft. Don't think you will hurt this old man if you tell me what you really think," Mandela urged.

Young ANC members stepped forward to challenge his demand that De Klerk should be allowed to campaign freely in black areas.

"Why should we let the enemy come here and ask for votes from the people they have oppressed for all the years. Why, why, why?" one youth challenged.

Several people classified as coloureds sought reassurance that they would not be victimised by the

ANC for the twilight status they held under apartheid between whites and Africans.

"We hear that you will take our jobs for Africans, we hear that you will take our houses," said one young woman.

To those afraid of renewed discrimination, Mandela repeated his assurance that affirmative action to correct the imbalances of apartheid would apply equally to all blacks, adding: "By that I mean everyone who is not white."

To Mason he offered only the reassurance of a future where race would play no role. "Yours is a tragedy which is the result of many years of apartheid. We have stopped thinking in terms of colour, we think only in terms of human beings. We will listen to you and help you as we help everybody else," he said.

Mason was reassured. His wife was not, though she declined to comment. "I am ANC, but my wife is NP. She is for De Klerk and I can't change



Nelson Mandela listened.

that," Mason said with a shrug.

"We got married the day after they took away the (prohibition of) Mixed Marriages Act 10 years ago," he said.

"But the Afrikaners keep attacking us and hurting us because I am white and I live with the brown people and they are my friends."

He said the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging had attacked his home with petrol bombs last October and beat up two white friends also married to coloured women. "The police know who did it. They know the names and I know the names, but

they won't do anything against them. They won't help us or protect us," he said.

About the same time as the attack on Mason's home, AWB members in De Aar attacked black children at a municipal swimming pool with sjamboks.

At the end of the day, Mason put his young son on his shoulders and began the 7km walk to his home. — *Sapa-Reuters.*

(Report by R Boyle, 141 Commissioner Street Johannesburg.)

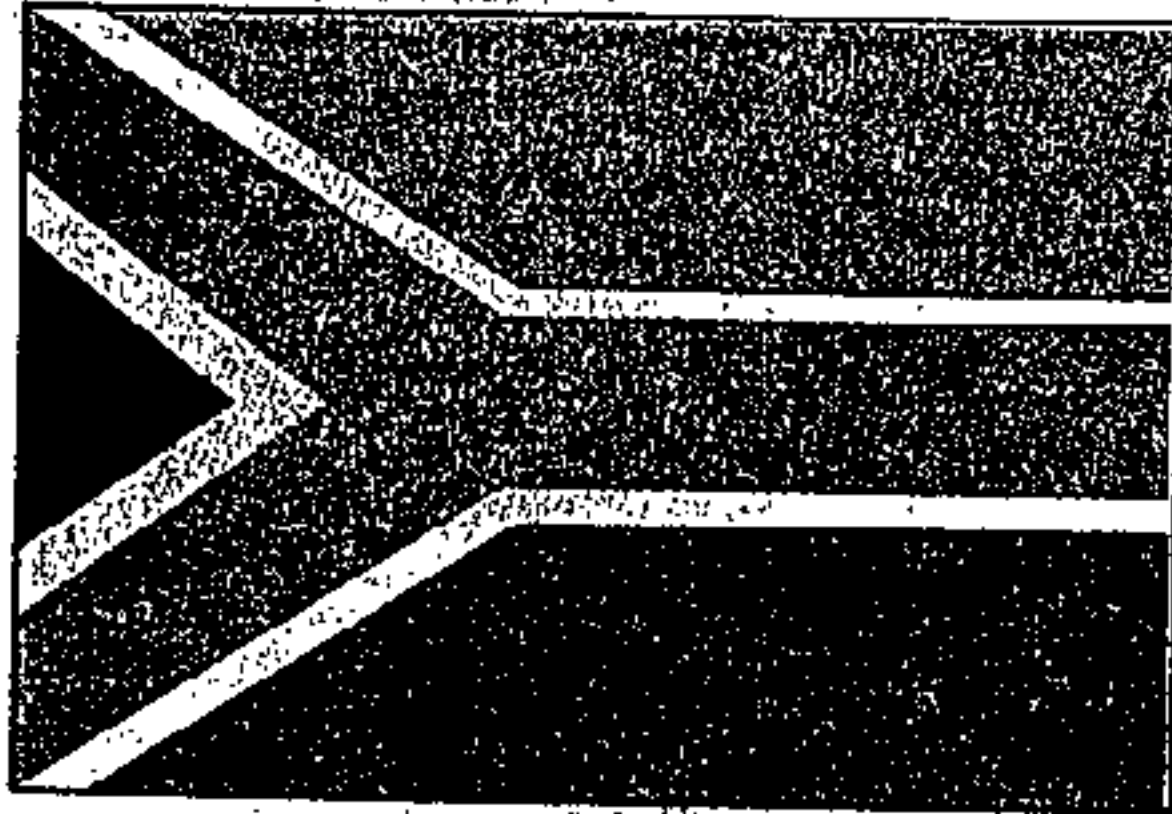
TEC unveils SA's new national flag

PRETORIA — SA's new national flag was unveiled yesterday. **81 Day**

Designed by state herald Fred Brownell, the flag was accepted unanimously by the TEC. It will be raised officially after April's election. **162194**

While the new constituent assembly would be able to change the flag, all TEC delegates said they were satisfied with the six-colour design. **(3044)**

TEC NP representative Roelf Meyer



ADRIAN HADLAND

said the flag would "grow in the minds of South Africans". It had a good chance of becoming SA's final flag, he said.

It was one of more than 7 000 designs submitted to multiparty negotiators last year. A TEC subcommittee of Meyer and ANC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa, in conjunction with the technical advisory committee, made the final recommendation.

Ramaphosa said the flag's colours would have meaning for everyone in SA.

Brownell, who was also responsible for Namibia's flag, said the colours had no specific meaning. "Symbolism, like beauty, is in the eye of the beholder."

The colours used had been the most popular in SA flags since 1652.

The TEC also accepted that Die Stem and Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika would be used as SA's interim national anthems.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● Picture: Page 2

TEC moves into the fiscal picture

81 Day 1613194

THE Transitional Executive Council is expected to announce "provisional guidelines" on government borrowing for the 1994/95 fiscal year tomorrow — instead of leaving it to the Finance Department. (30/4/94)

Market talk had been that a Finance Department roadshow, headed by director-general Estian Calitz, would present a fiscal picture of the present financial year and the next year in Johannesburg next week. It is understood Finance Minister Derek Keys wanted to depoliticise the announcement by leaving it to the officials.

But ANC deputy head of economics Tito Mboweni yesterday said rumours that Keys's department would announce a draft Budget next week had confused the markets. "The TEC, in conjunction with officials of the Finance and State Expenditure departments, is looking at providing broad guidelines to the financial markets on the fiscal situation in the 1994/1995 financial year." He emphasised the need to avoid electioneering and "destabilising the markets".

It is understood the Budget will

GRETA STEYN

top the agenda of this week's finance subcouncil meetings. A new mechanism for control over government's financial resources until the next government takes over is also expected to be discussed.

Meanwhile, economists say a major factor determining the effects of fiscal policy on domestic markets will be the use of foreign borrowing. They said while it was feasible that up to R1,5bn could be raised from foreign sources, the TEC might want to be conservative in its assumptions on that score if it announced figures this week. But better-than-expected economic growth this year could take up the slack through buoyant revenues. If foreign borrowing became available later in the year, after SA had received a formal credit rating, it would be a bonus.

Expectations that SA would go to foreign capital markets immediately after the election were unlikely to materialise, sources said, as it could take some months before SA obtained the required credit rating from an international agency.

Report by G Steyn, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

CP MPs resign to join Freedom Front

SEVERAL CP members had resigned from the party's caucus to join Gen Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front, a CP official said yesterday. **B1 Day**

"We have received four resignations so far and depending on who is on the Freedom Front's candidates' lists we are expecting more," CP secretary Lem Theron said.

"Naturally, no one can belong to two political parties... the person is automatically removed from the old party lists if he becomes part of a new one," Theron said. **16/3/94**

He said resignations had been received from Willem Botha (Uitenhage), Carl Werth (former President's Council member), Dries Bruwer (Lydenburg) and Willie Botha (Rustenburg). **(304A)**

He said the CP's executive committee would meet on Friday to take a final decision on the dismissal of members who had joined the front.

Meanwhile, front spokesman Joseph Chiole said the party "might" be handing in its candidates list before the final deadline. "We might hand in our candidates list this afternoon, but we have had very little time and are still involved in discussions," Chiole said. — **Reuter**

Report by O Ozbourne, Reuter, 1 Park Rd, Richmond, Jhb.

Complaints against NP rival those made by it

TIM COHEN

ALMOST as many complaints against the NP have been laid with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) monitoring directorate as the NP has laid against other parties, IEC documents show.

Six of the 30 investigations lodged with the IEC committee looking into complaints of election offences were lodged by the NP, while five were lodged against it.

This is despite the party's complaints that it is a major victim of intimidation.

The NP has lodged all six complaints against the ANC, while the ANC has lodged one complaint against the NP.

It has also laid two complaints against Home Affairs Department offices in Eldorado Park and Lenasia southwest of Johannesburg. One of the ANC's cases against Home Affairs was closed when IEC investigators discovered that the Electoral Act had not been transgressed.

The other complaint against the department, that ID documents had been torn up, is still under investigation.

A case brought by the Black Sash against the NP for allegedly forcing workers to attend meetings was dropped when IEC investigators found that bona fide voter education meetings were being held.

The NP has complained about intimidation by an ANC member in Cradock and stones thrown during

one of President FW de Klerk's roadshows in the northern Cape.

An IEC investigator has asked members of the President's office to forward a complaint about stone-throwing to the IEC monitoring directorate.

He says the IEC is waiting for the complaint to be lodged.

Two complaints lodged by the DP against Cape Technikon have been settled. A third DP complaint laid against the University of the Western Cape's SRC is going to trial.

The ANC has lodged complaints against Manenberg gangs and against the NP's Soweto office. The IEC found the NP Soweto office complaint to be false.

The ANC has also lodged two complaints against the Inkatha Freedom Party, claiming Inkatha members intimidated people.

Both cases are still being investigated.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the NP and the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) plan to complain to the IEC about being denied the right to free electioneering.

The NP said Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa was preventing it opening offices in the Transkei.

It said it would lodge a complaint with the TEC and the IEC monitoring directorate.

Sanco complained its officials in Brits in the northern Transvaal had been in-

timidated by right-wingers.

It said it would also raise the matter with the national peace secretariat.

IEC representative Nikki Moore said the organisation did not follow up media reports.

People had to lay complaints and submit affidavits before the commission could investigate, she said.

Sanco southern Transvaal general secretary Dan Mofokeng said right-wingers had this week plastered inflammatory posters and pamphlets on the walls of the organisation's office in the Brits.

One of the pamphlets, purportedly from the Wit Wolwe, said ANC president Nelson Mandela should be deported to the Transkei and SACP chairman Joe Slovo should be shipped out to Lithuania.

Mofokeng said the incident showed that right-wingers in the area were bent on preventing ANC

supporters from campaigning freely.

Sanco would take the matter to the IEC monitoring directorate and the peace secretariat.

He said Sanco, like all mass democratic movement organisations, was not stopping anyone or any party from electioneering anywhere in the country.

A campaign had been started to filter the message of political tolerance to grassroots members.

However, Sanco and its allies could not be held accountable for actions by people who were not their members or supporters.

Ordinary people grew angry when they were addressed by people like De Klerk "because of past injustices", he said.

But people on the ground were being urged to accommodate everyone.

Report by T Cohen and W Zwane, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

TEC names salaries committee members

THE TEC has named the members of an interim remuneration committee to consider the salaries and allowances to be paid elected representatives after the April elections. *B. Ncw*

The TEC said yesterday it would advise the President to appoint Judge D Melamet as head of the committee. *17/3/94*

It named the other members as MP Alex van Breda, black business leader Sam Motsuenyane, Southern Life chairman Neil Chapman, Price Waterhouse senior partner JJ Njeke, and National Union of

Mineworkers president James Motlatsi.

The TEC said two additional members should be nominated by the delegation of traditional leaders to the TEC and two by the TEC subcouncil on women.

The committee would prepare a Bill for consideration by the next Parliament.

Melamet said last night he had not yet been informed of the decision: "I have had discussions with TEC representatives but as yet I have not been informed." He would comment once the details had been made available to him. — Sapa *(304A)*

CP bans its magazine over 'generals' report

PRETORIA. — The latest edition of the Conservative Party mouthpiece, Patriot, had been banned by the party leadership because of a front-page article criticising General Constand Viljoen.

The CP's leader, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, said it had been published without his approval or knowledge.

The article, headlined "The volk rejects the generals", said CP supporters' vehemently opposed the Freedom Front's election registration.

Dr Hartzenberg said there was still a good relationship between him and Gen Viljoen.

(304A)

Freedom Front submits long candidate list

TIM COHEN

A HOST of political parties spent yesterday making frantic changes to their candidates' lists in time for the 4.30pm deadline, which passed with several party representatives still in the Independent Electoral Commission's offices.

Twenty-seven parties confirmed their participation.

Gen Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front submitted a sizable list of candidates, indicating its intention to compete for seats in the national parliament and all nine regional parliaments.

CP MP Joseph Chirole said the front had significant candidates on all its lists, including several CP MPs, a sitting NP MP and prominent Afrikaner Volksunie leaders, but declined to provide names.

The party has 30 names on the national list, 82 names on its regional list for national parliament and 94 names on its regional lists.

The NP submitted minor changes to its candidates' lists, which did not include any high-profile Inkatha members, while the ANC indicated it would not be making any changes other than removing candidates who had decided not to stand.

Lucas Mangope's Northwest Christian Democrats missed yesterday's deadline for the submission of candidates' lists because of Mangope's on-off house arrest, and asked for an extension.

Several members of the party attempted to go and see him but were turned away when they arrived at his house. Without Mangope's approval the party felt it could not submit the provisional list and faxed the IEC to indicate its predicament.

If the IEC did not grant an extension, the party would have no option but to withdraw from the election, said party spokesman Sammie Styger.

DAVID GREYBE reports that CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday

To Page 2

Freedom Front

warned that any member who joined another party and participated in the elections automatically disqualified himself from the party.

However, Freedom Front candidate Pieter Mulder said Hartzenberg and CP deputy leader Willie Snyman had agreed in principle with the front on Tuesday that CP members could pursue a two-pronged strategy — that some remain in the party and contest the elections, while others boycott and apply pressure from outside.

Mulder said it appeared Hartzenberg had made an "about-face" yesterday, because the proposal was supposed to be discussed only at tomorrow's CP head committee meeting.

Viljoen said the Freedom Front would withdraw from the election unless a satisfactory accord was reached with the ANC on a volkstaat.

"We need the accord to make sure the ANC keeps its word after April 27, otherwise we will be committing political suicide," Mulder said. He said the interim constitutional principle on the subject was too vague.

The envisaged accord with the ANC would make provision for, among other things, the volkstaat votes to be counted separately and according to polling booths.

"An accord is the only guarantee that the ANC will keep its word when we prove there is substantial support for a volkstaat," Mulder said.

He added the two sides had agreed after intense discussions that "substantial support means less than majority support". According to estimates, there are between 1.5-million to 1.8-million white Afrikaner voters in SA.

Sapa reports that the latest edition of the CP mouthpiece, Die Patriot, has been banned by the party leadership because the front page lead article did not reflect the true relationship between Viljoen and the CP executive.

A copy of Die Patriot had a headline "Volk verwerp generals (The volk rejects the generals)".

The article spoke of CP supporters' vehement opposition to the "unilateral" registration for the elections by the front.

Hartzenberg said there was still a good relationship between him and Viljoen. "Difference in opinion should under no circumstances lead to personal attacks against each other," he said and called on supporters to refrain from these practices and rather unite to fight the "real enemy" — the NP/ANC/SACP alliance.

Report by T. Cohen and D. Greybe, TML, 11 Dagbatal St. and E. van Wyk, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St. Jhb.

Page 1

Small parties may miss funding boat

SEVERAL small parties contesting the April elections might be excluded from benefiting from the R90m electoral fund because they have been unable to gather the required number of supporting signatures in time. *17/3/94*

The large parties, whose support is made evident by opinion polls, are not required to submit lists of signatures. *17/3/94*

The Federal Party has complained to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) that if a party registered on March 4, it would be "ridiculously unreasonable" to expect it to collect the required 10 000 signatures within 12 days.

