S. A. GOVT. \& POLITICS

1994 APRIL

Fone could freeze the election results at the halfway mark, the important finding would be that the body politic has produced an assembly of regional and ethnic interests which forces the country's new rulers to seek unity and compromise.

In seven exhilarating days, South Africa became hostile territory for the radicals and ideologues of the left and right. A new country, with a distinctly centrist thrust to its politics, was born.
'What the country produced, indeed, was a political personality remarkably close to the one envisaged by the interim constitution, which was designed to reflect diversity and dilute power.

The radical left, in the form of the PAC, was devastated(though it would be wildly optimistic to assume that it will disappear): the radical right, in the form of the Freedom Front, was contained to a mere 2,9 percent of the total vote, and with pathetic support in the very areas where it would presume to create its volkstaat, the declared reason for its existence.
The IFP, defying all poll predictions of the past three years and longer, was leading in KwaZulu-Natal, but with only about 6 percent of the national vote and with about a quarter of the province's votes counted.

And the religious zealots, both Christian and Muslim, who appeared to be bent upon adding fundamentalist dogma and discord to our vexed national debate, in spite of the tragedy which this has wrought in the politics of so many countries, were routed.
At the halfway mark, the ANC had been denied the two-thirds majority it would need to rewrite the constitution unilaterally. But even if it were to get a two-thirds majority in the national assembly, it would face powerful constraints on its power.
For instance, in the country's three most important regions - the PWV, Western Cape and KwaZulu-Natal - regions whose co-operation would be crucial to the success of any national government's plans - the ANC either does not have a majority, or its majority (as in the PWV) is too precarious to risk antagonising other large groups.
And the electorate has ensured that the NP will get several cabinct posts, with Mr FW de Klerk probably becoming an executive vicepresident, and with smaller parties like the DP free to be the voices of dissent and censure.

So patently did the result demand acts of reconciliation and unity that there was hardly any surprise when ANC leader Nelson Mandela hinted at drawing leaders of the PAC into his government of national unity, or when Mac Maharaj suggested that the ANC might seek the Eetrices of parties that had fared badly in the

Improbable though it might seemat this stage, - IFP and the ANC are going to have to serve, the same government in KwaZulu-Natal, $\therefore 14$ the larger of the two not having a big

The diverse electorate of South Africa has ensured the country's new rulers will have to seek unity and compromise between left and right if they are to bring a better life for all. Hugh Roberton reports:


The power is in their hands - FW de Klerk, Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu
ButhelezI.
enough majority to treat the other with anything but respect - that is if anything is going to get done in the province.
Likewise, there cannot be an NP master plan in the Western Cape which ignores the fact that almost half the inhabitants of the region rejected the NP in the election.
If anything, the NP will be the prisoner of the sort of racial politics on which its victory depended in large measure.

At the centre of everything it thinks and does in the Western Cape will be the black community which has for so long been the brooding presence on which NP fear politics have been based-a community the NP cannot antagonise if it has any hope of winning black support in the country as a whole in the election that must come in 1999.

Conversely, if the ANC has any hope of winning the Western Cape from the NP in the future, and solidifying its grip on the Northern Cape which it so narrowly won against all expectations and projections, it will have to ameliorate the fears of coloured voters.

And if the ANC has any hope of winning KwaZulu-Natal in 1999 (assuming that the results yet to come deny it a majority there) it will

> What the country produced, indeed, was a political personality remarkably close to the one envisaged by the interim constitution, which was designed to reflect diversity and dilute power

have to rule in other areas in a manner deeply sensitive to the fractious and secessionist disposition of the people of KwaZulu-Natal.

AII of them, under the interim constitution, will be thrust into a government of national unity. All of them will pay the political price in 1999 if such a government fails to bring "a better life for all".

If nothing else, that will provide them all with a potent motive to succeed.


Parties pledge
accept poll
cesults PARTICIPANIS in next week's elections, including the Inkatha Freedom 'Party committed themselves last night torty,


They made the pledge at a special ses. Hza cuoting from a fewspaper, Ramaphosa sion of the multiparty negotiating coungil the than etimated 700 lives had beeth lost in in Kempton Park.

 into the elections, also signalled "open sear, gad to be questoned" hie tald "gwe wh

 terim constitution concerning the future of tatuesday was it tess attract ve than had monarchs, in particular Zulu King Good when oin the thte in the freceding weeks.
 parliamentary session.

 would have to answer for the hundreds of deaths in politically related violence impasse. "constitutional what thathath have to zutain" this to the

 allowed to use human life as a bargaining
chip in negotiations" He warned that the government of
He warned that the government of in zhinnterin
 against such horrendous tactics. The Ango- page pare.dened enis, and sald Inkatha la option is out. We won't tolerate any kad only songht the best possible im-


The parties also committed themselves


 ANC secretary-general Cynil Ramaphosa said now Inkatha had registered for huridreds killed to pay the blame for the the elections, it could no loinger "be treated hundreds killed in pollical Holenad at In-
with kid gloves".

 tor Walter Felgate for statements he had stitutioniat deachoct Fas rejonsible for conmade in the past two days in which he said s. stitutiongi deadock, Felgate Bald "millions of rands" could not have bought I ashaméd or the lives lost" sifould" stand



$\because$

## Tussle of the titans for country support

## $\square$ Tough election hattle in Boland, <br> TOS WENTZEL

Political Staff
A TOUGH battle is on between the National Party and the African National Congress in the Boland and West Coast areas. Both claim they are doing well and will win and they strongly dispute the other's claims.

The National Party also is confident it has won back most of its white support and that rightwingers will vote for it.

The Democratic Party appears to be trailing but there are indications that it is gaining support, especially among coloured voters.

It is also likely to score through some white voters supporting the party on the regional ballot while voting for the National Party nationally.

In the case of the Pan Africanist Congress, there is little visible activity. The party has little money or organisation.

In Ashton, one of its few country organisers, Mr "Billyboy" Xabela, said the party was the underdog, although it was having a good reception, especially in black areas

The problem, he said, was that the party had few resources. He still hoped it could draw some 20 percent of the vote.

The Freedom Front, which started late in the campaign, has a small but dedicated group working for it, but there is little evidence of the organisation in the Boland, although recently the leader General Constand Viljoen drew a crowd of 1500 at a meeting.

One of its Western Cape candidates, Mrs Eleanor Lombard, said it was the general's image as someone who had not been a politician and who had a clean past which was the party's biggest drawcard.

According to her, there is unexpected interest in the party among English-speaking and coloured people.

A staunch Conservative Party leader in the strongly rightwing area of Rawsonville, Mrs Trienie du Toit, said rightwingers would not vote. But Mrs Lombard said indications were that many would in fact support the Freedom Front.

There is great uncertainty and
among coloured peopfeind large number may some are note. In some areas this group might make up 25 percent or more of potential poll.
Among the parties the big race is now on for these votes.
Street interviews on trips through the Boland to Paarl, Worcester, Robertson and Ashton and surroundings, and up the West Coast in Darling and Malmesbury confirmed that many potential voters had not decided yet or would not say who they would support.
The ones who most spontaneously proclaimed their support for the National Party - were coloured people. The NP's "new" party propaganda has got through to them, and many also express apprehension about the ANC and a black government. President De Klerk enjoys high credibility.

The ANC often appears to be associated with violence in the minds of platteland voters.

In areas like Robertson canvassing results of the NP shows upward of 80 percent coloured support but NP organisers concede that there is a lie factor.
The ANC accuses the NP of racism and scare tactics and complains of lack of access to some farms where farmers try to influence their workers.

In some areas, especially in Robertson and Ashton, arrangements to give parties access for meeings in farming areas are working well.

Black support for the ANC appears to be fairly solid in the country areas while it has negligible white support.

The National Party and the Democratic Party claim some black support but maintain that these people cannot say so openly because they fear intimidation.

The ANC in turn claims that there is growing white interest.

In the Boland the toughest fights between the National Party and the ANC are in Worcester and Paarl.

In Worcester NP oranvassing figures show overwhelming coloured support for the NP as they do in Robertson, Paarl, Malmesbury and Darling, but the ANC disputes this.

In the Malmesbury area there are indications that some. CP sup-
porters will vote Nationalist, as a protest against the ANC.
ANC Worcester chairman Riyahd Williams and election committee chairman Ebrahim Wehr claimed strong and growing coloured support and solid black support. They conceded that few whites supported the movement but said interest was increasing with a number of white paid-up members.
They believed the ANC could win in the area. It was telling people it could provide them with a better life and reminded them of the suppression of the past.
Worcester's NP secretary Mr Johannes du Plessis maintained the party was doing "very well" and there was evidence in the streets that it had many enthusiastic coloured workers.
The DP in the area is not despondent according to chairman and candidate Cedric McNeil.
He said many people were not inclined to vote for the ANC because of an image that it was connected with violence and because of mass action.
The NP's past was still counting against it.
Although the DP started out late its clean image and the watchdog role it could play was drawing support, he said.
In Paarl, a DP spokesmen made similar claims. Here the huge black township Mbekweni is a no-go area for the NP and the DP.

In Malmesbury and Darling, the NP is claiming overwhelming support, something that is disputed by the ANC.
It suddenly also has become apparent that many white voters who could vote in the old system also need voter education which has been directegd largely at firsttime voters.

Many people do not understand the new proportional representation system where there are no constituencies with candidates linked to them. There is also some uncertainty about the two ballots, one for the National Assembly and the other for regional government.

The question of the secrecy of the vote kept cropping up with people being apprehensive about this.
(Report by T Wentzel. 122 St George's Mall. Cape (own)


## By Tyrone August

Political Reporter
he final COUNTDOWN to the elections is now under way. With just a few days to go, the country seems ready for the day the election starts. Most of the 9000 voting stations have been identified, most of the elec tion staff have been hired and trined and most of the 22709152 eligible voters have identity documents
But, in many ways, that process was just the beginning of the real work that still lies ahead. When April 26 comes, it will usher in yet another gruelling period.
The Independent Electoral Commision has released several fact sheets outlining what will happen from election day until the day the results are announced.

## Special votes

April 26 has been reserved "for special votes for those who cannot physically vote (such as the ill, disabled, elderly and those who will be out of the country on voting days).
'But, even on this day, there will not be any time to relax for the IEC. It will have mobile voting stations in many areas to assist people with special votes.

The IEC will also be holding practice runs for its election and monitoring officials in various parts of the country on April 26.

On April 27, the big day finally ar rives: Voters are expected to descend in theirmillions on the voting stations to be part of the firstelection for a democratic government.

And every single voter's identity documents need to bc checked at the door. Party voting agents will check all identity documents and temporary vot ers' cards as well.
Voters' hands will then be checked under ultra-violet lights and theirknuckles dipped into a marking fluid to prevent people from voting twice.
Voters will then again hand their identity documents to an official, who will indent the document. It is only after this that the voter will get a ballot paper and be allowed to vote.

## Identity documents

After voting for the National Assembly, the voter's identity documents will be checked again before being allowed to vote for the provincial legislature.
This process will carry on for two days (April 27 and 28). And then another ordeal begins - the counting of all the ballot papers.
For this purpose, the IEC has set up between 800 and 1000 counting centres around the country. Each is positioned in such a way that it can count about 60000 papers.
"Security - both within and around the counting centres - will be of prime importance," said an IEC Fact Sheet."Access to counting centres will be restricted."
Only certain IEC personnel, IEC monitors, party voting agents, local and international observers, and one candidate from each party will be allowed.

## Counting centres

The day after the voting - on April 29 - all ballot boxes, parcels and other items sealed at the voting stations will be delivered to the counting centres.

The ballot boxes will be accompanied on the way by at least two IEC officials (or an IEC official and an official or international observer).

In the presence of another IEC offi-

Getting ready for the big day ... voter education In action.

> CThe IEC hopes to announce the results by April 30. If there are any data errors or objections by any parties, the announcement may be delayed)

cial, the counting officer will inspect the seals on the boxes to ensure they have not been tampered with

The packages will then be separated into those for provincial votes, and those for national votes. Afterwards, these will be taken to separate national and provincial holding areas.
These will be separated again further into three separate batches for the three different days of voting: April 26, 27 and 28.
Afterwards, the IEC's station reconciliation supervisor will check that the number of ballot papers corresponds to the number of votes recorded by the station's presiding officer:
If there are any irregularities ("no matter how great or small"), these will be reported to the IEC's chief director of administration.

## Ballot papers

The ballot papers will then be retumed to their boxes, scaled and taken to a holding area. It is only at this point that the counting properly starts.
After this, officials will swap positions and count the ballot papers again. This process will continue until the results of both counts are the same

If there is a dispute, a recount may be ordered. When this painstaking process has been completed, the ballot boxes will be sealed, and taken to a holding area.

Afterwards, the counting centres will relay all results to the IEC's provincia or sub-provincial office. They will then announce the provisional results to the local media.

Batch tallies of the results will also be submitted to the IEC's headquarters in Johannesburg, and from there to its media centre in Midrand and to the


SABC at Auckland Park.
The Midrand centre will then release provisional results every hour. When all the results have been determined, the IEC will decide whether the election was free and fair
Among the criteria it will take into account in its decision will be the percentage of people with identity docu ments, and the percentage of people who were unable to vote
If the IEC does certify the election as "substantially free and fair", it will announce the final results - first those of the provinces, and then those of the National Assembly
The IEC will announce the votes of each party, as well as the number of seats won by each party. This announcement will be made in the order in which the parties appear on the ballot paper.

The IEC hopes to announce the resuits by April 30.
If there are any data errors or objections by any parties, the announcement may be delayed.

But the latest the results can be announced will be May 8. The leaders of the contesting parties will be informed four hours before the final results are announced.