In a message to IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler, Federal Party chairman Gavin Weiman said his party's view was supported by a number of other parties which found themselves in a similar predicament. These included the Islamic Party, the Woman's Rights Peace Party, the Wes-Kaap Federaliste Party and the African Moderates Congress Party.

"As a matter of fairness, all parties should be funded equally or none of the parties should be funded by the taxpayer," the Federal Party said.

At the very least, the requirements for funding should be such that all parties had a reasonable

TIM COHEN

opportunity of complying.

To obtain assistance from the fund, parties were required to submit 10 000 signatures of support plus an additional 3 000 signatures for each of the nine provincial elections in which they intended competing.

The cut-off date for lodging the signatures was established by the Electoral Act as 35 days from the date of proclamation, although this was extended after extension of the registration date. *(20/4/94)*

IEC officials said the onus was on the parties to find out when the cut-off date was and to act accordingly.

Yesterday was formally the last day on which parties could change their candidate lists, as well as the last day on which to lodge their supporting signatures.

The Federal Party argued that the first task new parties faced was compiling lists of candidates in the short time available.

Under this pressure, it said, parties could be forgiven if they overlooked the details of the funding requirements or did not canvass for supporting signatures with urgency.

The IEC responded that although it expected parties to be aware of the Electoral Act rules, it was amenable to considering the Federal Party's inquiry.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

FW warns the right wing against occupying towns

B1 Day 17 Feb 1994

PRETORIA — President FW de Klerk warned the right wing yesterday that its plans to occupy certain towns on March 31 in support of a volkstaat would be firmly resisted.

Speaking after a Cabinet meeting in Pretoria, De Klerk said he had heard rumours that members of the AWB and Afrikaner Volksfront were planning, among a number of actions, to "take charge physically of a particular town" on March 31.

He said contingency plans had already been put in place ahead of the "March 31 D-Day" and warned the right wing that government would act firmly against any action which constituted a transgression of the law.

"We will not and dare not allow the constitutional process to be disrupted or undermined by anybody."

Any right-wing attempt to usurp any existing local authority or agen-

ADRIAN HADLAND

cy in the country would amount to a criminal action.

"Any effort to do that will result in the right wing being in contravention of the law," De Klerk said.

Plans had also been made by government, with the TEC, to ensure that "the right of all people in the Natal-KwaZulu area who want to vote is protected".

With a meeting scheduled today of Ciskei's public servants, De Klerk appealed to state employees nationwide not to fear for their careers, salaries, pensions and benefits.

There were 15 public services in SA representing millions of people, he said.

Suddenly these people were feeling insecure and threatened despite the protection afforded to them under the new constitution, he said.

"Your positions are secure, your

pensions are safe," De Klerk assured public servants.

He castigated the leaders and representatives of certain political parties who had urged public servants to demand early pension and benefit payments and who had encouraged uncertainty in the public sector. (3044)

Leaders should be informing their followers of the provisions of the constitution, he said.

De Klerk added that good progress had been made in preparing for the implementation of the constitution following the national elections in April.

Tasks still to be done included the enlargement of the parliamentary chamber for an expanded constituent assembly, a decision on the location of the new Senate, and preparations for the inauguration and election ceremonies.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pta.

Staunchly libertarian party will stay out of your face

THE newly formed Federal Party provides people with an opportunity to vote for a government that will stay out of your face. *17/12/94*

"What sets us apart from other parties is that we don't want to control people's lives," says party leader Francis Kendall.

Kendall is co-author of South Africa: The Solution, which espouses a staunchly libertarian world view advising that almost everything controlled by government should be privatised.

Kendall claims to be a Nobel Peace Prize nominee, although the nomination procedure for the prize places few restrictions on people accepted as nominees.

The party's statement of principles and policy says members will uphold liberty, the people's rights and the principles of federalism. *(20/1/95)*

"We hold that federalism maximises the protection of personal sovereignty and the rights of the people."

The party supports maximum devolution of political powers, numerous democratically determined regional governments, diversity, accountability and limited central government.

"We affirm that we favour freedom above political power, and seek only to ensure that those who govern do so well."

"We are committed to maintaining dignity, democracy and transparency in our activities and a clear and consistent platform."

The party's national chairman is attorney

The Federal Party is highlighted by **TIM COHEN** in this series on the lesser known parties contesting the elections.

ney Gavin Weiman, a DP parliamentary candidate in 1989. Unisa political science lecturer Klerin O'Malley is the party's electoral agent and Sandton Federation of Ratepayers' and Residents' Associations chairman Gail Daus heads its PWV candidates list.

Other members include Eckart Kassier, who was commissioned to write a report on agricultural control boards, Islamic Party general secretary Ary Kahn and Danie Bosman, leader of the Realist Party, which has merged with the Federal Party.

Candidates include former education minister in the House of Representatives Carter Ebrahim and SA Women's Party founder member Georgina Erb.

One of the party's more unusual ideas is that there be more "direct democracy", including obligatory referendums for constitutional changes and optional referendums if a specified number of people object to the passing of a law.

It says there should be at least 20 regions in SA and the central state should deal only with issues that concern the whole country.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Split in CP grows as rebels are suspended

8 to stand for Freedom Front

Political Staff
THE split in the Conservative Party grew today with eight of its MPs being suspended because they will stand for the new Freedom Front in the coming election.

CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg said the party's constitution provided that a supporter's membership ended automatically on his joining another party.

The CP's national executive confirmed the expulsion of the eight MPs at a meeting in Pretoria.

The split began at the weekend when Cape CP leader Willie Botha, MP for Uitenhage, resigned.

Dr Hartzenberg conceded that the pragmatic MPs' departure would weaken the party but once boasted of repelling most Afrikaners.

"I will not regard this as a crisis at the moment. I don't think there will be a split," he said.

The CP is implacably opposed to taking part in the election, but the rebels said a split was now inevitable.

One of them, Pieter Mulder, MP for Schweizer Reneke, was surprised by Dr Hartzenberg's announcement of the suspensions.

He said at a meeting with rebels on Tuesday that Dr Hartzenberg had indicated that two strategies would be allowed in the fight for a Volksraad. Some CP supporters could be allowed to stand for parliament while others would continue with extra-parliamentary pressures.

Another rebel, Joseph Chiole, MP for Pretoria West, confirmed the meeting with Dr Hartzenberg and said the rebels would not leave the party voluntarily because there were

no differences on principles as both parties stood for the Volksraad idea.

It was a question of strategy. Parliament would provide a valuable platform for the right wing.

If the CP persisted in boycotting the election it would become a party no longer taking part in politics.

This would be an odd position for a party that was presenting itself as the political wing of the Afrikaner Volksfront, while the Freedom Front would apply for membership of the Volksfront.

Mr Chiole, one of those who handed in the candidate list of the Freedom Front, confirmed there were eight CP MPs on it, along with Molman Mertz, MP for Errenet.

Among the other rebel MPs are Corne Mulder (Rustenburg), Willem Botha (Uitenhage), Leon Louw (Welkom) and Pieter Groenewald (Stilfontein).

There are 31 names (five in the Western Cape) on the Freedom Front's national assembly list and about 170 (six in the Western Cape) on the provincial list. Some names appear on both lists.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, whose registration lapsed when it did not submit a list of candidates last Friday, is still out of the election race.

Bophuthatswana's Northwest Christian Democratic Party has asked for an extension to submit its lists following former president Lucas Mangope's arrest.

The party's action committee said that if an extension was not granted it would have no option but to withdraw from the election.

(News by T. Weir, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town, and R. Nkomo, 41 St George's Mall, Johannesburg.)

NP of the fifties not the same as party of today

President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela answered On the line questions from readers of The Argus ranging from the removal by the National Party government of coloured voters from the common voters' roll to the ANC's allegations of police involvement in violence.



Mr De Klerk, why did the NP remove the coloured people from the common voters' roll and how can the very same party call on those people to vote for it?

Mr De Klerk: The National Party of today is not the very same party as the NP of the 1950s when the non-white people were removed from the voters' roll. The very fundamental shift in the philosophy and the very nature of the new NP is reflected in the fact that not only does the party actively canvass the

votes of all South Africans regardless of race or colour, but it has opened its membership to all South Africans and people of colour today.

The old NP of the 1950s and 1960s worked on the assumption that it would be possible and beneficial to the country if each ethnic group could have its own political base where it could manage its own affairs.

Because it proved in practice to be impossible to bring about such a state of affairs and, most importantly, because it proved that those policies were the cause of growing and inexcusable injustice, the party reconsidered its very points of departure fundamentally.

It came to the conclusion that the only system which could bring justice to the people of South Africa was an all-inclusive and non-discriminatory democracy.

Once it came to this conclusion, it had the courage of its conviction to admit roundly to the failure of previous ap-

proaches and policies and to set a new course aimed at justice for all.

Mr Mandela, one of the big problems facing this country is population growth. Please would you tell me if the ANC will try to encourage family planning as part of the primary health-care programme?

Mr Mandela: Like any other responsible government, the ANC will obviously continue to assist with family planning as part of our primary health-care programme.

One must be careful, though, of falling into the trap of believing that the answer to population growth begins at the birth control clinic.

The real answer lies in addressing poverty and poor education. Women need to be given the rights and the information to decide for themselves



when and how many children they wish to bring into the world.

Mr Mandela, can you prove that police are responsible for violence in the townships?

Mr Mandela: There are many reasons for the violence in our society. While it can easily be proved that the police have played a key role in developing the culture of violence in our townships, the answer to the problem lies not in individual acts of violence by security forces, but on the apartheid system.

Apartheid is an ideology that was enforced by violence and the main weapon used by the NP was the police force.

In a democratic society, police have a responsibility to keep the peace.

One of the major tasks that will face an ANC government is the promotion of a culture of peace. This we will achieve by addressing the real underlying enemies to peace in our society — poverty and deprivation.

(Compiled by H. S. Robinson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

ANC urges campaign freedom as row rages over disruptions

ARGUMENTS over the disruption of election meetings raged as African National Congress deputy president Walter Sisulu and ANC PWV premier-designate Tokyo Sexwale echoed the calls of ANC president Nelson Mandela for all political parties to be allowed to campaign freely.

Last night they appealed to youths of Soweto not to harass President De Klerk on his election tour of the township today.

Mr Sisulu told a gathering in Soweto that every organisation had a right to canvass wherever they wanted. "Please don't harass him when he comes."

But, when the two leaders announced that Mr De Klerk would visit Soweto, the 3,000-strong crowd sang *U De Klerk asinyani sinyanu Mandela* ("We don't want De Klerk, we want Mandela.")

The calls for political tolerance were supported by ANC Border chairman Smuts Ngonyama who told about 100 people at an election meeting in East London last night that the ANC had openly told the public and party members no one should hinder free and fair political activity.



Meanwhile, police were called to a National Party women's meeting near Port Elizabeth when it was disrupted by a group of chanting and dancing ANC members last night. The demonstrators left

And the Independent Electoral Commission announced that it would issue a court summons to the Inkatha Freedom Party for allegedly breaking campaigning rules for the election.

The charges against the IFP stem from its supporters' disruption of an ANC rally in Umlazi in Natal on Sunday.

Right warned not to attempt town takeovers

POLITICAL STAFF
JOHANNESBURG. — President De Klerk last night warned the right wing that it would be in conflict with the law if it tried to physically "take over" any town's authority on March 31.

Speaking after the government's regular bi-monthly cabinet meeting, he said continuing plans were in place to deal with what "the Conservative Party-cum-Afrikaner Volksfront have in mind for certain towns."

Mr De Klerk would not elaborate on these plans.

"We will act firmly against any action or deed which constitutes a transgression of the law," the State President said.

He said at the Union Buildings that the Afrikaans Weerstandbeweging members involved in crimes in Bophuthatswana last week would be charged in the homeland.

The government was also considering any evidence of the AVF or the AWF having transgressed any South African law.

Referring to the fears of civil servants, Mr De Klerk assured them that their positions were guaranteed in terms of the Interim Constitution.

ON THE LINE

ELECTION 94

On the line, an election service by The Argus, seeks to establish what issues voters feel strongly about. Questions can be phoned to 488 4157. After the electronic signal, please state your name and telephone number, then dictate your question and to which leader it is addressed. Please keep it brief. Names will not be published.

(News by E. Wagon, Johannesburg.)

Love it or hate it, we've finally got a national flag

Star 17/3/94

■ BY CHRISTINA STUCKY

Those who like it say it's a good, diplomatic flag. Those who don't, describe it, at best, as "unimaginative" or, at worst, "as resembling a pair of Y-front underpants".

Like it or not, for the next five years the red, white, blue, black, gold and green flag of the new South Africa will top masts across the country and abroad.

Miss South Africa won't have to parade with a peace flag, South African sportsmen will have something to look up to and schoolchildren something to colour in.

Invitation

The birth of the new national flag was something of a breech birth. An invitation to the public to come up with a design bore no usable fruit. Nor did four advertising agencies and design studios, which were given less than a week for the task. Finally, professionals came to the rescue.

One such professional was Fred Brownell, State herald and convener of the technical working committee appointed by ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa and NP counterpart Roelf Meyer.

"I had a basic idea, which was then refined by the committee," said Brownell, who was involved in the design of the Lesotho and Namibian flags.

He emphasised the design "was not a one-man

show" but a convergence of various people's ideas, symbolising "more than one stream into a single unit".

The four agencies and studios were, however, hesitant in their praise.

"It's very intriguing," said Robyn Putter, chairman and creative director of Ogilvy & Mather, who regretted it made no use of any of South Africa's abundant symbols.

"There's flora and fauna and sunshine — so many things."

Not right

While Peter Kyprianou of HerdBuoys believed the flag "doesn't really create anything" and that it was simply "not right", Hunt Lascaris design director Marc de Jong said: "It's an attractive solution."

Eldad Louw, managing director of Optimum Marketing Communications, felt he "can live" with this flag, but "it's got to grow on you".

De Jong said he hoped the interim flag would not grow on people too much.

One man who wouldn't mind the flag changing after five years is Mike Clingman, director of National Flag, the country's largest flag producer, which also made the prototype of the newly presented flag.

His company will be producing 5 000 flags a week to meet the new demand. And the demand is there, Clingman is convinced. "This is a flag of national unity. A lot more people will be flying it."

The f

NEWS

Outlawing intolerance

Threat to parties by IEC

Star 17/3/94

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — Political parties guilty of intolerance will be charged with Electoral Act offences "within the next few weeks".

Deputy chairman of the powerful Independent Electoral Commission, Dikgang Moseneke, said last night: "Heads will roll in the next few weeks. Some parties will be charged. We will do our damndest to ensure there's fair play."

Moseneke also:

■ Singled out Transkei ruler General Bantu Holomisa's refusal to allow a National Party office in the territory as a breach of the Electoral Act.

■ Criticised Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel's summary declaration of unrest areas, outlawing political activity.

■ Announced that the IEC had launched a campaign, code-named "Operation Access", to secure party canvassers' access to farmworkers.

■ Revealed that IEC chairman Mr Justice Kriegler and he would visit Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi "in the coming few days" to persuade him to allow free political activity in Kwa-

IEC shows itself in a hard light when it threatens charges against political parties for intolerance

Zulu, and to assure him of his right not to participate.

His comments come in the wake of growing controversy over the disruption of political meetings and harassment of politicians and canvassers.

Moseneke acknowledged that the complaints by political parties against their opponents was "an area of great challenge" for the IEC.

■ The IEC displayed its means and clout to manage the electoral process when it launched "Operation Access" in the northern Transvaal yesterday.

The project, aimed at assisting political parties to reach voters, especially in so-called no-go areas, started with the IEC "invading" Pietersburg with a fleet of 10 minibuses with roof speakers and sirens.

(Report by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town, and D Nel, 79 Van Zyl Slabbert Street, Pietersburg)

De Klerk warns Right not to take over towns

17/12/94
(204A)

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

President de Klerk last night warned the right wing that it would be in conflict with the law if it tried to physically take over any town's authority on March 31.

Speaking after the Government's regular bi-monthly Cabinet meeting, he said contingency plans were in place to deal with what "the Conservative Party-cum-Afrikaner Volksfront have in mind for certain towns".

De Klerk would not elaborate on these plans.

"We will act firmly against any action or deed which constitutes a transgression of the law."

He told journalists at the Union Buildings that AWB members who were involved in crimes in Bophuthatswana last week would be charged in the homeland.

The Government was also considering any evidence of the AVF or AWB having transgressed any South African law.

Referring to the fears of civil servants, De Klerk reassured civil servants that their positions were guaranteed in terms of the Interim Constitution.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

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IFP remains out of election race

New woes for CP as MPs quit

Star 17/3/94

(304A) (18)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
and HELEN GRANGE

The Conservative Party was thrown into disarray yesterday when some of the party's key MPs — including former Natal leader Carl Werth and the two Mulder brothers — appeared on the election lists of General Constand Viljoen's breakaway Freedom Front (FF).

Although CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg tried to put a brave face on the internal tensions within his party, he yesterday conceded that the MPs' departure would weaken the party that once boasted it represented most Afrikaners in the country.

"I will not regard this as a crisis at the moment. I don't think there will be a split," Hartzenberg told The Star.

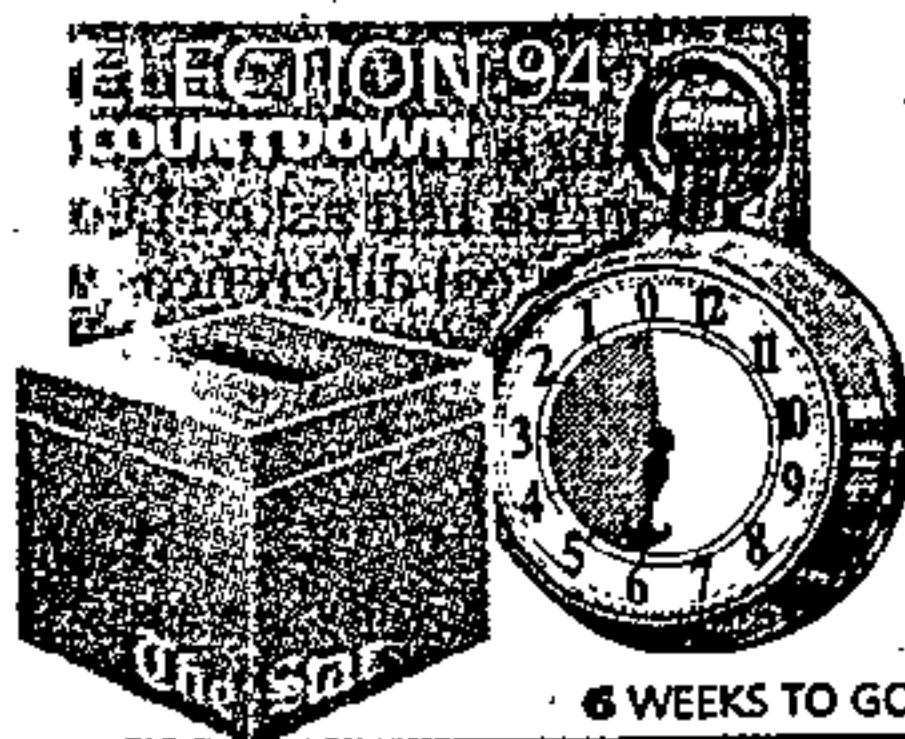
Yesterday was the final deadline for the submission of updated lists for next month's election. Most parties' lists were not considerably altered.

The Inkatha Freedom Party, whose registration lapsed when it did not submit a list of candidates on Friday, is still out of the election race.

Bophuthatswana's North West Christian Democratic Party has requested an extension to submit its lists following reports of former president Lucas Mangope's house arrest yesterday. The party's action committee said that if an extension was not granted, it would have no option but to withdraw from the election.

Hartzenberg yesterday insisted that any CP MP who joined another party or stood as its candidate in the election would automatically be expelled from the CP. Such a per-

**MULDER brothers,
Werth to be expelled
from party after their
names appear on
Viljoen's election list**



son would also lose access to CP facilities and assets.

One of the CP's leading lights, Schweizer-Reneke MP Dr Pieter Mulder, subsequently described Hartzenberg's announcement as "a complete surprise".

Mulder and Pretoria West MP Joseph Chiole said they both wanted to remain CP members and that the CP leader had earlier indicated he would support their participation in the election under an FF banner.

Strategy

The FF registered 30 names on its national list and a total of 168 candidates on its regional list. These include a number of CP members, among them town councillors and MPs.

Included are Dr Corné Mulder, Pieter Groenewald (Stillfontein MP), Leon Louw (Welkom MP), Stillfontein town councillor Louw van Deventer,

Lichtenburg deputy mayor Hans Nel, former Stillfontein councillor Hennie Fourie, former Transvaal MEC Jannie Eeden, Potchefstroom businessman Kobus Botha and Piet Nortjie.

Also believed listed are former CP and Afrikaner Volksunie MP Moolman Mentz, former Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Viljoen, General Tienie Groenewald, General Kobus Visser and a long-serving NP MP.

Outlining the FF's strategy yesterday, Chiole said the party would at some stage seek membership of the CP and AVF.

National Party official Abrie Hannekom said there had been "some juggling" of names on the party's regional legislature lists, but he was not aware of any IFP members on the lists.

In a surprise move, African Christian Democratic Party president Kenneth Mashone said NP MPs Johan van der Westhuizen and Louis Green would appear on his party's national list, as would former PAC and Azapo members.

The ANC has replaced JN Reddy on its National Assembly list with William Roland of the National Council for the Blind.

The Federal Party's candidates include the Association of Hawkers and Informal Business's chief, Lawrence Mavundla.

All candidates' names will be released in a Government Gazette tomorrow, the IEC said.

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)

Strike cripples Lebowa

TEC acts to defuse public service crisis

BIDAY 16/3/94
304A

PRETORIA — The Transitional Executive Council moved yesterday to defuse public service discontent in the homelands, which sparked the collapse of the Bophuthatswana government and has resurfaced in Lebowa.

It agreed to establish a task force whose first responsibility would be to convene a meeting of all heads of departments in all administrations and public servants' organisations to discuss "immediate grievances, fears and aspirations".

And the KwaZulu government has taken action to avert a crisis.

The TEC task force would be charged with participating in the restructuring and rationalisation of the public service and would assure all state workers, police and army personnel that their jobs, salaries and pensions were guaranteed in terms of the 1993 Constitution.

All public servants and security force members had a "vital and indispensable role in the functioning of the democratic SA", the TEC said. It was "acutely aware of the uncertainty current among ranks of public servants and the security forces in all administrations in SA".

The TEC was told yesterday that essential services in Lebowa had ground to a halt following a strike by the territory's police force.

TEC delegates expressed concern that the uncertainty could cause strikes and

civil unrest to spread.

ANC TEC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa said that unless urgent steps were taken, developments "could see the country, in many parts, slide into chaos".

In an urgent letter to the TEC yesterday, Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike said a "crisis" had arisen in the territory.

The Lebowa police force resolved to go on strike from yesterday "until they have been paid their arrear salaries on promotions which have been since reversed by proclamation when the (SA) Land and Regional Affairs Minister (Andre Fourie) took over the administration".

The police had also resolved that as long as their promotions were not granted and increases not paid, "there will be no elections in Lebowa because they will disrupt them".

TEC delegate for Lebowa's United People's Front party, MJ Mahlangu, told the council the territory's entire public service went out on a sympathy strike with the police yesterday, bringing essential services to a halt.

Transkei and Ciskei TEC members Zam Titus and Mickey Webb also warned of simmering discontent. Ramaphosa added that civil servants in KwaZulu were "restive" about their future.

To Page 2

Public service

BIDAY 16/3/94

However, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who earlier this week warned that his administration could be the next target, has acted to avert a crisis in the territory under his control.

Our Political Staff reports that the KwaZulu government issued a circular to various departments informing its 84 000 public servants that salaries and pensions were secure — whether or not the ruling

Inkatha Freedom Party participates in next month's election. (304A)

It reads: "Departments will continue to function after the election until dealt with by a new government of KwaZulu/Natal.... KwaZulu employees will become public servants of the new administration."

Report by A Hadland, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pte, and S Matthewson, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St, Dbn.

IEC tallies its complaints

CT/16/3/74

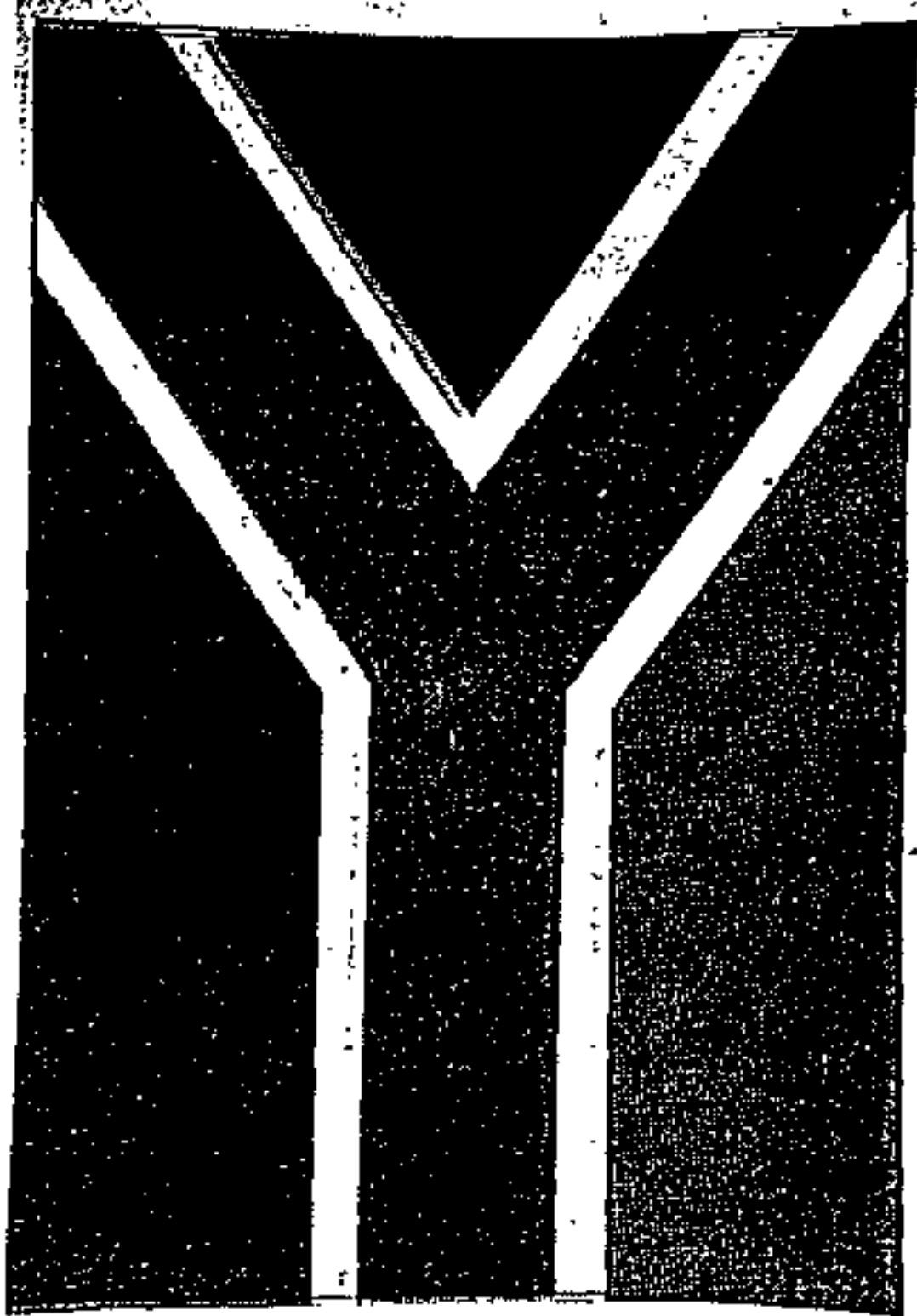
JOHANNESBURG. — The Independent Electoral Commission yesterday said it had received 45 complaints since its inception on February 7.

The IEC's announcement came as squatter leader and National Party election candidate Mr Johnson Ngxobangwana said he would lodge a complaint of intimidation against Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa. (SQUA)

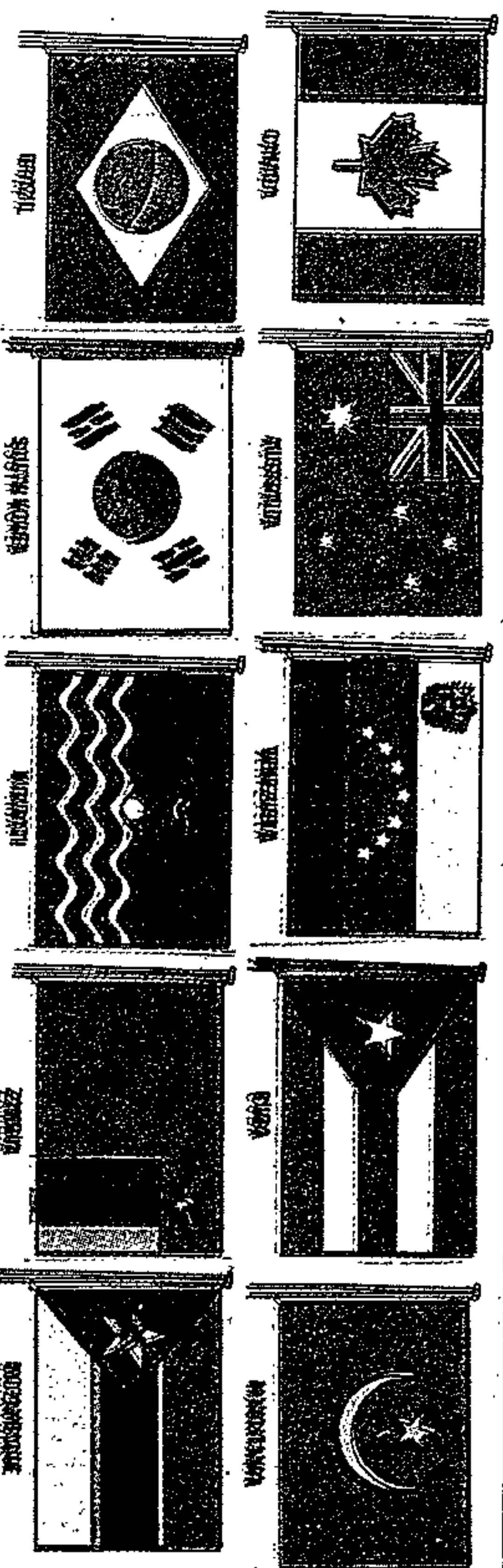
This follows an incident at a meeting on Sunday in Driftsands during which Gen Holomisa's bodyguards allegedly pointed their rifles at ANC supporters.

The IEC said several of the 45 complaints had been settled and it listed 29 complaints of illegal political practice.

The most complaints had been made by the NP, with the ANC a close second. — Political Correspondent, Sapa



HOW DO WE COMPARE? ... South Africa's transitional flag (left) shows a preponderance of colours when compared to some international designs — on the strongly traditional flags of Canada and Australia, as well as the more modern ones of Brazil and South Korea, only two or three dominant colours are used. Noticeable, as well, is the effective use of symbols on these flags.



New flag may be hoisted on April 27

By CHRIS BATEMAN
and CELEAN JACOBSON

THE new South African "flag of transition" yesterday seemed set to be produced in sufficient quantities to be officially hoisted aloft on April 27.

A Cape Times investigation revealed that this would be both legally appropriate and practically possible — and would coincide with the Interim Constitution coming into effect at midnight on April 26.

The managing director of the country's biggest flag factory, Mr Mike Clingman, confirmed he had

begun churning out the first of what he expects to be 5 000 flags per week.

Mr John Reynders, chief of ceremonial affairs in the State President's Office, said the flag and national anthem would legally come into effect on April 27.

There was "no doubt" in his mind that the appropriate decision — production constraints permitting — was to make the official flag change-over at midnight on April 27.

TEC and IEC spokesmen said yesterday that no decision had yet

been made on which flag would fly above the country's 9 000 polling booths and they were unsure as to the "inception date".

The TEC spokesman speculated that the flag was more likely to fly from the date of the inauguration of the new State President.

Mr Clingman said he had received no official state orders by 2pm yesterday.

"Nobody seems to know by when they'll need it — they'd better move or they'll be at the back of the queue," he warned.

TEC NP representative Mr Roelf Meyer said the flag would "grow in

the minds of South Africans".

Sapa reports that the CP has rejected the new South African flag and the second anthem, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika, as national symbols.

City celebrities yesterday panned the new flag, calling it anything from meaningless to a Christmas decoration. However, there were a few comments in its favour — but only as an interim measure.