## Sweat and tears

And so will come to an end a very long and agonising process. But not one of the IEC's 180000 employees or any of the millions of voters will complain about all the sweat and tears.
Because the country will be entering a future bright with promise and hope. And all the sleepless nights will soon be forgotten in the celebration of a new beginning.
(T August, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)


| Essack assaulted at De Klerk rally <br>  <br>  <br>  who wasged later that one marshal had drawn a He allegito gun "but was restrained by an IEC monitor". Leading Cape Town trade unionist Mr Ebrahim Patel, who attended the rally incognito, alleged afterwards that the Ne was diviging workers on the basis of colour. 304 A $\qquad$ |
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The apartheid era ended today when ANC" president Nelson Mandela's niece became the first black person to vote in a South"Africän election
Dr Nomaza Paintin made her cross on a ballot paper in Wellington when the polling booth opened there at 7 am New Zealand time
"I félt marvellous, it felt wonderful," Paintin told The Star over the phone. "There are nowwords to describe it. I felt the tremendous responsibility of restoring dignity back to all South Africans.
"I was "determined to be the first black person to vote. Nothing was going to stop me."
The 50 -year-old medical doctor, who is married to a New Zealander, was immediately mobbed by journalists Also on hand was her close friend; New Zealand Prime Minister :Jim Bolger who gave her a congratulatory hug. $4 \%$. \& So would it be mpertinent to ask her which way she voted? "Go ahead, ask me. I am wearing a black green and gold dresis Ivoted ANC:
About 20 prospective voters,
Home singing Nkosi Sikelel'
SiAhmita s had gathered outside the pollingstation ) ss
Bolger told Reuters. itt's: tremendously historic It's a
good moment for the world.
The pain of South Africa and
its apartheid system has divid-
ed society; including ours:
(47 Sawer St; Johannesbirg), "fés en


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unblicovould be informed about the
isults as they came in Sriegler. He said counting would defiions to extend the voting period staid "There are no plans or legal provilear that the voting dates would be as
roclaimed in the Act itself. ?arliament. The Electoral Act makes it
 he election dates could be extended. ieq seur 'uopsanb e oi Bu!puodsoy
 that these incidents only serve to reinple from going to the polis, I would say If you ask me if the bomb blast in
Bree Street on Sunday would deter peo"If you ask me if the bomb blast in age to property is senseless and tragic.
However, the mood is that of joy "Obviously this loss of life and damdiscouraged by the bombing $(-3044$ ing at the IEC media centre in Midrand,
he said he believed voters would not be
 are ready for the voter," said judge
 readiness for the elections which begin fident that there was a high level of Kriegler and his deputy Advocate
Dikgang Moseneke said they were conIn fact IEC chairman Judge Johann
Kriegler and his deputy Advocate toral Commission announced yesterday
 have left about twenty people dead and DESPITE the spate of bomb attacks that By Lulama Luti

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## Protection promised

## By Lulama Luti

FEARS of a possible low turnout at the polls as a result of continued attacks on civilians were dispelled yesterday as the security forces assured voters of maximum protection during voting.
This assurance was given by South African Defence Force chief director of communications General Gert Opperman during a media briefing at the Independent Electoral Commission media centre in Midrand.

Opperman wamed that tough action would be taken against all people or organisations who threatemed the stability of the country, regardless of their political affiliation.
He said the army's resources would have to be stretched to the limit as many conscripts had not responded to the recent call-ups.
"We are not fully happy with the response to the call-ups.
"One of the reasons (for pcople having not responded positively) is that employers did not encourage employees to respond to the calls.
"The other reason is that a lot of the conscripts had applied and, in fact, have been granted exemption by the Exemption Board," Opperman said.

# New SA to be born tonight <br> <br> UGH <br> <br> UGH POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT <br> tional Assembly meets in <br> Cape Town for the first 

The new South Africa is set to hit the ground running.

The post-election political diary for the government of national unity (GNU) has already been filled.
And, at one minute past midnight tonight, South Africa's new flag will be hoisted, the new national anthems played, and the Interim Constitution becomes the law of the land. 3044 )
Flags will be hoisted at the seats of the nine regional legislatures, including Johannesburg's Civic Centre.
It is understood that the seven subcouncils of the Transitional Executive Council are developing recommendations which are to be handed to the GNU, which may result in new legislation.

However, much of the GNU's decisions are dictated by the Interim Constitution.
The 400 -member Na -
time on May 6 when the new president, the Speaker and deputy Speaker are elected.
A key priority for the new president will be to appoint a 27 -member multiparty Cabinet and allocate portfolios.
The first sitting of the Senate will take place within 30 days of the election of the National Assembly, when its president and deputy president will be elected.

The president is to appoint 10 Constitutional Court judges.

The first sitting of the Constitutional Assembly - which will draft the final constitution - will take place within seven days of the first sitting of the Senate
The Interim Constitution dictates that several commissions be appointed: a commission on provincial government, a financial and fiscal commission, and a human rights commission.
47 Sauer St, Jhb)


Mrs Urbanla Mothopeng, widow of the late PAC president Mr Zephania Mothopeng, was one of the many people who cast their speclal votes in Soweto yesterday.

## Election gets off to a sluggish start <br> By Lulama Euti <br> $\square$ ENORMOUS TASK The IEC had

S
outh africas' first nonracial election got off to a very slow start yesterday with reports of hitches coming from various polling stations countrywide.

By 10 am , a total of 276 incidents had been reported to the Independent Electoral Commission media and information centre at Midrand.

Of these, 176 concerned the delays in the supply of ballot papers to polling stations, particularly in the PWV and KwaZulu-Natal regions.

## Not a priority area

IEC spokesman Mr Kumi Naidoo said delays in the PWV region had occurred because the region was not a priority area.
He said with regard to KwaZuluNatal voters had to be patient because

## to put up 500 stations in a few days:

## 3049

the IEC had an enormous task to put up over 500 polling stations within a few days.
Other problems occurred when people who did not qualify to cast special votes turned up at the poll. Fraudulent issuing and sale of temporary voter cards was also reported.
Reports of the burning of trucks carrying ballot papers in Katlehong on the East Rand were confirmed.
Naidoo said that the situation had been dealt with because more ballot papers than were necessary had been printed.
He added that the incident involving the occupation of a polling station in Settlers in the Northern Transvaal was a
non-issue as the building in question had not been identified as a polling station. Naidoo said the special votes cast yesterday would enable the IEC to identify and deal with any problems in anticipation of today's influx to the polls.

## Attacks on voting stations

In case of any (bomb) attacks on voting stations, contingency teams would be dispatched to help reroute voters, he said.

On extending voting hours, Naidoo said this was at the discretion of the presiding officer.
Naidoo could not confirm the hijacking in Pretoria of a truck carrying ballot papers.




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Cloudy and
warm















## Cheers for new Tag <br> They cheered loudly and spon-

By ANDRE KOOPMAN
A CHEERING crowd of several thousand went wild as the new South African flag was raised at the Cape Provincial Administration building in Wale Street, just after midnight.
The crowd, consisting mainly of ANC supporters, jeered and booed as the old flag was lowered. Minutes: before midnight, as the old flag was still flying, the crowd started chanting: "Now, now" and "Down; down". Chanting ANC slogans and "Mandela for president" they drowned out speakers explaining the symbolism of the ceremony.
taneously started singing Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika as the new flag was officially raised for the first time, heralding the inception of the interim constitution.
Fire crackers and rockets were let off. Not a single NP flag or poster was displayed.
The CPA building will be the seat of the new provincial government. The premier candidates of the various parties were at the ceremony as well, as was Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring
Similar flag ceremonies were held at the nine provincial legislatures last night.
lan Boesak said after the new flag was raised: "I feel great. One has to see tangible signs of the death of apartheid and tonight was such a sign."

He said earlier that he was "not at all sad" about the demise of the old flag because it did not signify a single good thing "for our people".
NP premier candidate Mr Hernus Kriel said: "It is the end of an era and the start of a new era. It is only fitting that we should start the new with a new flag." He said he "obviously had some nostalgia" about the old flag but one should look to the future.


VOTING FOR THE CHILDREN . . These pregnant women voted at St Monica's Maternity Hospital in the Bo-Kaap yesterday. From left are Miss Helen Landingwe, Miss Nobantu Guliso, Mrs Patience Kubashe and Mrs Liza September. The IEC has pointed out that while votes are cast in secret, voters may, if they wish, tell people for which party they voted.