"It looks like a Christmas decoration," WP rugby captain Tiaan Strauss said, but added he would have no "major problems" playing under it.

"It's awful," Captour chief Mr

Gordon Oliver said.

"It has no meaning or passion behind it," echoed Ms Marilyn Martin, director of the South African National Gallery.

While eccentric artist Vladimir Tretchikoff scorned it for being too complicated, another local artist, Louis Jansen van Vuuren, spoke enthusiastically in its favour.

"On first impression it seemed a bit busy, but once I had looked at it, I was quite thrilled," he said.

Mayor Mrs Patricia Kreiner was concerned that it would not be distinctive enough.

Free at last

CT2/3/94

(199/3049)

TEC allows for Act to be altered

Political Staff

THE TEC yesterday resolved to insert an amendment in the Electoral Act which will allow the State President to amend the legislation by proclamation.

This would have to be done in consultation with the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC).

The TEC also proposed that the period within which a party would be obliged to submit its lists of candidates would be extended from 30 to 35 days after the date of proclamation of the election.

Provide

The resolution was proposed by government delegate Mr Fanie van der Merwe following a unanimous decision by the council's management committee to provide for unforeseen circumstances.

Mr Van der Merwe argued that although it would be unusual to provide for an act of such importance as the Electoral Act to be changed by proclamation, it had become necessary because of many unforeseen technical problems that might arise.

Political Staff

IN a dramatic breakthrough yesterday, Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi announced that his Inkatha Freedom Party would consider provisional registration for next month's election.

International mediators may be called in to settle remaining constitutional differences between the IFP and the ANC.

The announcement came after an exhausting eight-hour summit between Chief Buthezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela in Durban yesterday.

Within hours, Bophuthatswana's chief negotiator, Mr Rowan Cronje, said the homeland would also consider registering for the election if there was international mediation to resolve its problems. He described the announcement as "most encouraging".

Consultations

Inkatha's decision rocked its Freedom Alliance partners and prompted urgent moves to convene an Alliance leadership summit by as early as tomorrow.

Some members of the government also seemed to have been caught off-guard by developments.

While President F W de Klerk was locked in urgent consultations at Waterkloof air base outside Pretoria last night, his Minister of Constitutional Development, Mr Roelf Meyer, met members of the government's constitutional committee in Cape Town.

In Parliament, Minister of Home Affairs Mr Danie Schutte, replying in debate on the Electoral Amendment Bill, described the IFP leader's decision as "monstrous".

At a press conference after the talks in Durban, Mr Mandela and Chief Buthezi smiled and reaffirmed their friendship.

"I feel very warm inside," said Mr Mandela. "We have made solid progress."

"I came here in high spirits and I am leaving in even higher spirits."

Chief Buthezi added: "This was not just a diplomatic exercise. Fruitful discussions have taken place."

Although there were only three days left for the IFP to register, Mr Mandela said "in discussions such as this there can be no such things as deadlines — not even April 27."

"We will continue searching for solutions after April 27 if we don't reach them by then."



FRIENDS, PROVISIONALLY... IFP Chief Mangosuthu Buthezi and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela break into laughter at a press conference in Durban yesterday where Inkatha's agreement to consider provisional registration for the election was announced.

Both leaders recommended themselves to seeking a "swift" end to the violence between their supporters and said they would fulfil the promise made at their last meeting in June 1993, to share joint public platforms.

It was also agreed to establish a special task group to strengthen peace committees and improve communication between the ANC and IFP.

Chief Buthezi said the "friendship, love and cordiality" he and Mr Mandela displayed could set an example to people on the ground and "that is why it is important for us to address rallies together".

The two parties agreed to recognise the right of people to vote or not to do so.

The outcome was in stark contrast to the mood at the beginning of the talks when Chief Buthezi accused Mr Mandela of negotiating in bad faith.

Chief Buthezi agreed last night to ask his party's central committee to decide whether to register provisionally pending the outcome of further negotiations.

He added: "I will not take all this trouble" in continuing to negotiate with the ANC and the government "if we weren't determined to enter the elections".

However, the Freedom Alliance's bottom-line demands, presented in December, would have to be met before the IFP contested the election.

"Provisional registration is just that. It implies that there is no decision to participate but I will put it to the central committee that there should be provisional registration," Chief Buthezi said.

He said the IFP had not yet started campaigning for the election but indicated that it was not yet too late for it to start.

"It is only fair, though, that we be given a little space."

A joint statement released read: "In an effort to resolve outstanding constitutional deadlocks, the parties agreed to explore, with their principals, the possibility of international mediation and in this regard the IFP would consider provisional registration in terms of the Electoral Act."

Mr Mandela said it had not been decided who would be involved in mediation, but the individuals or nation chosen would have to "satisfy both of us and there must be a guarantee of impartiality".

Chief Buthezi said they had discussed "the way negotiations had gone" but neither would give details of specific constitutional differences that had been resolved.

The government initially appeared positive about the development last night but later became cautious because of confusion over the involvement of international mediators and "mixed signals" from Durban.

Mr Schutte said he was "very pleased because it means that 90% of the electorate can participate in the election".

Asked if this meant other Alliance parties might follow Inkatha's example, he said: "Definitely. I have great appreciation for this decision."

Freedom Alliance chairman Mr Cronje said last night that the provisional registration of all Alliance parties was "a possibility" but that this would depend on the outcome of a meeting he was attempting to organise by tomorrow.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg did not want to be drawn on whether his party would follow suit. "This is something we will have to discuss."

TEC to get tough with KwaZulu

Sowetan Correspondent

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday authorised tough security action, including declaring a state of emergency, in KwaZulu/Natal to ensure that next month's election went ahead as scheduled even in that strife-torn province. (30/4/94) (12/5/94)

The TEC, whose meeting came a day after the Zulu march which ended tragically in Johannesburg on Monday, sent a strong message to those intent on disrupting the election in Natal.

It said "intensified security action" was now necessary to secure the safety of those who wanted to exercise their right to vote in the country's first all-race election.

This action, to be implemented soon, will include a declaration of a state of emergency or proclamation of unrest areas, either throughout or in some parts of the province. However, this was not to interfere with normal political electioneering in the weeks that lay ahead.

The Government, the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission would constantly review the recommended use of special security powers.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" the election would go ahead throughout the country on the days agreed upon.

Various speakers on the council floor expressed grave disappointment with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's decision to ask for a postponement of today's crucial meeting which would have included President FW de Klerk, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. They strongly appealed to Zwelithini to reconsider his decision and attend the meeting.

In another development, the TEC's sub-committee which investigated allegations of "hit-squad" activities within the KwaZulu police yesterday recommended that its second interim report be submitted to a team which will probe these allegations further.

● See page 8.

Election optimism soars after IFP, Bop think again

(3044)

ARG 2/3/94

**MICHAEL MORRIS
and CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Staff**

POLITICAL optimism has soared with the prospect of the Inkatha Freedom Party and Bophuthatswana joining the transition to democracy in next month's election.

The dramatic shift, the most significant development in months, comes as the special session of parliament draws to a close today.

Parliament will vote on key amendments to the interim

constitution and the Electoral Act — including strengthening and guaranteeing regional powers, entrenching the principle of self-determination and introducing the double ballot.

The IFP and Bophuthatswana are to consider registering provisionally for the election and have until Friday to do so.

The breakthrough came after several hours of talks between ANC president Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban

yesterday.

Both parties have agreed to explore possible international mediation to resolve outstanding disputes.

Chief Buthelezi said: "Provisional (registration) means it leaves our options open. If a solution is found, it makes it possible for us to participate."

Mr Mandela said: "We have laid the ground plan for future progress."

(News by M Morris and C Whitfield, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

● More politics, page 5

ANC and IFP youth follow elders

Political Staff

ANOTHER significant meeting between the African National Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party takes place in Durban on Friday, this time be-

tween the national executive committees of the ANC Youth League and the Inkatha Youth Brigade.

The meeting would explore the role of youth, according to a joint statement.

Bill gets go-ahead

THE Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Amendment Bill was carried by 115 votes to 33.

Dissenting parties in the Assembly vote yesterday were the IFP, CP and AVF.

The NP and DP supported the bill. — Sapa.

late pressure

(3049) #CT 4/3/94

ing hope that will register

ut President F W de Klerk last it suggested that it was too to bring in international me- ors to break the deadlock and eated his stand that he was osed to the election date be- changed.

business lunch that if the ANC and the government, regarded April 27 as "sacrosanct" and un- changeable, "then we are back to square one."

IP BACKS KING'S CAUSE, SAYS FW

— PAGE 2

ing. "Time is of the essence. ing in new people who will e to study the situation with e time.

allowed more time for their elec- tion campaigns," he said. Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said that of paramount importance was not election dates and regis- tration deadlines, but that the right constitutional solution be found through international me- diation.



NEW DATE PLEASE International mediation could mean the entry of the Freedom Alliance into elections, but yesterday Freedom Alliance leaders M. Lucas Mangope, president of Bophuthatswana Conservative Party leader Dr. Ferdie Hartzenberg, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief

Ambassadors meet Freedom Alliance

81 Day 313/94

PRETORIA — An ambassadorial delegation representing the 12 European Union (EU) countries met Freedom Alliance leaders in Pretoria yesterday to discuss the possibility of the alliance taking part in the elections.

Ambassador Pericles Tsamoulis of Greece, which holds the current EU presidency, said the prospects of the Bophuthatswana government, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner Volksfront taking part in the poll were "not bad".

In his personal opinion, doubts still remained about the CP's participation.

The attitude of Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje and Afrikaner Volksfront director Tienie Groenewald was "less hardline than had been expected", he said.

There was still time to include the alliance parties in the poll, Tsamoulis said.

The EU group had met the alliance to give advice, express great interest in events unfolding in SA and find out whether any way existed to accommodate the alliance in the election.

Meanwhile, future relations between the EU and SA were discussed yesterday in a meeting between Dutch Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers and the TEC's foreign affairs and defence subcouncils.

Lubbers said the Dutch government and the EU would continue to provide support and assistance to SA when a government of national unity had been elected, said a TEC

ADRIAN HADLAND

spokesman. *(204A)*

Sapa reports that in a letter to Cronje, the European Union said it welcomed the initiatives aimed at consolidating the democratic foundations of SA.

The Organisation of African Unity observer mission in SA has welcomed the outcome of the summit between Mandela and Buthelezi. Mission spokesman Sam Ibok said OAU secretary-general Salim Ahmed Salim would meet Mandela in Umtata on Thursday.

Zimbabwean Foreign Minister Nathan Shamuyarira said in Harare yesterday Zimbabwe was urging Inkatha to take part in the April election to ensure that Afrikaner right-wingers were isolated, Ziana news agency reports.

□ China will consider establishing full diplomatic relations with SA only if the next government reviews its relationship with Taiwan, China's Foreign Affairs Deputy Minister Tian Zengpei said on Tuesday.

Nigeria has sent five diplomats to Pretoria to open a mission, and intends to send another team of officials to open a consular office in Johannesburg, the foreign ministry said in Lagos yesterday.

The Philippines said yesterday it had established diplomatic relations with SA and announced the opening an embassy.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pta, and P Bulger and A Thomson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

TEC calls for 'emergency' in KwaZulu

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday vowed to fight the ANC "to the finish", unless the elections were postponed — as the Transitional Executive Council recommended emergency measures in KwaZulu/Natal.

A state of emergency encompassing the whole of Natal and KwaZulu would be proclaimed by the President within the next few days, the TEC agreed.

The declaration, accompanied by the incremental deployment of SADF troops, was intended to halt the escalation of violence in the region as well as ensure free and fair elections next month.

However, a government spokesman warned against hasty action, saying the TEC "should rather wait for the outcome of the summit meeting between leaders that is definitely taking place next week".

The meeting between President FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela, Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, had been due to start today. It was postponed at the king's request and will now take place next week. This came after a flurry of telephone calls between the leaders yesterday following Monday's mayhem in Johannesburg.

In an uncompromising statement Buthelezi referred to the killings outside the ANC's Johannesburg headquarters as the "Shell House massacre... paralleled only by police action at Sharpeville".

"The Shell House massacre shows that we have now entered a final struggle to the finish between the ANC and the Zulu nation, unless there is an extension of the voting date deadline to enable a negotiated settlement regarding the question of Zulu

TIM COHEN, ADRIAN HADLAND
and DAVID GREYBE

sovereignty to be worked out before elections take place," he said.

Buthelezi said he could not stand before his king and report that as chief minister and Inkatha leader he had taken no action other than calling for an inquiry.

He had reports "of Zulus massing at hostels in Johannesburg and Zulus travelling up to Johannesburg to stand by their comrades". If the elected leaders of these people did not take action, "there is no saying what the people will do in taking the law into their own hands", he warned.

What has taken place in KwaZulu and Transvaal so far "are only precursors of what will yet come", he said. April 27 would be declared a "national Zulu day of mourning for those who died".

The government spokesman said government had hoped the leaders could meet this week. De Klerk was "extremely concerned and would make every endeavour possible to bring the major two protagonists to some sort of agreement to prevent further violence" so that free and fair elections could proceed.

However, achieving this depended on leaders' ability to control their supporters, an end to calls for mass action and no further rash and inflammatory statements about war. An agreement at the summit meeting would prevent the necessity for the action envisaged by the TEC, he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The elections will proceed and the ANC will take whatever steps necessary to prevent a war." The ANC had taken note of Buthe-

To Page 2

KwaZulu

lezi's hardline statement.

In his letter to De Klerk, Zwelithini referred to Monday's events, saying "the slaughter of the innocent will reverberate around Zulu society for a long time".

It would be inappropriate to hold discussions before the Zulu bereaved had buried their dead and there should be a moratorium on negotiations "until such time as the fierce anger has abated somewhat".

He suggested the meeting take place after the Easter weekend.

An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said the organisation was legally bound to make preparations for the election in Natal and Buthelezi's comments did not alter that responsibility.

The TEC said it was "convinced and determined" that the elections would take place as planned "throughout SA".

Government TEC delegate Roelf Meyer said the decision was not aimed at any organisation or political grouping but to "ensure every person who wants to vote is

allowed this right". The state of emergency formed part of a "package" that would allow negotiations to continue.

TEC joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said regulations for the state of emergency were being drafted in conjunction with the TEC's law and order subcouncil. While the proclamation would fall under the Public Safety Act, the new regulations would allow for political activities and campaigning to continue.

No indication of the numbers of troops to be despatched to Natal was given, although Maharaj said deployments had begun already. The security forces' special powers would be reviewed by government, the TEC and the IEC.

ANC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa said the steps had been taken to prevent Natal sliding into a "bottomless abyss of death and destruction".

Report by T Cohen, A Hadland and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

See Page 14

From page 1

joint ANC/IFP task force be established to address details of the proposal. (304A)

In another move, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said last night he had offered to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to discuss the issue of a separate Zulu kingdom. CT 4/3/94

Mr Mandela said he had indicated to Chief Buthelezi that this was a matter he was prepared to discuss directly with the king and asked Chief Buthelezi to arrange a meeting.

"We are awaiting a response," Mr Mandela said.

But Chief Buthelezi was adamant yesterday that the Alliance as a whole, as well as the government, meet the ANC to resolve the terms of reference of the mediation exercise.

Mr De Klerk, on the campaign trail in Natal, complained that the government had not been consulted "at all" about the international mediation question.

He said he could only agree to foreign intervention once he had seen the Alliance's "specific proposals".

Heat

● Postponing the April 27 election date could increase the "political heat" and should be avoided, National Peace Secretariat chairman Dr Antonie Gildenhuys said last night.

But, he added during an interview on the Agenda actuality programme, if postponement was necessary for peace then it should be considered.

Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), said there was a "groundswell of anticipation" of the expected election dates and the IEC had recommended to the TEC that they do not "tamper" with the dates.

The IEC has indicated that negotiations could be extended by another week before logistics like the printing of ballot papers ruled out the late registration of parties.

Poll date pressures

Mounting hope that Alliance will register

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

HOPES were high yesterday that the Freedom Alliance parties would register for the elections in time to beat the mid-night deadline tonight.

This follows the ANC decision yesterday to back the IFP's call for international mediation to break the negotiations logjam.

At the same time, pressure for the poll dates to be shifted mounted with all Alliance leaders serving notice, after yesterday's crisis summit in Cape Town, that they regarded a postponement of the April 26-28 election dates as important.

Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi expressed his delight at the ANC's national working committee supporting his mediation proposal and said the next step was the convening of an urgent Alliance/ANC/government meeting to sort out mediation "specifics".

The IFP leader said he would personally be willing to start campaigning for the elections once the frame of reference of such international mediation had been agreed.

But President F W de Klerk last night suggested that it was too late to bring in international mediators to break the deadlock and repeated his stand that he was opposed to the election date being changed.

He told a meeting in Natal that he had "serious reservations" about the mediation proposal.

NP BACKS KING'S CAUSE, SAYS FW

— PAGE 2

adding: "Time is of the essence. Bringing in new people, who will have to study the situation will take time."

The IFP's central committee meets in Ulundi this morning to decide on provisional registration for the poll, and Alliance negotiators — who yesterday also warmly endorsed the principle of international mediation — said that if the IFP took the plunge "we will probably follow".

However, all four Alliance leaders were adamant that time demands of mediation and election campaigning necessitated a rethink on election-related deadlines.

Chief Buthelezi bluntly told a

business lunch that if the ANC and the government regarded April 27 as "sacrosanct" and unchangeable, "then we are back to square one".

If there was an inclusive constitutional settlement and non-Alliance parties wanted to "play fair" then it should be "almost automatic" that Alliance parties be allowed more time for their election campaigns, he said.

Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said that of paramount importance was not election dates and registration deadlines but that the right constitutional solutions be found through international mediation.

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg also called for election deadlines to be put on hold until negotiations had run their course.

He would not be drawn on whether the CP would provisionally register for the election today, but reiterated the Alliance's new "bottom line" position: "The whole matter of registration is connected to mediation."

The ANC, after announcing its acceptance of international mediation for resolving the constitutional deadlock, proposed that a



NEW DATE, PLEASE ... International mediation could mean the entry of the Freedom Alliance into elections, but yesterday Freedom Alliance leaders Mr Lucas Mangope, president of Bophuthatswana, Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and chief Alliance negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje, asked for a change in the election date.

3049 #CT 4/3/94

Election goes ahead without Inkatha, insists electoral

THE election is to go ahead on April 27

without the Inkatha Freedom Party. "And that is final," an Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said.

He said the R17m printing contract for 80-million ballot papers had been finalised and Inkatha's name deleted.

However, he could not "with certainty" confirm that London printer De la Rue worked on weekends. "For our purposes it started printing on Saturday and no changes can now be made."

He said that the schedule was not very flexible because the ballot forms had to be delivered to SA embassies and missions in 80 countries and to 9 000 polling stations

before April 26.

But talks to get international mediation going are continuing. If agreements are reached on constitutional changes, these would be implemented after the elections.

Inkatha national chairman Frank Mdlalose said on Saturday that his party's central committee had decided not to contest the April election until "we have a proper constitution." He said Inkatha would campaign for a boycott.

Another Inkatha source said the full-page advertisement in a Sunday newspaper was in line with this decision. It states that people should vote for Inkatha "when the time comes." "We remain committed

BILLY PADDOCK

to deliver a constitution which will ensure free and fair elections and lasting peace for all," the ad said.

An ANC negotiator in mediation talks said Inkatha had failed to register. "We tried to get them in before Friday's deadline but they were not interested. Now it is too late and they will not be on the ballot form." But mediation would continue.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus confirmed this view and said any changes to the constitution as a result of international mediation were always only going to be implemented after the election.

Nelson Mandela always said that mediation was not simply linked to participation. Inkatha has problems with the constitution and we want to deal with these constructively. Everything continues — the election goes ahead, mediation goes ahead and campaigning continues with Inkatha not interfering with people's right to vote if they choose," Niehaus said.

However, Inkatha central committee member Walter Felgate took a firmer line and said that a postponement of the election date and other deadlines were top of the mediation agenda.

He said the fact that Inkatha was not on the ballot form did not mean it would not

participate at all. It was pushing for changes in the election date, and, if this happened it could change the ballot form. However, the ANC and government are adamant that the election date is final.

One ANC source said that it was important to continue with mediation because "we want to delay for as long as possible a crunch decision as this leads to greater risks of violence and intimidation at the elections".

He hoped that Inkatha would allow free political activity, and if it did not, the IEC, TEC and government would have to ensure that this was done.

Report by W Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

commission

HOVERING malevolently over the new phase of talks between the ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party is the issue of the election date.

ANC president Nelson Mandela has repeatedly said a postponement cannot be contemplated. His Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi has stopped short of demanding that it must be. But he talks, as tirelessly, of a need for flexibility in the election timetable. If deadlines — rather than the constitutional questions in dispute — become the issue we are wasting our time, Buthelezi argues, not unreasonably.

Both Mandela and Buthelezi are, in their own way, correct. Neither can possibly take a different view at this stage.

The ANC has staked its reputation on an April 27 election, and if its supporters see it beginning to waver in response to Inkatha pressure — while Inkatha remains uncommitted to participation in the poll — the consequences would be unthinkable.

In the meantime, there continues a huge struggle within Inkatha. Frank Mdlalose is back in negotiations after an almost three-month absence due to injuries sustained in a motor accident. So is Joe Matthews, who was out of the limelight for a period. Both clearly favour a compromise settlement and participation. At the same time, Buthelezi's key adviser, Walter Felgate, appears to remain sceptical of, or even hostile to, the prospect of international mediation facilitating a settlement.

None of this gives any indication whatsoever of which course Buthelezi is intent on. There is only one certainty: that mediation, should it occur, will produce an outcome which forces some further concessions from the ANC on regional powers, and that outcome will be something less than Inkatha's ideal.

This will pose for Buthelezi a political choice (and, in the end, it is Buthelezi's will that counts in Inkatha). Does he accept an imperfect compromise as the likes of Mdlalose would be inclined to do? This implies acceptance of the notion that, as under more or less pure federations the world over, regions and the centre

Shhh . . . this is no time to talk about postponing the poll

ALAN FINE

remain involved in a constant struggle to win further power from the other. Buthelezi's second option is to find a pretext among the numerous constitutional imperfections to avoid testing his support at the polls.

There is one critical feature of Buthelezi's demand for mediation that is being lost sight of — not least by President F.W. de Klerk, who seems hostile to the idea, and the ANC, which is sceptical about its potential.

From Buthelezi's perspective, Codesa and its 1993 no-name brand successor were creations of an ANC/NP conspiracy, structurally designed to weaken unfairly the position of smaller parties like Inkatha. Mediation, in contrast, will provide Buthelezi and Inkatha with, for the first time, a forum of which they were the initiators and primary architects, and in which they will, therefore, be more comfortable.

In some respects, the value of a self-built forum may be a mirage — the constitutional issues in dispute have not changed. It may have more to do with personal or organisational ego than substance. But in this respect, Buthelezi and Inkatha are no worse than any other mainstream politician or interest group.

And this is why mediation, as a possible last-gasp route to a settlement, should be taken seriously by both the ANC and NP. It may be that

there was never a chance of a deal. But the potential consequences of deadlock are a driving reason for pursuing a settlement until the last possible moment — up until the election and, if necessary, beyond.

Which returns us to the question of the election date. One of the few reasons for hope that Inkatha may seriously be seeking a settlement has been Buthelezi's uncharacteristically delicate handling of the issue. He could easily have made it an early stumbling block,

which would have nipped the mediation process in the bud. Instead, he appears to have recognised and acknowledged the ANC's sensitive position on the matter.

And the ANC's position is, and must unavoidably be, that the election date is absolutely immovable and any amendment out of the question — for now at least.

There would seem to be only one, strictly defined, scenario under which that could change, and timing is still of the essence.



Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the ANC's Nelson Mandela

First, it would require sufficient progress to be made in mediation over the next few weeks for Inkatha to make an unconditional commitment to participation in the election, and acceptance of its outcome if the Independent Electoral Commission deems it to have been free and fair.

Second, Inkatha would have to provide a very good reason why a delay is necessary in the interests of fairness. After all, with its media advertisements and plethora of public meetings, it has been running an election campaign even before it has committed itself to participation. Alternatively, the timing of a settlement or near-settlement would have to be such that it would be logistically impossible to hold the election on time if Inkatha is to be able to carry out its undertaking to participate.

Even under these circumstances, it is difficult to contemplate a postponement of more than, say, a month.

Let there be no illusions about the costs of a postponement. It would delay a possible resurgence of business confidence. It could cost the fiscus tens of millions of rands. Ballot papers may have to be reprinted. It may even be necessary to add to the state fund on which parties are drawing, to enable them to stretch their campaigns into the extended electioneering period. It would certainly inconvenience hundreds of foreign journalists and dignitaries who have made plans to be in SA for the election and inauguration of the next government.

But these costs pale into insignificance next to the social and macro-economic costs over the next five or 10 years of a non-inclusive election which could have been avoided had there been a little more patience.

Nevertheless, the circumstances described here are the only ones under which an election postponement could be contemplated. And public contemplation can begin only once these events have occurred.

So, rather than acknowledge the possibility, it would be best, for now, for the ANC, the NP and everyone else involved to deny (as with changes to the constitutional court and the double ballot) that it could possibly happen. — I-Net.

AVF, IFP are in

Freedom to exercise our options — Viljoen

#PCJ5/3/94 (304A)

THE Afrikaner Volksfront and the Inkatha Freedom Party conditionally registered to contest the April election last night.

The AVF, which leader General Constand Viljoen registered as the Freedom Front, made the midnight cut-off with just 15 minutes to spare. In a statement Gen Viljoen said: "I realised that the freedom to exercise the strategic options of the Afrikaner people would be severely restricted if we did not register provisionally. "Due to the limited time available, this decision could not be approved in advance by the Afrikaner Volksfront," the statement added.

"As the Inkatha Freedom Party has indicated, the registration does not imply that we are in any way recognising the 1993 constitution, but register only in anticipation of possible results of negotiations or international mediation."

Mediation

He hoped this international mediation would point out the flaws in the current constitutional process and help in achieving a volkstaat. "This decision leaves the Afrikaner nation with the option to prove substantial support if, and only if, there are sufficient concessions which indeed make our ultimate goal of an Afrikaner volkstaat attainable."

Gen Viljoen said the decision would be submitted to AVF decision-making structures for approval at the first opportunity.

The IFP delegation, headed by national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, arrived at the World Trade Centre at 9:05pm to register.

After a marathon seven-hour central committee meeting yesterday, the IFP said it would register to contest the poll — but only pending international mediation on amending the constitution and "rationalising" electoral timetables.

The IFP said it would "seek the agreement and co-operation" of its Alliance partners in "developing a satisfactory way forward". CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday it was not feasible to change his party's earlier decision to boycott the poll because it was impossible to get together all those involved at such short notice.

He said that recent constitutional

concessions on "self-determination" were in any case not enough to make the party reconsider its decision.

Bophuthatswana spokesman Mr Rowan Cronje welcomed the IFP decision, but said his government would not be able to make the deadline as a crippling strike in the homeland had made it "physically impossible" to convene a cabinet to decide on registration.

After talks with AVF leaders yesterday Mr Thabo Mbeki indicated that the ANC would be prepared to accept an extension of the midnight deadline provided the election went ahead as planned on April 27.

Last night the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said that from a "technical" and "practical" point of view the late registrations of parties for the election could be accepted by the IEC until 4pm this afternoon.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said at the World Trade Centre from a legal point of view, however, the midnight cut-off remained in place. He said it was imperative that the IEC finalised its registration by this afternoon, to enable it to have the ballot papers printed and ready for the April 28-29 election. (See Page 2).

Earlier IEC spokesman Mr Pieter Cronje said no grace period could be granted.

Welcomed

The draw to determine the order of political parties on the ballot paper will be broadcast live today during the 7:30am news bulletin on TV1.

Parties have to lodge their lists of electoral candidates with the IEC by Wednesday.

President F W de Klerk welcomed the IFP's decision last night, saying it indicated the "strong possibility" of Inkatha's participation in the election.

After its central committee meeting yesterday, the IFP said it was not demanding a postponement of the April election, but wanted mediation on this deadline to ensure that all parties could contest the elections on an equal footing.

To page 2



BIG CHEESE... This southern-right whale flashed a grin at delighted bystanders at Llandudno yesterday morning who watched for several minutes as it breached close to shore.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Dimension Fitness



From page 1

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said it was "mutually contradictory" to say that international mediation should take place and that the election should go ahead on April 27. Mediation was a good idea but there was no time for it, he said.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told reporters at a briefing he would only begin electioneering once there had been mediation, Sapa reports.

● In addition to the AVF (registered as the Freedom Front) and the IFP, six other parties registered last night, bringing the total number of parties which intend to contest the election to 29.

Two of these are the New Federal Party, led by Ms Frances Kendall, and the Africa Muslim Party led by Dr Imtiaz Sooliman. The other parties had not been named at the time of going to press. — Political Correspondent, Sapa

CP and Volksfront deny split

Alliance joins Inkatha push for mediation

Biday 4/13/94

THE Freedom Alliance, including the CP, yesterday backed the call for international mediation.

The ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said a joint task group should be set up urgently to work out the terms of reference for mediation in SA's constitutional disputes.

After a Freedom Alliance crisis meeting in Cape Town, Buthelezi said that as soon as this was done, he would begin his election campaign.

But this would depend on the Inkatha central committee's decision today on provisional registration.

The leaders of other alliance parties indicated that should Inkatha decide to register, they would also provisionally register for the election, nipping in the bud suggestions by some CP members that they might break away and register another party to fight the election.

On a day of frantic political manoeuvring, the CP fiercely denied that a split in the party was imminent and ANC president Nelson Mandela announced that he would meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini to discuss a separate Zulu kingdom.

"I indicated to Mr Buthelezi this was a matter we were prepared to discuss directly with the king and we requested Mr Buthelezi to arrange a meeting. We are awaiting a response," Mandela said.

Meanwhile, President FW de Klerk stood alone in pouring cold water on the idea of mediation. He indicated that he was upset about not being consulted before Mandela and Buthelezi's meeting.

"I have serious reservations about international mediation at this stage. Time is of

Political Staff

the essence," he said in Durban.

"This sudden lackadaisical approach does not impress me at all. I am not negative, I am ready to start negotiating tomorrow to strike an accord to be implemented after the election." (204A)

He was disappointed in the alliance's negative reaction to the constitutional amendments passed in Parliament this week. "Their reaction was inadequate because the amendments addressed the heart of the problems." (413)

He accused the alliance of "playing games" and said: "Government has not been consulted at all about the proposal which is the product of Tuesday's summit." He said there has been "a lot of loose talk". He described the alliance's support for mediation as "a flyer, which had not been discussed in intense negotiations over the past weeks".

CP chief secretary Lem Theron said there was "absolute solidarity" in the ranks of his party.

The Afrikaner Volksfront also denied that there was "any talk" of a split in its ranks, saying the NP media was "usually inclined to reach new heights of the imagination shortly before the elections".

A variety of CP MPs, who had been reportedly considering participating in the election, also issued statements denying that a split was imminent.

Meanwhile, the ANC agreed to set up a task group with Inkatha to work out the terms of reference of international mediation and who the mediators should be.

□ To Page 2

Alliance

Biday 4/13/94

Buthelezi also said Inkatha, the ANC and government would have to get together to work out the nuts and bolts and the brief to be given to international mediators.

Once the frame of reference had been set, he personally would be willing to start campaigning for the election.

He put no time limit on mediation but said it was urgent. "Only this international mediation might open a new chapter."

The substance of constitutional deadlocks, rather than deadlines, should determine their resolution. (204A)

"If the attitude is that it is deadlines rather than solutions, it means we can't make progress," Buthelezi told businessmen in Cape Town. (413)

He said he would prefer international mediation to be conducted by constitutional law experts. "My demand for international mediation is based on my belief that the 1993 constitution will not be able to

stand up to any international scrutiny.

"We in Inkatha have always maintained that it represents nothing more than the outcome of the record of understanding signed between the ANC and government."

Buthelezi argued that there was no reason why the election could not be postponed but stressed that this was not a new condition he was putting forward.

"I dispute that the date cannot be changed. If there was fair play, the elections would be postponed," he said. He did not, however, want to make this an "emotional issue. The issue is mediation because there's a deadlock, and not the election."

The ANC's national working committee said it had received a full report of Tuesday's meeting and welcomed its outcome.

Report by T Cohen, D Greybe and E West, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and B MacLennan and D van Zyl, Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town.

● See Pages 4, 6 and 10

Nationalist reforms were not acts of goodwill

■ During its 45-year apartheid rule, the National Party uprooted many black and coloured families from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act. Among many democracy-stifling acts, the NP also denied black people the right of franchise. The NP also dealt harshly with its opponents. But now, in a ploy to win the votes of the people it used to oppress, the new NP presents itself as a "liberator". Weekend Argus Reporter **VUYO BAVUMA** investigates.