##  <br> 

VOTING in prisons proceeded smoothly yesterday as special polling stations were set up for as many as 100000 prisoners, a CorrectionalServ. ices spokesman said

No incidents were reported and the atmosphere in prisons was calm, he said. Independent Electoral Commission officials set up the stations and guards took eligible prisoners to cast their votes.

There was no adverse reaction firm murderers, rapists and other prisoners denied the vote by a last-minute cabinet decision yesterday, the spokesman said. Prisons Commissioner General Hent Bruyn this week barred the media from prisons to "keep the atmosphere as calm as possible". - Sapa.
(Report by I Res, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)



This is the current state of play in each department: Eustice (Minlster Dullah Omar, ANC)
The current DG is advocate Jasper Noeth, who took over in February 1989. Department repFebiunty 1as. Depare wres "no resomialion that te will not atay indicaton hat io whe not stay on". Noeth las so years service In the department and is widely recognised as the driving force behind the establishment of small claims courts $\square$ Salety and Security (Minister Sydney Mufamadi, ANC).
Safety and Security is a special case, where the commissioner of police holds the equivalent of DG sank. Should Mufamadi wish to replace General Johan van der Merwe he will have to walt on the passing of a new Police Act which will put in place a new pollice force.
E Education (Minister Slbuslso Bhengu, ANC)
Minister Bhengu said his first priority will be to tum South Africa's raclally based departments into a single system. Incumbent DGs would not be affected untll then.

ANC education expert Dr John Samuel - at one time spoken of as a possible DG - has been appointed to oversee this process. The current DG of National Edu cation, Dr Bemhard Louw, took up the position in 1989. He holds a masters in African languages. WTrade and Industry (Minister Trevor Manuel, ANC)
G J J Breyl, an MBA graduate from the University of Pretoria, was appointed acting DG in Warch. Breyl (53), has held vartMarch. Breyl ( 53 ), has held vart-
ous positions in the department. ous positions in the department, trade for six years.
Forelgn Affairs (Minister Alfred Nzo, ANC)
Ministry representatives sadd there was nothing to suggeat that Nzo was planning to replace the current DG, Rusty Evans, the current DG, Kusty Evans, who has held the position since
August 1992. Evans has been August 1992. Evans has been with Foreign Affairs since 1966. ELabour (Minister Tito Mbowent ANC)
The current DG, Joel Fourle. will be resigning at the end of the month and "going to the prsvate gector as a consultant", according to his office. Mbowend has a number of replacement candidates to consider, fincluding labour lawyer Halton Cheadle,


Joe Modlse . . . reappointed General Georg Meiring.
who was a delegate at the World
Trade Centre for the SACP
Cheadie would be a popular choice with the trade union movement.
Poste, Telecommonications and Broadcasting (Minister Pallo Jordan, ANC)
Should Jordan choose to leave things unchanged, the current postmaster-general advocate Ters Oosthuizen will take up the position of DG. Oosthuizen. who position of DG. Oosthuizen. who
says he is "not a professianal says he is "not a professional
clvil servant", has completed one ctvil servant", has completed one year of a three-year contract. "I
have had no indication that there will be any change," he said.
Health (Minister NKosazapa
Zuma, ANC)
The incumbent DG, Dr Coen Slabber (54), has held the position since December 1987. The minister's Intentions are not known and Slabber's contract expires in November. But one ANC heaith policymaker says there is "a fairly broad consensus on what needs to be done. sus on what needs to be done.
There is no reat problem with There is no real problem with
people in the depariment of people in the department of heath being o
plan, ${ }^{,}$said one.
Slabber has described the ANC's health plan as "sound" ETransport (Minlster Mac Maharaj, ANC)
The curcent DG is Dr Skipple Scheepers. A ministry represen tative said there was "no indica tion that he will not be retaining tris position". Scheepers sald he and Mahara had not yet discussed the matter. DG since 1992,


Joe Slovo . . . wanted own man in department.

Scheepers joined the departmen at that level
Provincial Affairs and Constitutionsl Development (Minister Roeif Meyer, NP)

As far as we know he is stayIng on." That's the word from te department on the current the department on the curren of the Nationard. A former head of the National Intelligence Ser vice. from 1980 to 1992, Barnard Was a key figure in talks with the imprisoned Nelson Mandela and played an active role in mut tiparty negotiations.
Land Affalis (Minlster Derek Hanekom, ANC)
Changes in this department formerly regional and land affairs - will probably have to wait on its restructuring, as some functions will be placed under Meyer's control Coenie de Villiers, the current DG, has held the position since November 1991. He has an extensive career in administration, with parlicular focus on issues of regional economic development.
Sublle Enterprises (Minister Stelta Slgcau, ANC)

Dr Evert van Eeden. the cur rent DG. says the "prosent-indlcation is that the minister is continuing the exdsting arrangement until further notice should there be any". A former law professor at Unisa, Van Eeden (42) was previously charged with implementing consumer protection policy. He was appointed last Apri.
DPablic Service and Administration (Minister Zols Shweylya, ANC)


Alfred Nzo . . . change is con. sidered unlikely.

This is another departmen' set to undergo some changes. Di Lucas Stoop has been DG of thecommission for administration. which has now been replaced by the Public Service Commission. the Public Service Commission. ANC)
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Public Works (Minlster Jeff Radebe, ANC)
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## enced, Cabinet Ministers in the Government of her to keep or change their experienced heads of lly 'run the show', reports John Perlman


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Plk Botha . . . under pressure to make a switch.
replaced. Van Robbroek, a professional engineer, has more thas 30 years experience in the Department of Water Affairs. with extensive invoivement in large dam construction.
Correctional Services (Mintster Slpho Mzimela, IFP)
The equivalent of DG in this department is the Commissioner of Correctional Services, currently General Henk Bruyn (44), Bruyn started in the prison services as a warder, rising through the ranks until he became comintssioner in January. Ministry sourcesare conffdent he will remain there. Bruyn's sporting interests equip him well for polltics - he is "patron of the departmental and combined forces tug of war"
Finance (Minister Derek Keys, NP)
The DG of Finance, Dr Estlan Calltz, was appointed last Sep-

 herse any intention to repiace him, yr, lers department inds under a -ricmindry representatve said. ; board, whoge current chairman it turer; has headed the Central atirement soon. The current DG of 1 Eanamic Advinory Eervice, and in Environmental Affairs is Dr Stiwas deputy DC for lour years. Colin Cameron, who headed the 1, FHe has a doctorate in economics Puble Servants Association for trom Stellenboech.
Agrfenlture (Minister Krad van Nlelserk, NP)
Dr Frans van der Merwe (62), the current DG of Agriculture, is currently on a five-year contract which began in November 1992. He joined the department 12 years ago and was a professor of animal husbandry at Stellenbosch for 15 years before that. - Sport and Recreation (Min ister Steve Tshwete, ANC)

There is a good chance of a new appointment here since the current DOG, Dr Bernard Louw, is also the DG of National Education.
Home Afialrs (Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, IFP)
Home Affairs says the future of the department's current $D G$, Piet Colyn, is "of a personal nature between employee and employer'. Colyn (58), recently served on the independent Electoral Commibsion's adminigtraton division. He has spent 38 years in the civil service.
$\square$ Water Affairs and Forestry (Minister Kadar Asmal, ANC)

DG Martinus Erasmus (55)
has spent 33 years. hls entire career. in the department's head offee, rising to director-general last September. He is a former president of the South African Institute of Mechanical Engineers.
Environment and Tourism (Minlster Dawle de Villiers, NP)