WHEN Nelson Mandela lit the symbolic "Flame of Freedom" outside the Victor Verster prison in Paarl recently, the National Party claimed in several newspaper advertisements that the African National Congress leader was honouring President De Klerk for releasing him from jail four years ago.

Not only was the claim untrue because it was highly unlikely that the 75-year-old, anti-apartheid veteran would have honoured a government that jailed him for 27 years, it also revealed the National Party's ploy of portraying itself as the new "liberator" in a bid to woo the votes of the people it used to oppress.

So says University of the Western Cape political scientist Vincent Maphai.

He adds that the new NP, now boasting a few black and coloured faces in its midst, has shown deft skills in mimicking struggle cultural antics, he says.

At recent NP election rallies, shouts such as "Viva De Klerk! and Viva NP!" and *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika*, have replaced the Afrikaans *liedjies* such as *Sarie Marais* that were so popular at the then whites-only gatherings.

In line with the new image, the NP also presents itself as having "voluntarily" embarked on the reform course from 1990 as if it suddenly had a huge change of heart.

But, a closer look at South African protest politics reveals a different picture.

Since the watershed 1976 protest politics, South Africa was never the same.

In the 1980s, the anti-apartheid activists, buttressed by a network of international sympathisers, braved the NP's web of repression.

Thousands of anti-apartheid activists were detained and many were jailed. Others were shot at as the police did their best to suppress the spreading rebellion.

The army was brought in to quell the township unrest, but the protests did not end — instead, they spread.

The townships continued to become more militant and ungovernable with the activists fighting tooth-and-nail against the hated puppet system of black councillors.

On the military front, the SA Defence Force launched intermittent "pre-emptive strikes" into neighbouring countries, but these failed to muffle the threat of the armies of the black liberation movements, who, in spite of their own assurances, could not withstand a face-to-face combat with the

WEEKEND Argus

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Zulus taken to the brink

ZULU king Goodwill Zwelethini could hardly have come closer to declaring UDI than he did when he addressed several thousand Zulus in Ulundi yesterday.

He said: "I call on all Zulus to unite in the name of the kingdom of KwaZulu. I call on all Zulus to fulfil their sacred duty to defend our freedom and sovereignty to anyone in southern Africa who dares to challenge it."

He alleged State President F W de Klerk's "contingency plans" for the KwaZulu/Natal region entailed the deployment of security forces "to clamp down on my people should they choose not to participate in the elections".

Elections under the interim constitution were "an immediate denial of our claim for sovereignty and self-determination", he said.

"I find it quite impossible to recommend that any of my subjects who are loyal to the throne should participate in the forthcoming election, unless this matter (a sovereign Zulu kingdom) is settled. Under the terms of a final proposal of the South African government, the Zulu nation and the kingdom of KwaZulu are left at the mercy of the unitary state established by the 1993 constitution.

"We have reached the end of a road and we are faced with the harsh reality that the SA government cannot and will not facilitate the restoration of the sovereign kingdom of KwaZulu."

Zulus were faced with an historical dilemma of either succumbing and forever relinquishing their sovereignty or to take it upon themselves "and bring into existence what is ours, what belongs to our fathers and what belonged to our children".

Shades of Katanga in the Congo. And of Biafra in Nigeria. In each of these African experiences, a bloody — and futile — war was fought to entrench tribal sovereignty in a breakaway state.

It is a risky game the king is playing, taking brinkmanship even closer to the brink. His provocative remarks have heightened tension in KwaZulu/Natal and damaged the efforts to achieve some sort of rapprochement with the

ARG
19/5/94
(304A)

It can only be hoped that his outburst is largely political posturing, that he is simply upping the ante in the political poker game. It must also be hoped that ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President F W de Klerk will not be deterred by this petulance from continuing with their efforts to find a solution that will enable the king and his cohorts to remain a part of the New South Africa. This is clearly where the Zulus have the best chance to develop their potential as leaders and movers in the sub-continent.

The alternatives are not propitious: either they will be crushed in a bloody war — a prospect too ghastly to contemplate — or they will be allowed to become a small, irrelevant little kingdom along the lines of Swaziland and Lesotho.

If either of these scenarios are allowed to emerge, the Zulus will have betrayed their destiny.

The estimate is based partly on the 900 000 "No" votes cast for President De Klerk's reform initiative in the last referendum. More than half of those who voted "No" are now expected to back General Viljoen's party.

Professor Breytenbach also estimates that General Viljoen's Freedom Front will draw between three and four percent of the votes in the national poll. This would entitle the Freedom Front to have between 12 and 16 seats in the new national parliament.

A further indication of a potential upward surge in support for General Viljoen's movement comes from a new opinion survey conducted among 911 whites in traditionally conservative areas in the PWV region.

The survey shows a thumbs-up from the majority of whites to General Viljoen for taking the Freedom Front into the election. Up to 72,5 percent of whites approached thought General Viljoen was doing the right thing. This contrasts with only 11,6 percent of the respondents

Constand Viljoen

who were against participation.

Professor Breytenbach lists three things which, he says, an Afrikaner cannot be told not to do — enjoy rugby, enjoy braaivleis, and vote. That is one of the reasons for his belief that white rightwingers will not heed calls to boycott the election. And their choice is likely to be General Viljoen's Freedom Front.

He sees the splitting of the CP this week as one of the most momentous events in conservative politics in South Africa in recent times.

Significantly, the split has effectively narrowed the ideological gap between the CP's Ferdi Hartzenberg and the AWB's Eugene Terre'Blanche, thereby clearly pegging them together as the "hard right".

A majority of rightwingers are expected to flock to General Viljoen's more moderate "soft right" — the new Freedom Front.

Professor Breytenbach says the "hard right" is likely to intensify its

The decline and fall of E

A FRIKANER volkstaters believe they have a head start in the election as they have cut themselves loose from embarrassing associations with the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB).

This follows the AWB's actions in Bophuthatswana which have been scorned by all except its leader Eugene Terre'Blanche who spoke of a "brilliant victory".

"We have freed ourselves from the AWB's nazi image," said Pieter Mulder, spokesman and prominent election candidate for the Freedom Front (FF) which will carry the volkstaat banner in the election.

Dr Mulder said the AWB image had handicapped the rightwing in previous polls, notably the white referendum in 1992 when the AWB was a liability for the "no" cause.

He said the FF headed by former SA Defence Force chief Constand Viljoen, would project an image of power, but did not need the AWB heavies for this.

"We will show we have the farmers on our side — the people who produce the country's food. We will show we have the people who generate the country's electricity and work the mines," he said.

The AWB has survived a series of scandals and blunders in the past. But the Battle of Bop is regarded in rightwing circles as its greatest setback — not just because of its outrageous behaviour, but because an AWB convoy abandoned three of its wounded members who were later murdered execution-style.

Their murder received a blaze of international publicity.

"In Africa it is absolutely unforgivable

■ The AWB is being increasingly marginalised in the Afrikaner right wing after its greatest fiasco in a long line of blunders. A report by **DAVID BREIER** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff. *ARG 19/3/94* (304A)

for any military or paramilitary force not to evacuate its casualties," said a prominent member of General Viljoen's group which also shot themselves out of the Bop situation, taking their wounded with them.

The member asked not to be identified as the AWB had already threatened to kill him.

He said that in Africa it was an accepted fact that the Geneva convention for captured prisoners had no effect. Any military force therefore had to place the highest priority on "casevac" (casualty evacuation), even if this meant placing their lives at risk.

He said this principle applied fully to the paramilitary AWB.

The AWB had lost support among its better-quality members because of the abandonment of its wounded.

The calibre of supporter who still remained loyal to Mr Terre'Blanche was the lowest echelon of Afrikanerdom, he said.

He said most AWB members in Bop appeared more interested in shooting black bystanders at random, claiming this as a military victory.

Mr Terre'Blanche has attempted to contain the damage by saying the AWB convoy faced hopeless odds against the heavily armed Bophuthatswana Defence

Force with armoured cars and helicopters.

He said his men were led into an ambush but scored a "brilliant victory". He has accused General Viljoen of betraying the Afrikaner by standing for election.

But General Viljoen's man who took part in the Battle for Bop said Mr Terre'Blanche's version of events was a gross exaggeration. He said General Viljoen's force had found the BDF soldiers did not stand up to a determined attack and the AWB could have evacuated its wounded if it had the organisation and the will.

General Viljoen himself has vowed never again to be involved with the AWB in any military action after the AWB's undisciplined behaviour in Bop.

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela this week rubbed the AWB's nose in the Bop fiasco, saying the AWB had been "chased out" and "humiliated". He said the AWB had been taught a lesson and the same would happen to them in future.

The AWB's Bop blunder is the third firefight in which the ultra-rightists with their triple-seven swastika have come off second-best.

(News by D Breier 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).



Constand's coup

ARLT 19/3/94

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WITH its last-minute entry into the election ring, General Viljoen's new Freedom Front shows signs of surging ahead as a rightwing force likely to overshadow the weakened Conservative Party.

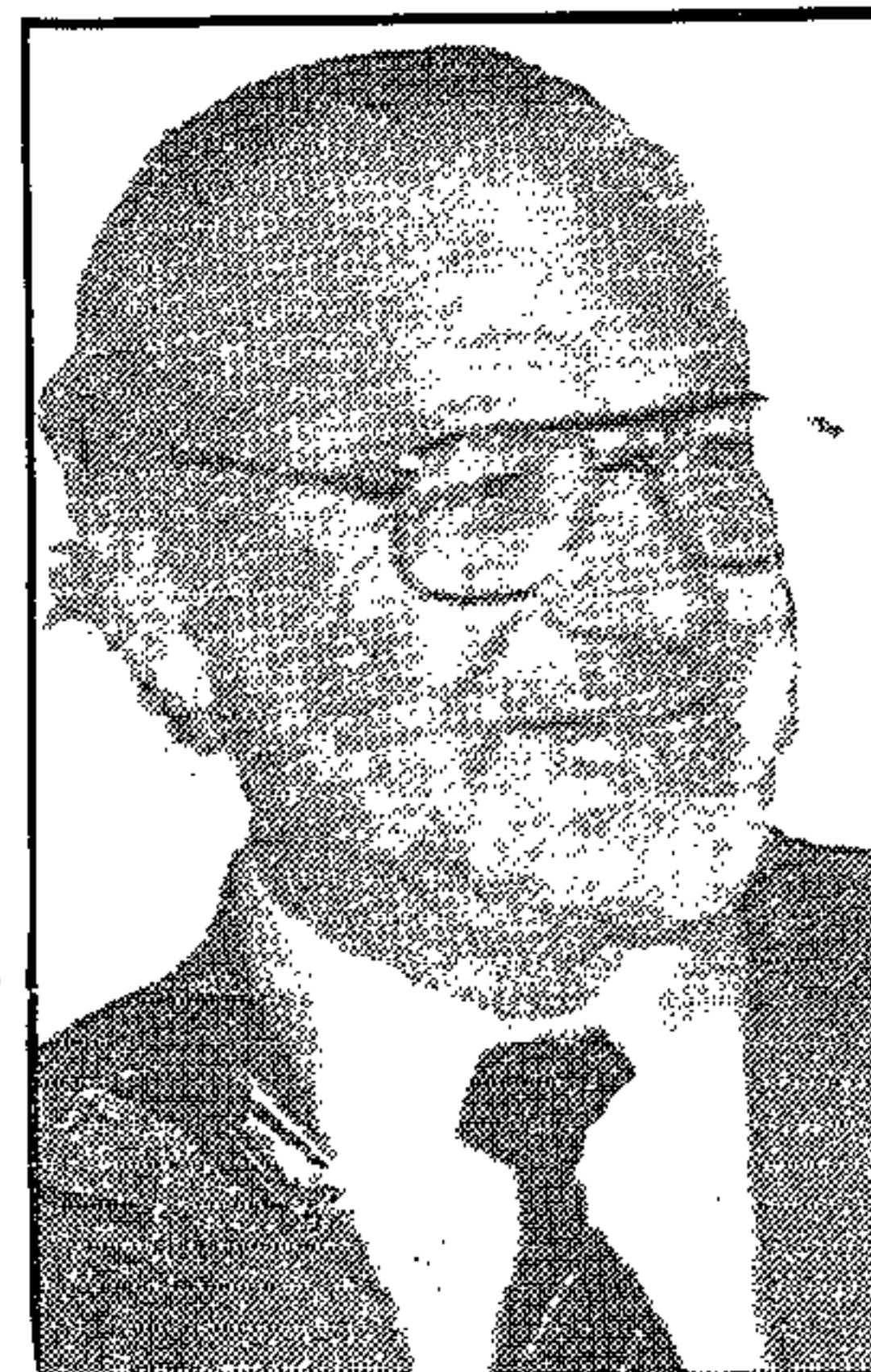
The shift of conservative political forces has also brought moderate volkstaat pioneer Carel Boshoff to the fore in regional politics in the Northern Cape.

This could be the forerunner of new initiatives after the election to pursue Professor Boshoff's Orania volkstaat plan in that region.

Analysts predict the Freedom Front under General Viljoen's leadership could oust the crumbling Conservative Party as the main voice of rightwing whites. The new movement is expected to draw support from disillusioned members of a wide range of rightwing organisations, including the CP, the AWB, HNP and others — in addition to support from moderate rightwing followers of Professor Boshoff.

Political scientist Willie Breytenbach of the University of Stellenbosch estimates that 500 000-plus rightwingers are likely to back General Viljoen in the election. Most of them are voters who would probably have voted Nat if neither the CP nor Inkatha (their likely second choice) were on the ballot paper.

■ The dramatic realignment of forces in white rightwing politics has pushed Constand Viljoen's new Freedom Front to the fore in the election arena. An analysis by **FRANS ESTERHUYSE**, Weekend Argus Political Correspondent.



Northern Cape is headed by Dr Pieter Mulder, hitherto a prominent Conservative Party MP, followed by Professor Boshoff (leader of the Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting), Nicolaas Wessels and Josef Henning, a former academic of the University of Potchefstroom.

The Western Cape list consists mainly of members and supporters of Professor Boshoff's Afrikaner-Vryheidstigting (Avstig), formed to promote his volkstaat ideal. Head of the list is Pieter Grobbelaar, a Franschhoek farmer and son of the Stellenbosch professor father of the same name, followed by Chris Jooste of Vredendal, Mrs H E le Roux of Moorreburg, Eleanor Lombard of Cape Town, and Pat Mohr, former CP deputy chairman in Natal.

Mrs Lombard has been an active member of Avstig in the Western Cape for some years.

The main focus of the Freedom Front's Cape campaign is expected to be the Northern Cape, where Professor Boshoff has been in the forefront of the Orania volkstaat initiative.

Professor Boshoff, if elected to the Northern Cape parliament, is expected to push ahead with his volkstaat initiative in that region.

The Northern Cape and the Western Cape happen to be the two regions of the new South Africa where the ANC is most likely not to be in control after the April election.

Professor Breytenbach says the Western Cape is likely to have a National Party-dominated regional

Parties call foul ^(304A) and accuse IEC ^{July 26/3/94} of favouring ANC in election run-up

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ANGER is building up among some of South Africa's parties who accuse the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) of favouring the African National Congress in the run-up to the elections.

Both the National Party and Democratic Party this week pointed fingers at the commission, accusing it of tardiness in restraining African National Congress intimidation while acting hastily to satisfy their complaints.

The commission also has been accused of concentrating its efforts and a multi-million budget on a mass self-promotion campaign instead of doing its job of ensuring free and fair elections.

A commission spokesman categorically denied any pro-ANC prejudice and accused other parties of making political capital for their own purposes.

But, a statement from the NP in Pretoria said: "The IEC's advertising campaign to market themselves seems to occupy their resources at the present time. We would have liked to have seen more pro-active action by the IEC to ensure free political activity."

"They also seem to be dragging their feet on some (of our) complaints, while they acted

with extreme haste to consider an ANC complaint in the Western Cape against the NP. We lodged complaints of a serious nature weeks ago which the IEC have not reacted to yet."

"We trust that with the election only a few weeks away, the IEC will establish their authority. They will not be able to do that if the impression continues that they are so occupied with marketing themselves that they don't get down to what they were created for," the statement added.

The statement followed the commission's urgent interdict against the NP for tearing down ANC posters on the Cape Flats. However, the NP says the commission has done nothing about the ANC preventing NP meetings on President De Klerk's campaign trail.

The commission took initiatives in events that led to the downfall of the Bophuthatswana homeland, a major ANC enemy. Commission chairman Johann Krieger also has called for "political and governmental action" against Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's KwaZulu government, the ANC's greatest foe, says the statement.

The commission has so far failed to ensure the NP's right to open an office in Transkei, it added, but a case had been brought to trial against the Inkatha Freedom Party following the occupation of the King



□ **FLAG 'n FUN:** Despite concerns that the peace march could spark off violence, this marcher was more than a little relaxed on his way through the Durban central business district.

Goodwill Zwelethini Stadium in Umlazi which the ANC had hired.

National Party deputy minister of Land and Regional Affairs Lampe Fick has gone even further in attacking the commission, saying it had "disgracefully failed" to produce an even playing field for the elections, while wasting millions on TV advertising.

It was revealed this week that the commission awarded advertising contracts worth over R6 million to two advertising agencies without going through any tender procedures. The two agencies, who have had connections with Shell, were chosen by commission di-

rector of communications Humphrey Khoza, who was Shell's public affairs director before secondment to the commission.

The Democratic Party is even more bitter about the treatment it received at the commission's hands and which led to the DP Youth giving up its bid to receive protection at the University of the Western Cape.

DP Youth chairman Colin Douglas this week withdrew the DP's case at the commission tribunal against the UWC Students' Representative Council after the SRC agreed to stop harassing the DP Youth. However, DP Youth mem-

bers were seen being assaulted by pro-ANC youths outside court immediately afterwards.

Mr Douglas called off DP canvassing at UWC citing "assault trauma" after failing to get police protection.

"We have no faith that the commission or the Electoral Tribunal have either the will or the ability to deliver justice in respect of violations of the Electoral Act," said Mr Douglas.

By this week the commission had received 382 complaints of interference in free electioneering.

(News by D Breier, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

'It's not too late'

Clinton urges IFP to join poll

WASHINGTON. — President Bill Clinton has disclosed here that he has tried personally to encourage Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part in South Africa's transition — and he believes there is still time for the Inkatha leader to do so.

"It's not too late," he said. The president, taking questions at a White House press conference, did not say when he had been in contact with Chief Buthelezi.

His statement late on Thursday reflects Washington's anxiety that there should be no serious hitches in the last few weeks before the election.

Mr Clinton said he was "immensely hopeful" about the chances for a successful transition to democracy in South Africa.

"I have tried once to encourage Chief Buthelezi to join in the political

process and I still have some hope that he will not be too late," he said.

"They (SA negotiators) have made real efforts to accommodate the conflicts between national and local interests."

"I think we will be celebrating in late April a great triumph of democracy, of the first non-racial, multi-racial democratic process in South Africa."

And yesterday the leader of a US congressional delegation to South Africa, Mr John Lewis, who arrives in SA on Monday, said he hoped to persuade Chief Buthelezi to take part in the elections even at this late stage.

"What is happening in South Africa will determine the future of democracy in other emerging countries," he said from Washington yesterday.

Mr Lewis denied the mission had been left too late.

Following the Independent Electoral Commission's announcement that it had found that electioneering in KwaZulu would be frustrated with a "grave risk of violence" President F.W. de Klerk yesterday announced he had made an appointment to meet KwaZulu Chief Buthelezi.

He declined to disclose details about the meeting.

Mediation to try to break the constitutional deadlock could begin as early as Monday, according to international mediator Prof Karl Kevenhorn, who arrives from Germany today.

The ANC yesterday called for the "extension of special votes to all voters in Natal/KwaZulu", charging the KwaZulu government might prevent people from going to the polls.

And the Natal region of the DP yesterday called on the IEC and the FEC

to postpone the April elections because of continuing violence and unrest in the area.

The DP call was echoed by Stellenbosch political analyst Professor Willem van der Merwe, who said yesterday that postponing regional elections in

VIOLENCE MARS END OF NATAL MARCH

— Page 2

KwaZulu/Natal was one of the few options remaining to avert a bloody showdown in the province.

A possible way of defusing the crisis would be to continue the countrywide elections for the central parliament but to delay the KwaZulu/Natal poll for the regional parliament, he said.

DALE GRANGER reports that the IEC

in a statement yesterday said the situation in KwaZulu/Natal was "too volatile" and voting stations may have to be established on the borders of the province.

The statement accompanied the release of a provisional list of 5 374 polling stations for next month's election.

The release of details of the polling stations — which will be published in the Government Gazette today — comes two weeks after the deadline set in January under the Electoral Act stipulating that the polling stations be published 45 days before the election on April 27.

IEC spokeswoman Ms Niki Moore said the list had been held back due to the explosive situations in Bophuthatswana, the Ciskei and KwaZulu/Natal.

She said the IEC was forced to release only a provisional list of polling booths due to the problem of intimidation and harassment in KwaZulu and Natal.

The IEC had concluded that:

● Only severely limited balloting in KwaZulu/Natal would be possible.

● The IEC's ability to organise, administer and conduct free and fair elections in the province will remain severely curtailed.

Ms Moore said some owners of polling station venues had not yet been approached by the IEC but owners would be indemnified against potential damage caused to their properties.

● In the Western Cape, 460 polling stations were listed to cater for the area's 2.4 million voters. More could be added.

● The military wings of the ANC and the PAC yesterday ruled out military intervention in KwaZulu, saying the situation had to be resolved politically. — Own Correspondent. Political Staff

CT 26/3/94

304A

Public servants want Buthelezi out

ANC urges

TEC to take BIDeay 24/2/94 over KwaZulu

THE ANC said yesterday the time had come for the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) to take charge in KwaZulu to ensure free political activity in the run-up to the elections.

The call was accompanied by a warning from KwaZulu public servants that they would strike if Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had not been replaced by an administrator by Monday.

ANC southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe said TEC control was the only option to prevent a bloodbath. He was backed by ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, who said government had given KwaZulu and Buthelezi "too much leeway already".

"The longer government takes to act, the more chance there is for Buthelezi and the Inkatha Freedom Party to consolidate and prepare resistance. KwaZulu does not even have the excuse that it is so-called independent and government is treating it as if it is. Government and the TEC can just go in and tell Buthelezi he is no longer chief minister and remove him from that post with far more legal and moral credibility than they had in Bophuthatswana and the Ciskei," Zuma said.

He said he could not prescribe to the TEC what action should be taken but his view was that the KwaZulu administration should be put in the hands of the TEC.

Central government resources were being used by the KwaZulu government and Inkatha to destabilise the transformation process, and it had to be stopped, he said. The TEC and other transitional bodies had to ensure free and fair elections took

DAVID GREYBE
and BILLY PADDOCK

place. If this required the SADF to move in "then that just has to happen. One thing is certain, the people are going to vote."

IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi and members of his cabinet in Ulundi yesterday, and requested an earlier agreement with Buthelezi be implemented to allow free and fair elections in KwaZulu.

However, Kriegler said the IEC "has regrettably encountered serious difficulties in executing this mandate in some areas of KwaZulu".

Buthelezi agreed to some of Kriegler's requests but set stringent conditions for others. He said he did not have the power to grant every request, because they needed to be discussed "with tribal and other communities and individuals" (304/94). However, he was fully aware that Kriegler could bring the "full might of the law to bear upon us" if KwaZulu failed to comply with the IEC requests.

He agreed that non-essential government buildings could be made available to the IEC, but both the KwaZulu police and SAP would have to man polling stations.

Buthelezi said the IEC planned to launch its "Operation Access" in Natal/KwaZulu, and had invited Inkatha to take part. He suggested that a working committee be set up to co-ordinate the IEC's requests.

Radebe demanded that the National Peacekeeping Force be deployed in KwaZulu, plus a large contingent of interna-

□ To Page 2

KwaZulu

BIDeay

24/2/94 □ From Page 1

tional observers. He said the ANC's rolling mass action campaign would go ahead.

The ANC postponed a stayaway and march today by KwaMashu residents. But tomorrow's march and rally at Currie's Fountain stadium would take place (304/94).

Zuma denied Inkatha's claim that there was an ANC document outlining a plot to overthrow Buthelezi. "It is part of the plan to undermine the process," he said. The style and language was not the ANC's.

TEC co-chairman Pravin Gordhan yesterday denied Inkatha claims that he had seen the document. He said he had seen it only after the media had obtained copies. He was prepared to testify before the Goldstone commission. (307/94)

Sapa reports Buthelezi said he was not aware of KwaZulu Police hit squads in Natal/KwaZulu, and described such

claims as "hideous propaganda". "If there have been hit squads, they have not been run by myself or set up at my suggestion."

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports KwaZulu public servants warned yesterday that if Buthelezi had not been replaced by an administrator by Monday, the region's public service would go on strike.

Themba Shezi, co-ordinator for a new forum of public sector unions in Natal, said the forum had asked the TEC to intervene. TEC information director Dries van Heerden confirmed that he had received a fax from KwaZulu public servants.

More than 1 000 disgruntled public servants from KwaMashu, Umlazi and Umlazi burchulu marched yesterday to the KwaZulu government offices demanding immediate pension payouts.

Report by B. Paddock, D. Greybe and J. Ngcobo. TML, 11 Deception St., Jhb; and C. Doornen, Depo, 330 Wiers St., Oba.

ies' not co-operating with IEC • No voting, bishop tells priests

Kriegler jeered by KLA

Sowetan Correspondent

Sowetan 24/3/14
PARTIAL RESISTANCE Buthelezi's

response falls far short of full co-operation:

THE chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, was repeatedly jeered in the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly when he appealed for co-operation to make a free and fair election possible.

He had barely begun his reply to speeches by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and King Goodwill Zwelithini when KLA members broke out in derisive laughter and jeers.

Buthelezi had to intervene and appeal to the members to give Kriegler a fair hearing. His intervention helped for a while only.

In his speech Zwelithini said after restating his determination to establish a sovereign Zulu

kingdom: "I cannot advise my people that the correct thing for them to do is to vote in the forthcoming election." He was loudly applauded (304A) (187A)

Kriegler said the IEC had not received the necessary co-operation in KwaZulu to organise a free and fair election, one in which those who wanted to vote would have the same rights as those who wished to abstain.

Earlier Buthelezi had offered the IEC partial co-operation or, from a different perspective, partial resistance.

Government school buildings would be made available but not community school buildings.

Buthelezi was loudly applauded when he set conditions for co-operation from civil servants.

Those who wished to volunteer to man polling stations would be allowed to do so, provided they were not involved in "essential services", the danger to them was spelt out and they were made aware that the KwaZulu government would not accept any liability for anything that happened to them.

(47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Kriegler seeks election pledges

TEC bid to take control in KwaZulu

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) is considering a series of steps, including giving the SAP jurisdiction over KwaZulu and considering government's financial obligations to the territory, to ensure free political activity in the region in the five weeks leading up to the elections.

At the same time, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Judge Johann Kriegler is trying to secure "an inclusive commitment" to free and fair elections from President FW de Klerk, ANC president Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

Kriegler met De Klerk and Mandela jointly in Pretoria yesterday, and is scheduled to meet Buthelezi, Zwelithini and the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly in Umtata tomorrow.

"Kriegler's message to them is that the time for games is now over," an IEC source said. He said the IEC would not hesitate to use the full force of the law, "including substantial fines", to ensure a free and fair election.

"If Umtata reacts positively, the upshot may well be a summit of the leaders."

TEC management committee member Pravin Gordhan said the TEC plan, to be implemented in stages, was expected to do away with the KwaZulu Police's sole jurisdiction over the region. The SAP currently

DAVID GREYBE

has to get permission to enter the territory. "The TEC must take the lead in this matter," Gordhan said, adding that government would be expected to play an "assertive role".

Other steps are expected to include giving the SADF greater jurisdiction over KwaZulu, giving the TEC and Natal Provincial Administration control over all venues in KwaZulu, putting a stop to Inkatha's training of its members at military-style camps, and acting against weapons smuggling.

The reincorporation of the KwaZulu Police force would also be considered.

Kriegler is expected to demand "cast-iron guarantees" from Umtata to allow the IEC to set up its election machinery, the IEC source said. These would include the KwaZulu government making government buildings, including schools, available for organising and holding the elections.

"But it doesn't help getting assurances from the top, which are then ignored at lower levels," the source warned. "Unless there is a collective national effort to make the elections work, they just won't get off the ground."

He said the IEC would not be opposed to Inkatha using the IEC's Operation Access to get its anti-vote message across.

□ To Page 2

Hit squads

edly included vehicles, arms and ammunition. The issue and distribution of all firearms is being monitored by the Department of the Interior and, in certain instances, firearms are being supplied included AK-47s.

The KwaZulu Police was "incapable of investigating cases against suspects of its own force allegedly implicated in such hit squad activity".

Targets identified for execution by the hit squads included ANC political campaigners and leaders as well as KwaZulu policemen who appeared to be disloyal to Inkatha, were overenthusiastic in their investigations of other policemen who had co-operated with Goldstone.

"The evidence and information suggests the involvement of the highest echelons of the KwaZulu Police" — but excluded Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy Durrant (3044) — weapons allegedly stored at these camps. The report also said certain links existed between hit squads, the SADF and SAP members — particularly the SAP's Criminal Intelligence Services — and did not rule out the possibility that "in certain instances certain SAP officers" had treated hit squad investigations.

The task group recommended "the possible revocation of the authority of the KwaZulu government to establish its own police force".

"Many members of the KwaZulu Police appear to have a highly politicised concept of their function and we question whether they can be relied upon to perform their policing duties in an impartial manner, at least under its existing command."

There was a "dire need" for an immediate audit of all weapons held by the KwaZulu Police. In some cases, "the entire arsenal at specific KwaZulu Police stations" should also be sent for testing. "We recommend the immediate cessation of

ANC. "I would take a bet that none of these allegations will stand up in a court of law. It is a deliberate attempt by the ANC to bad-mouth the IFP, and to destabilise KwaZulu."

Report by A. Haddad, The 210 Vermeulen St. Pa.

● Comment Page 10

What if the election is NOT free and fair...?

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

AMIDST growing election violence and alleged breaches of the Electoral Act, doubts have arisen over whether next month's election can be free and fair — and what would happen if it were found not to have been.

The instruction to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), which is charged with supervising and running the election, is that it must find the ballot to have been "substantially free and fair" before certifying the outcome. There is no precise definition of this term.

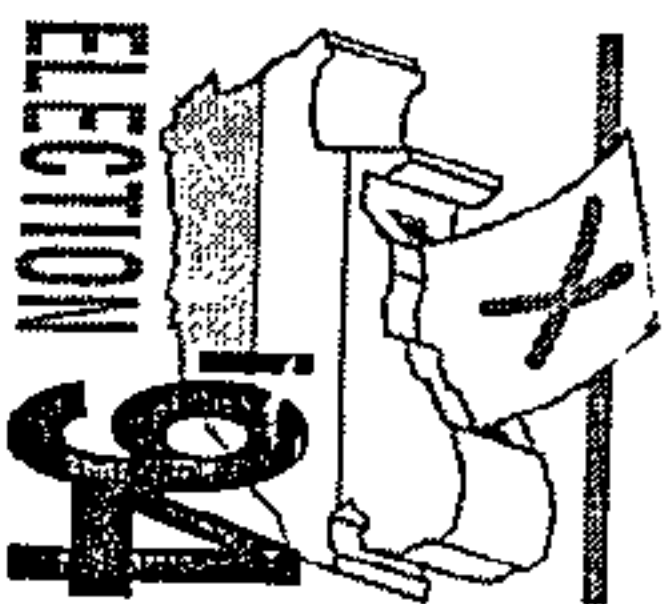
A perfect election, completely free and fair and without any violence or intimidation, is obviously impossible.

But an elaborate code of conduct, which has clearly broken down in many cases, is laid down in the Electoral Act.

Its main provisions stress the need for tolerance and condemnation of violence and intimidation.

Parties are supposed to "publicly and repeatedly" condemn violence or intimidation. They must do nothing to impede the democratic right of any party "to have reasonable access to voters for the purposes of voter education, fund raising, canvassing membership and soliciting support."

Parties are also supposed to co-operate and liaise in good faith with other parties to avoid as far as possible arrangements involving public meetings, demonstrations and rallies or marches taking place at the same time and venue as similar political



events organised by other parties.

One provision in this code of conduct has often been disregarded lately, especially at IFP meetings.