11 years, Cameron (56), took up the position in October 1992. $\square$ Mineral and Energy Aftairs (Minister Pis Botha, NP)
(Minister Pik Botha, NP)
The current DG is Dr Petrus The current DG is Dr Petrus
Hugo, a former director-general of the Atomic Energy Corpors tion. Hugo was appointed DG in 1991, after holding the post of deputy DG before that. A department representative said any de cisions on changes would be "made by the Cabinet on recorrmendations of the Public Service Commission". The National Union of Mineworkers however, has already expressed dismay at this portfolio going to the National Party, and may exert pressure for some changes in the higher reaches of the departhigher
ment.
Welfare and Population Development (Minlster Abe Whliams, NP)
There is, at present, no DG for Welfare as thlis was part of National Health belore. Dr Boet Schoeman has been the deputyDG responsfble for welfare. He bolds a D-Phil in social work from the University of Pretoria. Arts, Culture, Science and Technology (Minister Ben Ngubane, IFP)
This is a new ministry.
Defence (Joe Modise, ANC) The equivalent of DG is the Chief of the National Detence Force, currently General Georg Melring, who was this week reappointed for five years.



## Election 'sabotage' <br> (From page 1) <br> IEC worked through the night to rec-

Mr Mandela is known to favour a continuation of voting tomorrow, at least in areas where difficulties have arisen and such a move is likely also to be backed by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

But President De Klerk said at a Press conference today that he opposed the idea, and expressed his satisfaction with the way the poll had gone so far.

Meanwhile, the IEC announced measures today to remedy some of the problems encountered yesterday, including the printing of some 9 -million new ballot papers which bear the name and other details of the IFP a step which Chief Buthelezi said had averted a crisis which may have led tol the IFP's withdrawal from the election.
"I believe the issue of the ballot has resolved the crisis that was looming," he said, shortly before SAAF aircraft carrying the first of the new ballot papers landed at Ulundi, the KwaZulu capital.

The IEC rescue mission, announced in stages throughout the night, involves a huge logistical operation in many areas and included declaring today a public holiday to give voters more time.

Voting stations today would be kept open until everybody wishing to vote had done so, IEC officials also said.

And they set up a special operations centre in Ulundi to sort out election problems as they arise.

SAAF aircraft and Puma helicopters were also placed at the IEC's disposal today to rush voting material to areas where these had not been delivered or were in short supply.
The new initiative came after the
tify problems that arose yesterday, and after an urgent meeting between Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte and Chief Buthelezi in Ulundi early today to debate voting problems in KwaZulu/Natal yesterday.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said at a press conference today he had again received complaints from political parties about problems yesterday and how they might impact on the integrity of the election.

The complaints, some of which had already been addressed, would be taken into consideration when the verdict was made on whether the election had been free and fair.
He confirmed that at some polling stations voting had begun yesterday and Tuesday without IFP stickers attached to the; ballot papers. In these instances, those who wanted to vote for the IFP had - like those who had voted abroad - written the IFP's name on to the ballot papers and voted next to it.
He said that according to the agreement that led to the IFP's role in the election, ballot papers that did not have the IFP's stickers would be regarded as spoilt papers. However, when IFP stickers did not arrive on time at some ballot stations, the IEC had "to deal with the situation as best it could", and people who wanted to vote for the IFP were then asked to add the party's name to the ballot paper.
Those papers that had the IFP's name written on to them would be put with all those that did not, and would be considered when the votes were counted. This would not prejudice the IFP, he said.






THE LONG WAIT: in Brook their ballots.







MORE election reports,
pictures on pages 2, 3 , 4 ,
14, 15.




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## Church comes to IECs rescue <br> The Argus Correspondent: <br> But; it was not all smooth going, said

JOHANNESBUֻGG. - The church has come to the rescue of the TEC following an emergency plea for volunteers to help with vote counting throughout the country.

In what a churchman has called a" "mir acle" response, more than 900 people were rounded up in a few hours following a "telephone chain".

The man behind the "miracle" was Methodist Bishop of Johannesburg Peter Storey.

He said he started a "telephone chain" on Wednesday after receiving a call from the IEC, asking if 500 volunteers could be rounded up by yesterday morning to help counting officers' around the country.

In a a few hours, after contacting church leaders around the Transvaal, 900 people had volunteered for the task.
the bishop.

He received the request late on Wednesday night and was told that the volunteers would have to undergo emergency IEC training before being deployed to counting stations around the country.

Yesterday, the volunteers, who had travelled from as fár as Potchefstroom and Nigel, were assembled at the Civic Theatre when they were told the training would be postponed until 4 pm today.
"They accepted that with a wonderful spirit although some travelled more than 100 km to be there;" said the bishop

Later the whole processinad to be repeated when the venue was changed to the Rhema Church at Randpark Ridge at 9am.

Now the bishop only hopes everyone has received news of the change.


## IEC happy with voter turnout in Western Cape <br> Cape complained that the laek <br> against wo National Party

THE Independent Electoral Commission has pronouriced itself "happy", with the turriout of voters in the Western Cape.
Polling finished at 14 specially designated stations in the area at 9 pm yesterday, while the rest closed at 7pm.
IEC spokesman Tyrone Seale said in spite of all the rumours, hearsay and allegations there had been surprisingly few formal complaints.

Although the investigations department had been kept busy throughout the polling period, they had had to deal mainly with routine, minor complaints.

An Inkatha Freedom Party spokesman in the Western
of clear" guidelinies on inclusion of the party's name could lead to many voting papers being spoilt.

Options for including the IFP's name on ballot papers, if stickers were not available, were for IEC officials to write it on or for the voter to do so.

If a voter was asked to write in the party name, even a "literate and informed" voter could accidently spoil the paper by writing in the wrong place or intruding on the National Party block.
Complaints included:

- The ANC is laying charges of intimidation and offences in terms of the Electoral Act
candidates in Mitchell's Plain. ANC national candidate Kader Asmalialleged that two NP candidates had been involved in "a campaign of disruption and intimidation" especially aimed at ANC election information tables.
- The IFP complained that some ballot boxes at the Maitland Methodist Church had no lids and officials were úsing makeshift lids which was. "highly irregular".
- The IFP was investigating complaints that some ballot papers were: marked with small red dots next to the picture of ANC prèsident Nelson Mandela; while other papers carried a small red cross next to the ANC.

The National Party claimed a prominent ANC member was doing duty as an IEC observer at a polling station in the Strand Regional NP candidate Simen Andersen claimed that John Pretorius was a prominent member of the ANC.

- The PAC complained that "90 percent" of IEC officials in the Western Cape were ANC aligned. They submitted official complaints to the IEC including claims of intimidation and double voting.


## Polling in <br> UMTATA. - An election network of 4000 people swung into action early today to ensure that 1700 polling booths in Transkei would be operational for the first time. <br> An estimated one-million people were expected to cast their votes in 28 districts. <br> Spokesman for the IEC in

 Umtata John Hlophe said that all essential materials ranging from 1,25 million ballot papers arrived in three separate airlifts last night."Our people worked flat out,
whicf enabled all voting sta tions to have enough material to be operational and we have enough back-up supplies to overcome any shortages," said Professor Hlophe.
He said that he hoped all voters would be able to cast ballots long before nightfall.
Transkei ruler Bantu Holomisa left Umtata at the crack of dawn and flew to remote polling stations to ensure that all was well.
Before leaving, he said that the extra time today would enable all voters in the region to
time since the election started on Tuesday.