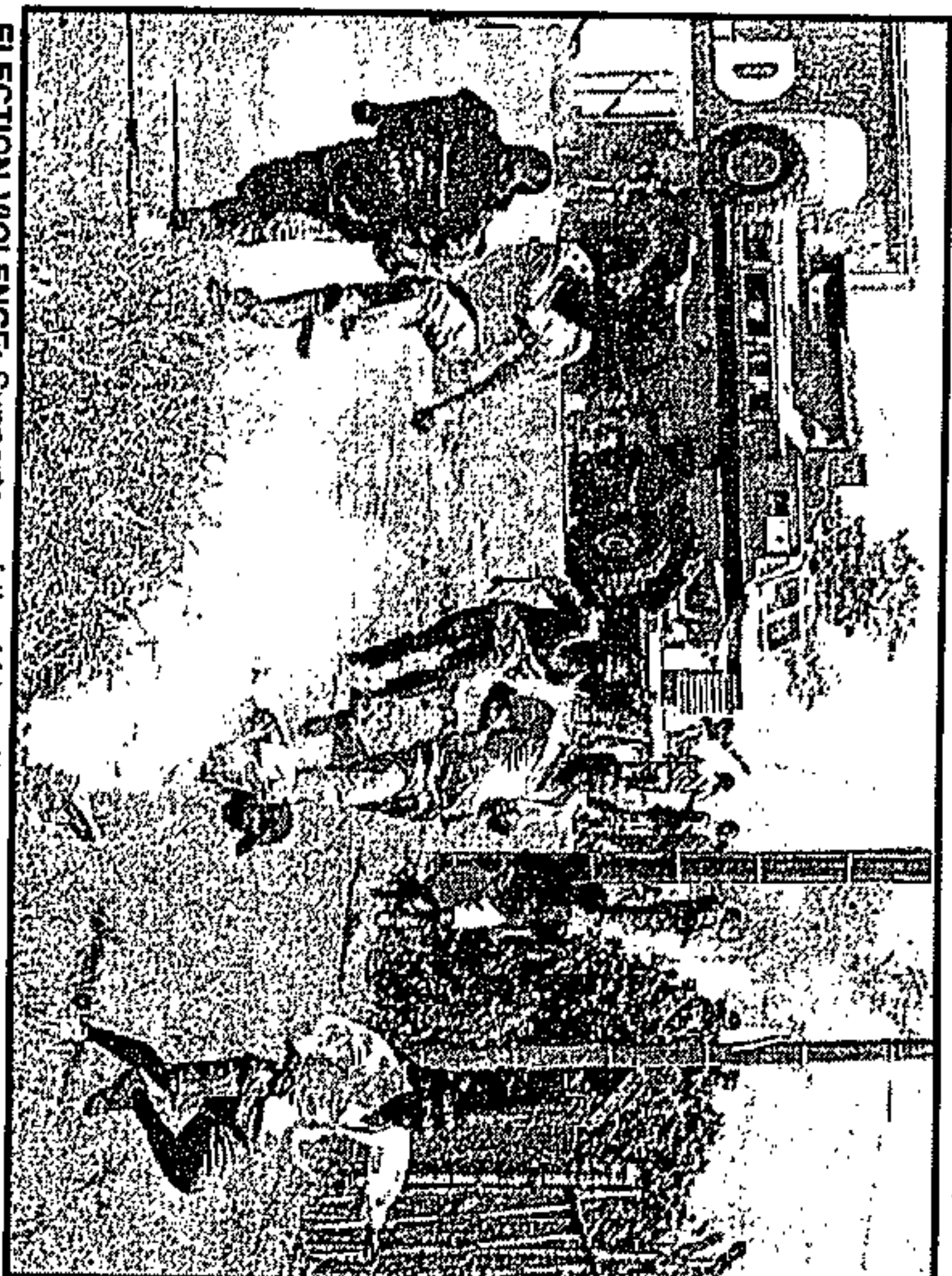
It is that parties must ensure that "no arms or weapons of any kind are carried or displayed at political meetings or in the course of any march, demonstration or other event of a political nature."

All parties registered to take part in the election are bound to affirm the right of other parties to express divergent political opinions, to debate and contest the policies and programmes of other parties, to canvass freely, hold meetings and attend the meetings of others.

The snag appears to be that the code does not refer to parties which have not registered for the election, such as the CP and IFP.

The IEC has wide powers through electoral tribunals to impose penalties of up to R100 000, and five years imprisonment, on transgressors. But whatever possible it will try mediation. A case in point was the dispute between the Democratic Party and UWC this week.

The term "substantially free and fair" has not been laid down clearly in legislation. According to veteran politi-



ELECTION VIOLENCE: Supporters of the African National Congress dive for cover as police open fire with shotguns and teargas during day-long battles between ANC supporters and members of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the Durban township of Kwa-Mashu. It is this sort of incident which threatens a free and fair election in some areas.

cian Helen Suzman, now a member of the IEC, criteria such as the size of the poll, access by political parties to voters and access by voters to the polls, and to what extent there has been a stay-away and violence, will have to be taken into account.

If it is found that in one area there has not been a free and fair election this could be excised from the result and a re-vote could be ordered in that area.

In a worst case scenario, where it is found that the whole election has not been free and fair, another election — or even a referendum — would have to be called. Mrs Suzman said that in

such a case there would presumably have to be an interim government working closely with the Transitional Executive Council.

In terms of the new interim constitution the present administration remains in power until a new president has been sworn in. The IEC has powers to veto decisions and the old president must exercise his powers in consultation with the leader of the party which received the largest number of votes.

Mrs Suzman said: "This is a totally new ball-game. We will have to formulate decisions as we go along. It seems we will need the wisdom of Solomon."

She said she was "hopeful but not optimistic" about the election.

There were especially two tricky situations — in Kwa-zulu and Transkei. Members of the IEC go to Umhali today and an approach will also be made to the Transkeian government, Mrs Suzman said.

After the polls have closed on April 28 the IEC will get reports from its 9 000 monitors at the polling booths and some 5 000 foreign observers to assist it in evaluating the election. There will also be election tribunals in 374 magisterial districts to deal with local disputes. There is the right of appeal

to a central electoral tribunal.

The constitution lays down that the result must be announced not sooner than two days after polling days and not longer than ten days in order to give the IEC time to evaluate the election.

The commission then has to formally determine whether or not the election was "substantially" free and fair.

Chairman of the commission Mr Justice Johann Kriegler summed up the position on how the commission would come to a decision thus: "This is a value judgment to be made in the light of all the information available at the time. It is not only futile but inadvisable to make the evaluation or to lay down strict rules before the commission has all the data."

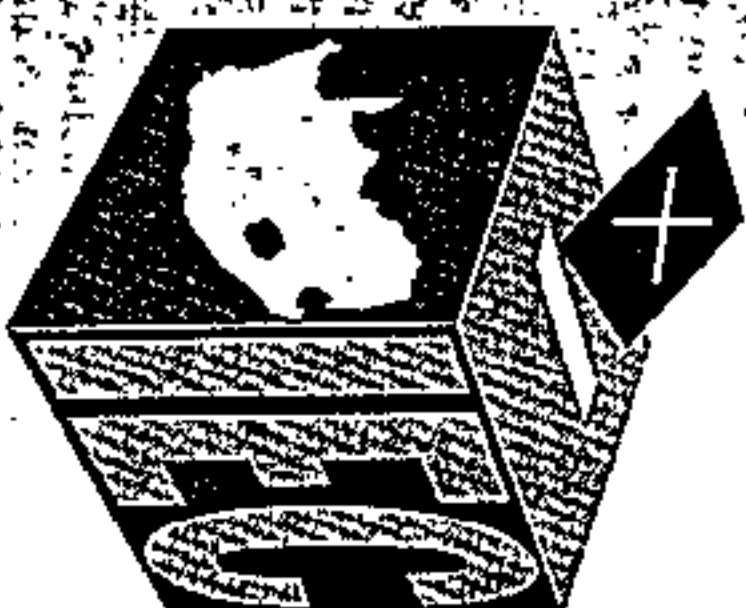
"There is a wide range of factors that could impact on this issue. The possibilities are infinite."

Among the problems that have arisen so far is that the National Party has been refused access to the Transkei. Access to Kwa-zulu, where the Inkatha Freedom Party is campaigning against the election, will be another difficulty. IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has said that he cannot imagine the election being conducted smoothly without the participation of "Kwa-zulu's people".

In Natal IFP supporters have twice prevented the ANC from holding meetings in stadiums.

Until the recent overthrow of the Bophuthatswana electioneering was not allowed in the territory but this is now going ahead.

Among whites the Conservative Party is urging a boycott but the Freedom Front has broken ranks and is urg-



ing rightwingers to vote.

There have been a number of cases where National Party meetings have been disrupted by ANC supporters in spite of calls for tolerance from the leaders.

The Democratic Party has had meetings disrupted and has had difficulty in gaining access to areas such as UWC and one Cape technique. The party is also having difficulty in gaining access to some black areas.

On Sunday Mr Nelson Mandela's car was stoned at a Mamelong meeting where there were vociferous National Party supporters who were not allowed in.

President De Klerk has had to call off some meetings on his election "road shows" and on other occasions it was difficult for him to make himself heard.

Access to farms for political parties also has to be sorted out in some areas.

Apart from disruption of meetings and lack of access there is the ever-present danger of intimidation. Voter education programmes are battling to assure voters that the vote will be completely secret.

In areas such as KwaZulu merely going to the polls can endanger voters as it could in some rightwing strongholds. (Report by T. Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

IFP, ANC in rally stand-off

Star 2/3/94

Durban — The ANC in Natal is to launch another complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission against Inkatha after an ANC rally in KwaMashu, near Durban, was blocked by about 3 000 people who occupied the stadium yesterday.

Described only as "Zulus" but alleged to be Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, they began occupying the Princess Magogo stadium from Saturday and refused to leave to make way for a pre-arranged ANC rally.

Police and senior ANC leaders were involved in heated arguments throughout yesterday over alleged inaction against those in the sta-

dium and for allegedly allowing them to enter, many with firearms, in the first place.

The day was marked by tense stand-offs between groups of ANC supporters and those identifying themselves with stadium occupants.

Police used teargas to prevent impending clashes during a potentially explosive situation after midday.

The Independent Electoral Commission last week issued the IFP with a summons to appear in court this week on charges of breaching the Electoral Act after a similar stand-off in Umlazi, south of Durban, last Sunday.

Meanwhile, Natal's In-

ternal Stability Division chief General Tom Bezuidenhout said police could not prevent people from entering the stadium on Saturday as they had legal permission to be there. (304A)

Bezuidenhout said he had wanted to avoid loss of life and that he would "rather attempt to prevent a clash than try to move them out of the stadium". (4B)

The ANC's southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe, however, slammed this as "security force collusion with Inkatha".

"Our president (Nelson Mandela) spoke to both (President) de Klerk and the Commissioner of Police General (Johan) van der Merwe last week and

they both assured him that what happened in Umlazi would never happen again."

The ANC would embark on a programme of mass action in Natal from Friday to "dispel the myth for once and for all that the people of this region, particularly Zulus, don't want an election", said Radebe.

He added that the ANC would again call for the mass deployment of the National Peacekeeping Force in Natal, in conjunction with international and local monitors.

Monitors reported at least two serious injuries linked to the weekend conflict in KwaMashu, and feared overnight clashes. — Sapa.

(C Doonan, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

Send troops to KwaZulu

ANC urge

28/13/94

CCE

by Mpho,

Bornwede

THE Transitional Executive Council would have to send troops into KwaZulu this week, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

ANC Natal premiership candidate Jacob Zuma repeated the call, saying that if the TEC did not take decisive action, the region would be plunged into chaos.

Ramaphosa said in Cape Town that SADF and National Peacekeeping Force troops should be deployed immediately.

"It's already overdue and the ANC will be pushing for the TEC to act immediately to bring about stability in the region and to prevent further loss of life." (3044)

He said the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) was looking to the TEC and government to take action to ensure that free elections could be held.

After studying IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler's report on securing free political activity in KwaZulu, the ANC felt the commission had concluded it was impossible to hold free and fair elections there, Ramaphosa said.

"The finding of the IEC is quite devastating, and its conclusion draws a very gloomy picture of the province," he said.

An IEC source confirmed yesterday that there were two reports by the IEC on KwaZulu — a shortened version for public consumption, and a detailed confidential one that said it would be impossible to hold free elections in KwaZulu.

Zuma, speaking near Durban, said the KwaZulu government's pronouncements to Kriegler last week were justification enough for troops to be sent in.

Ramaphosa said: "Clearly the TEC and government will have to take drastic ac-

DAVID GREI
and LLOYD COVINE

tion immediately. The situation is ominous and, therefore, we have to treat it with the seriousness it deserves."

He said the ANC's mass action campaign would continue in KwaZulu until it had ensured free political activity.

The ANC was dissatisfied with President F.W. de Klerk's handling of the situation and his political initiatives were not enough to secure free political activity.

After Saturday's meeting between De Klerk and Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the two leaders said it had been agreed a mechanism would be established urgently to address the requirements of the IEC in Natal.

Buthelezi assured De Klerk of his government's willingness to facilitate the holding of the election. He said Inkatha's opposition to the election did not imply the KwaZulu government would not be willing to work with Pretoria and the IEC.

De Klerk said contingency plans to deploy troops in flashpoints had been discussed, but said there were no plans to send troops to particular areas. Troops would be deployed where and when necessary.

Ramaphosa said while De Klerk's meeting with Buthelezi "might contain a ray of hope", measures to bring stability to KwaZulu had to be taken in tandem with any political initiative.

"The fact that the President can stand by while so many people are dying without taking immediate steps goes to prove that he does not really care about black lives."

□ To Page 2

KwaZulu

28/13/94

From Page 1

Ramaphosa charged.

Zuma said troops should have been sent in last week. "It is important for the people who want to vote to be given the necessary security.... It's late already," he told reporters before an Umkhonto we Sizwe passing-out parade near Pinetown.

Eland armoured cars have already been deployed in townships around Durban.

However, a Natal Command spokesman said mainly infantry had been deployed in Natal townships. (3044)

The main deployment of troops for the elections would probably happen between mid-April and mid-May. Citizen Force and commando members would be used.

Zuma said the Inkatha occupation of stadiums before ANC meetings and the climate of violence in the area showed Inkatha was out to prevent people from voting "and they have got to be stopped".

He dismissed Buthelezi's claim that the deployment of additional troops would be an invasion of KwaZulu, saying the homeland was a creation of apartheid and therefore not a country.

Ramaphosa was adamant that the provincial election in KwaZulu would not be postponed. "Our people will not allow it, and we (the ANC leadership) will never, never ever, allow it. The elections are just 29 days away and they must go ahead."

He said TEC and government action would have to include measures such as protecting polling stations.

Zuma said the call by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini 10 days ago for a sovereign Zulu region had heightened tensions and sparked off violence. He said the king had abandoned his role as a unifying figure by aligning himself politically.

Sapa reports Cosatu said after a campaign conference that government had to accept TEC control over security forces and international supervision of the elections. It called for Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel to be dismissed "for responsibility for the hit squads".

● Comment: Page 6

Report by L. Coetzee and D. Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb. and S. Denny, Sapa, 14/1 Commissioner St., Jhb.

Top three parties talking over later election date

Political Staff

(304A)
ARC 28/3/94
The election might yet have to be postponed and the possibility is already being discussed by the African National Congress, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the National Party.

This will provide KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi with a stunning political coup.

The IFP will use international mediation — likely to begin in the second week of April — to bolster its demand to postpone the election. The other parties will be under severe pressure to accede if agreement can be secured on constitutional differences.

It is understood that the In-

dependent Electoral Commission will also welcome a postponement. According to sources it is in an administrative shambles.

Parliament would have to sit again in order to engineer a postponement, which will make it possible for the IFP to take part in the election in spite of missing every deadline. At the same time the interim constitution would be amended to accommodate the deal struck in mediations.

According to IFP sources the other parties would be confronted with the reality of short-term and containable violence if the election was postponed, and long-term chaos if the IFP does not take part.

All depends on the possibility of reaching agreement in mediation. There are only two issues of real difference — the position of the Zulu monarch and the demand for stronger regional powers. IFP sources claim agreement is possible, and within just a few days.

A senior NP source said that if agreement could be reached with the IFP and if the party came out unambiguously for elections then the NP would "positively and seriously consider a postponement".

The ANC is still saying officially that there is no chance of a delay, even though its officials are discussing the possibility in bilateral talks.

(News by John MacLennan, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).