There was no voting in seven districts involving 609 polling stations because there were no facilities
"But I am pleased to note that every effort was made by the IEC to ensure that all our people had the opportunity to vote," said General Holomisa.
There were no incidents reported from any of the voting stations and while some of them were very quiet there were long queues in the seven districts where there was no voting over the there was three days.

> First task is to raise living standards of

THE first task of the new gov ernment will be to raise the living standards of blacks to the same level as that of whites, says. ANC president Nelson Mandela.
Interviewed on CNN today, Mr
Mandela, who is expected to be the country's next president, said people would have to be patient while the process of meeting their needs was being set up.
Commenting on the reported R5-billion capital flight from the country, Mr Mandela said he hoped businesses would change their minds once they saw the new government could restore order and stability.
South Africa was different


ARG Mr Mandia/94 tional Executive Comittee. The changing of an individual leader would have no effect. Mr Mandela refused to comment on whether he would be reconciled with his estranged wife Winnie, because this was a personal matter. Regarding his religious beliefs, Mr Mandela said that during his 27 years in jail he attended religious services every single week but one - "because I was sick":

## ELECTION +++ ELECTION +++ ELECTION +++ ELECTION

## ' $90 \%$ of IEC officials ANC-aligned' . PAC

Political Staff
THE PAC said yesterday it would not accept the Western Cape electies had been addressed by the Independent Electoral Commission.
Alleging "electoral sabotage". Western Cape premier-elect Mr Patricia de Lille claimed $90 \%$ of local IEC personnel were ANCaligned.

She also said racism was behind the voting equipment shortages which resulted in nearly all the Peninsula's voting delays and shutdowns in Khayelitsha on Wednesday.
Speaking at the PAC's headquar ters in Salt River, she said complaints to provincial IEC officer Mrs Mary Burton, the IEC investi-
gations department and the National Operations Crisis Centre had been handled indecisively.
Earlier this week the PAC said in an official complaint to Mr Piet Colyn at the IEC's national operaColyn at the IEC's national opera tion: "The PAC wishes to put on record that voting in Mitchells plain ... has been rigged. We suswith IEC officials.

Claims of Irregularities between April 26 and 28 included:

- IEC officials in Hanover Park telling people which party to vote for;
- ANC agents inside voting stations telling people which party to vote for;
ANC supporters intimidating voters inside the Khayelithsa re source centre;
- Balrot boxes in Khayelitsha and Mitchells Plain being opened for transfer to postal bags;
- Three PAC agents being re fused access to the Somerset West Town Hall;
- PAC branch secretary Mr An dile Makhala being stabbed by five "ANC people" for wearing a PAC T-shirt, and
- IEC officials voting twice at the Ebutsheni School in Khayelitsha


## Box of marked



LAST RUSH . . . Hundreds of people crowded the Bellville Home Affairs office yesterday in a last-minute attempt to get temporary voter cards so they could cast their ballots before the polls closed.

## Aspirant voters' faces are checked

Owa Correspondent

## JOHANNESBURG.

Vaccination scars. accents and facial features were some criteria used
by Home Affairs officials by Home Affairs officials to determine whether to cards to people without valid identification
At the President Stre
Home Affairs office chief clerk Mr Reston Banda said: "If, I interview someone and I am satisfied the person is genuinely South African, then he gets it. I can hear if they are speaking a foreign language.
Assistant director Mr Louis van Vuuren said the employees at the office "know the people. They can see in their faces and check by asking ers, and check by asking the people are born"
'We seldom t
people away" he said
In Thokoza, officials checked vaccination scars, saying South Africans had scars on the upper arms while Mozambique and Swaziland nationals - many of whom were turned away - had scars on the forearm.

## 'Chancers could get poll cards'

## Staff Reporter

HOME AFFAIRS officials in the Western Cape yes terday admitted there were flaws in the voting sys tem and that non-South Africans could "slip through" to obtain temporary voter cards
Mr Theo Theart of the Barrack Street office was speaking as thousands of people queued at Home Affairs offices countrywide in a last-minute rush to get voter cards.
Since Monday more than 22000 temporary cards were issued in the Western Cape alone.
Mr Theart said most applicants had no form of dentity and it was most important to establish
Appli
Applicants were grimed on personal details such as where they grew up, went to school, worked, and had relatives.

## 'Impossible'

Conceding that some non-South Africans had ob tained voter cards, Mr Theart said he was confident here hadn't been many cases in the Western Cape n one incident a card obtained under false pre
But Mr Theart added
it's impaded that "once the guy is off ou He said differences to trace
Heak local languages often accents and inability to Yesterday about 2000 temperary chars away. were issued at the Bellville office where people from Kraaifontein, Elsie's River and Blackheath queued for kilometres
The ANC desperately ferried people around so they could make their mark in time while ANC officials helped potential voters fill out complicat
ed forms.

## Vote-counting starts tomon

## Now tr

## - BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA NORMAN CHANDLER

Dawn tomorrow sees the start of vote counting in South Africa's founding election - and the Independent Electoral Commission begins its critical deliberations on whether the poll was free and fair.

The final result could come any time between Sunday nigh and the end of next week. First indications of regional trends could become apparent by midmorning tomorrow,

Today the election - teetering earlier in the week amid a plethora of administrative foulups - was back on course.

Prospects for a free and fair poll were boosted significantly after the IEC moved sharply yesterday to address the problems that plagued the first two days of voting.
The most dramatic of its initiatives was a move to extend voting by a day in parts of KwaZulu/Natal, the Eastern Cape and northern Transvaal.

Election '94

- National round-up of all the joy and drama on Pages 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 10, 11

President de Klerk agreed to a proclamation which would allow a day of extra voting in the former homelands of Venda, Gazankulu, Lebowa, Ciskei, Transkei and KwaZulu.

De Klerk said there were two important provisos to the extension of voting. First, international monitors from areas where voting had finished would be moved into the troubled areas. The level of monitoring would be increased.

Second, all votes cast today would be kept separate from earlier ballots, in case of disputes.

The extended voting means the counting will begin at 6 am tomorrow - a day later than originally scheduled. After 3000 votes are counted in a region the "state of play" - the count at that time - will be relayed to IEC headquarters and made public. The first of these "minipubic. The first of these "mini-mid-morning tomorrow
mid-morning tomorrow.
The final result has to be announced between 48 hours and 10 days after the election. The earliest it could be known is 7 pm on Sunday.
However, this will depend on the counting having been completed and alleged irregularities having been investigated. Already parties with apparently limited support have begun to flood the IEC with a range of grumbles.
The IEC will also have to rule on whether the election was sufficiently free and fair before announcing the final results.
By late yesterday most polling stations across the country were reporting dwindling attendance and it appeared the poll had largely been successful.
There had been an extraordi-

THE extra day has addressed fears of several parties that supporters had been denied their democratic right to vote
 troubled area.
There have been, however, many claims of irregularities by most of the main parties taking part in the election.
In the Western Cape, the PAC has threatened that it would not accept the regional result unless accept the regional result uniess was investigated.
IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday denied he was planning to pull out of the election because of the plethora of logistical problems over the previous two days, but was still "depressed" about the lack of proper organisation.
"If this is the dawning of the new South Africa, it has come in a very distressing manner," said Buthelezi.
There was also a mild scare yesterday when it was reported that ANC president Nelson Mandela had alleged there had been attempts to sabotage the election. However, it appeared later tion. Mandela was referring to some missing ballot papers and wos suresting they might have was sugesting the have been dem unknown people in an attempt to prevent those in predominantly black areas from voting.
The IEC yesterday pulled out all the stops to ensure the election ended relatively smoothly in most regions.
In a move expected to go a long way towards placating Buthelezi, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler yesterday made the recommendation that voting continue until 7 pm today to ensure that all those who wanted to vote had "a reasonable opportunity" to do so.
He added that in other provinces - including the most populous PWV - everything was "under control" by late yesterday.
The call for an extra day of voting in the three provinces followed numerous meetings with leaders and representatives of the various political parties including the IFP - at IEC headquarters in Johannesburg.
The move could address complaints raised by a number of parties - particularly the IFP and the Democratic Party that not all their members and supporters had had an opportunity to vote.
Mr Justice Kriegler again insisted that although ballots cast without IFP stickers - and those with the IFP's name written by hand on to the papers were technically spoilt papers, these would be considered as valid in terms of the relevant section of the Electoral Act.
The IEC, the judge said, recognised that such ballots "expressed unequivocally the wish pressed unequivocaly the wish
of the voter", and had to be "taken into account".


FM 2914194


Which is why it would make sense for the job of Cabinet secretary to go to ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, who is perhaps more soft-tongued than the other main contender for the job, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who is perhaps a wilier, more efficient organiser.

In the rivalry stakes between the two, Ramaphosa is widely seen as having trumped Mbeki by calling the bluff of $\mathbf{I n}$ katha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi over the terms of reference for the international mediators recently.
No doubt there will continue to be ideological groupings in the ANC and conflicts over policy may be expected, as in any ruling party or governmeith, For example, the ANC's trade union MPs will push hard for reconstruction and development and won't be too perturbed about whether high levels of expenditure attract foreign investors or not. Hopefully, they will be balanced by wiser heads in the Cabinet.

Observers seem convinced that Mandela, at least, will discourage caucusing in an ANC-led government, which, apart from containing Ministers from other parties, expects anyway to be faced with a hostile bureaucracy.

## INKATHA -2 galylay Goodwill sold short

The real reasons behind Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's last-minute decision to join in the general election have not yet emerged. But reports claiming that Buthelezi was forced to capitulate after Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini said he would accept the ANC's offer guaranteeing his position, seem plausible enough. ( 4 上 3 ) ( 4,3 )

At the very last meeting of the multiparty negotiating council on April 20, called to adopt formally the constitutional amendments affecting the king. Inkatha and the KwaZulu government were represented by Walter Felgate and Prof Harriet Ngubane. The council welcomed Inkatha's decision, but there were tough remarks by the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa and his government counterpart, Roelf Meyer, concerning Inkatha's apparent cynicism and the fact that " 700 lives" had to be lost before Buthelezi changed his mind. Ramaphosa réad from a Pretoria News report that day which quoted Felgate as having told the BBC that "the IFP's strategy was to hold out for as long as possible. Millions of rands could not have got us this publicity."
${ }^{-}$"I find it tragic that a high-ranking offin cial of the IFP said that," said Ramaphosa; adding that Inkatha should no longer be treated with kid gloves.

A somewhat cowed Felgate said Inkatha had "sought only to bring about the best possible amendments to the constitution." He said his remark about free publicity was

## Fun 2914-194

in answer to a question about the short time Inkatha would have for campaigning.

If Inkatha only wanted to get the best constitution, Roelf Meyer wanted to know, why did they not accept the April 11 draft agreement on the status of the ZuIu king, worked out at Skukuza?
"It was turned down publicly by Chief Buthelezi. I don't understand it," said Meyer. "Now the IFP and the Chief Minister suddenly accept far less than was spelled out in the Skukuza draft, which included specific powers and constitutional protection for the Zulu king. They owe the country an explanation." As Meyer saw it, only one deduction could be made: "It was all about postponing the election." He pointed out that Inkatha's central committee had again called for a postponement on April 9. "And when mediation failed the IEP changed its mind and came in. $4+8$ ) ( 4

What did Inkatha actually achieve for holding out?
$\approx$ First, the constitutional principle (XIII) - which recognises and protects the institution, status and role of traditional leadership according to traditional law - is amended by adding: "Provisions in a provincial constitution relating to the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch shall be recognised and protected in the constitution." Nothing there relates to the Zulu king specifically.

Second, the section in the interim constitution dealing with provincial constitutions brings in the following proviso: "Provided that a provincial constitution may provide for legislative and executive structures and procedures different from those provided for in this constitution in respect of a province; and, where applicable, provide for the institution, role, authority and status of a traditional monarch in the province, and shall make such provision for the Zulu monarch in the case of the province of KwaZulu/Natal." --
In terms of the earlier Skukuza draft, the parties had undertaken "to actively promote the dignity of the Zulu king and monarchy," and to ensure that within the KwaZulu/Natal constitution the king and Zulu monarchy ""shall have and enjoy a suitable position."

In particular, the parties undertook at Skukuza to ensure that the king shall: be recognised as king with constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations which shall extend throughout the province; have and exercise such rights and powers as determined by Zulu custom and tradition, as well as ceremonial powers and prerogatives specified in the provincial constitution.

Further, the provincial legislature would annually have been required to approve a budget to cover the expenses of the king and Zulu monarchy and establish by law a royal guard responsible for his security.
To clinch it all the agreement would have been "filed with the Security Council of the UN" to ensure its implementation.
None of these special provisions was in the final agreement.

## The pressure's on to declare the poll fair

Despite the disruptions, local
politicians and foreign governments want the IEC to declare the elections free and fair, reports Paul Stober
departmentis Steven Fipedman, disagrees wh the cyntes who say the deciston to declare the lection free and ratr has already been taken polling slations: thicence and snarl-ups a says' 'he IEC' will declare the elcection free and farr, but the firial dectsion lics with the cam missioncrs.":
'Friedman's department will be drawing upa report on the enlifre election process, which will be studied byytheicinentssion before it makea e final declision' The report to atready belos writien: events ivir be siotued inas they bocur Thin
4 Friedmar sald it was agreed in lemsaionality
there was no stuch hing ad a perfect electioni
Free and fair is an attempt ta dscernit ite , watived aril the rules to tet thelnkathid Freedom 7-treated equally by the security' forces. $\%$


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# ${ }^{〔}$ Free and fa 

## That's what the IEC, Mandela, FW, and a few others a <br> LOUISE MARSLAND, CHRIS WHITFIELD

and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Stalf
JOHANNESBURG. - There is every likelihood that South Africa's founding elections will be declared free and fair in spite of a series of breakdowns in the Independent Electoral Commission's machinery.

Foreign and local observer teams 'have labelled the elections a "definite success" and a "victory for peace", in spite of logistical and technical hitches.
IEC chairman Johann Kriegler, 'ANC president also pronounced their satssfaction with the elec tions. which stretched to four days in some areas
Now the country bolds its breath as frenzied counting of ballot papers was set to get under way early today and the IEC sits down to dectde
whether the poil was free and fair. whether the poil was free and fair
Yesterday's extra day of voting in six former homelands went off relatively well, although there were once again problems In Transkei.
Although there were upbeat assessments of the poll from a range of parties, some of the smaller parties registered complaints. These threaten to final result being announced tomorrow night the earliest time passible in terms of the Electorthe earliest time possible in ter
al Act now seem slender.
The final results have to be announced between 48 hours and 10 days after polling finishes Last night IEC sources believed that the country may have to wait unttl as late as Wednesday for the final verdict.
Former Jamaican prime minister and head of the Commonwealth Observer Mission to South Africa, Michael Manley, described the elections as "clearly successful" and said they were deflnitely "free" - "there was no intimidation, no state power to stop people from voting".
Regarding "fair", Mr Manley said it was to be expected that there would be technical difficulties. "But when they were brought to the attention of the electoral authorities they responded to try to rectify the problems."
He said the decision to extend the elections to yesterday to give everyone a chance to vote underwrote their success.
The deputy special representative of the United Nations Observer mission to South Africa, An gela King, said the many political changes that affected the Electoral Act impacted on the IEC's work, "But despite problems here and there regarding distribution, they did pull it off, so that people who wished to vote could do so."
She said it was the enthusiasin to vote that held people together during the problematic days. "Many structures pulled together to make it
Head of the European Community Observer Mission, retired German ambassador Paul von

## - MORE REPORTS INSIDE

cerned in the election process had tried to correct the problems expericnced in the first two days of the elections.
"In the end I think things have gone sufficiently successfully. Everyone who saw the first two days - Tuesday and Wednesday - and all the commotion and disappointment must be surprised, including the people who wanted to vote." Mr Justice Kriegler, addressing a media conference yesterday, characterised the three days of voting as an "outstanding success". He admittut said that on mince the elections "had but sadid that on
incredibly well".
Visibly tired, the judge paid tribute to the police and the SADF for the "tremendous assistance the National Peace Secretariat for down", and to its members had worked to help out.
National Peace Secretartat member and vicechairman of its Wits/Vaal region, Rupert Lortmar said:"The election has gone remarkably well. It is a triumph for peacekeeping."
Mr Mandela was confident when interviewed on SABC television yesterday morning, that the elections would be pronounced free and fair. ANC parliamentary candidate Jay Naidoo sald the elections were an "outstanding victory for de-
mocracy". There had been a "very htgh turnout mocracy". There had been a "very high turnout throughout the country"

$\square$ VOTING DELUGE: Election officials at the Civic Centre empty a ballot box to begin the first counting ji total of completed ballots with the total of ballots issued - away of checking that no votes were ait

## Hitches likely to delay bis Cape count until tomorrow

## DI CAELERS

## Weekend Argus Reporter

HITCHES in the Western Cape's biggest voting area, the includes Khayelitsha, has delayeludes Khayelitsha, has de votes there until at least tomorrow morning.
While reconciliation of votes
hroughout the region went ahead as planned yesterday to check the number of papers in the ballot boxes equalled the number issued by the polling station - a hold-up in Mitchell's Plain meant no reconcilia-
tion took place there at all.
Explaining the problem last night, Independent Electoral Commission spokesman Tyrone Seale blamed the delay on the "domino effect" which began
with problems in the district bered and ready to be reconearlier in the week.

These included:

- Voting stations remaining open late on Thursday night so boxes were still in the area yesterday morning; and
- Electoral officials demanding the assurance that reconciliation would be done station by station, rather than district by district.
Mr Seale said: "This assurance was given to them yesterday afternoon and only after that were boxes removed to a central store. We will begin reconciling the ballot papers today and will be ready to start counting tomorrow.
Boxes at the central store, Mrom: the 77 voting stations in Mitchell's Plain, were num-
ciled.
Questioned on the results of the completed reconciliation process in other areas, and rising speculation among politiclans whether exact reconciliation was even possible, Mr Seale explained that the results had not yet been passed on to "deal with any problems onde we know the results"

Describing the reconciliation process at a Press briefing yesterday. Canadian election com missioner Ronald Gould said the delivery of ballot boxes and reports from presiding officers underway yesterday underway yesterday.
At the counting stations
reconciliation will take place
to check whether the of ballots in the box equals number issued by each station. Spoilt papers will removed.
"(In) Any Instances wi., these figures do not tally, ballots will be counted
rately. The boxes will rately. The boxes will be sealed and stored untfl the Counting stations opened Counting station
Each ballot, Mr Gould must bear the stamp of voting station where it was sued: The counting officer display the opened ballots The stamp will be checked ballots will be pe checked tive piles. Anything that tive piles. Anything that dards will be put astde".

## Counting began at dawn today

Weekend Argus Polltical Staff
GALLAGHER'S ESTATE (Midrand). Counting of votes in South Africa's founding elcetion began at dawn today - and the independent Electoral whether the poil was free and fair.
The final result conld come any tomorrow night and the end of next weet. First indications of regional trends could become ap-


Top police
suspended

## Elections boost JSE confidence

BRUCE CAMERON and
MARC HASENFUSS
Weekend Argus Business Stall
FINANCIAL markets have given the elections a R30 billion stamp of approval in preparation fu what economists expect could provide a miniboom for the country.
After months of pre-election insecurity during


## itches likely to delay big tpe count until tomorrow

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Counting stations opened at 7am this morning
Each ballot, Mr Gould sajd must bear the stamp of the voting station where it was issued: "The counting ofticer will display the opened ballots to each political representative. ballots will be be checked and tive plles. Anything on respec not conform to ballating does not conform to balloting sta
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- Battery back-up facility




## 'World applauds a negotiated revolution'

JOHANNESBURG. -
South Africa's elections, while not perfect, provided millions of first-time voters with an opportunity to have a say in determining their future, said official United States observer delegation leader the Rev Jesse Jackson.

- Addressing a Press briefing hours before leaving South Africa, Mr Jackson said the delegation had been encouraged by the absence of violence and intimidation during the elections when Inkatha Freedom Party and African National Congress members stood side by side to cast their votes.

He paid tribute to President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela for their leadership in the face of unimaginable difficulties in negotiating a transitional government and a complex interim constitution.
"They have provided the foundation for a future leadership in which all South Africans can have confidence.
"The world applauds a negotiated revolution. The leaders
chose a noble cause and saved the nation."
The elections were the first step in building a democratic system. South Africans now had to begin consolidating democracy by addressing social and economic problems, the greatest challenge for the country's new leadership, said Mr Jackson.
"There is commitment to democracy from the highest level."

Mr Jackson congratulated the Independent Electoral Commission on its courage and successful efforts to enable South Africans to vote.
"The co-operation between the IEC and the security forces provides the basis of civil-military relations in the future society."
Mr Jackson said: "Apartheid is dead. Nothing has happened that is more fundamental than the fact that apartheid is dead. The new South Africa is born, a new flag kisses the sky."
He said the US delegation had witnessed a milestone in South African's transition to nonracial democracy and was moved by the jubilation South Africans demonstrated during the elections.

Mr Jackson said the US and
the world would continue to support South Africa's transition to democracy and its intergration into the global economy.
US President Bill Clinton would announce an aid package for South Africa next week after the pronouncement of the elections as free and fair, said Mr Jackson.
"The American people are committed to help South Africa through aid, trade and investment."
The delegation met Mr Mandela yesterday morning, was scheduled to meet Mr De Klerk later in the day and was to have telephoned Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi before leaving yesterday evening.

The delegation included assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs George Moose, National Organisation for New Equality president the Rev Charles Stith, Central State University (Ohio) president Arthur Thomas, Florida Enviromental Regulation Commission chairman Dick J Batchelor and National Security Council director for African Affairs MacArthur DeShazer. - Sapa. gin inel di yid of pajaixa sem













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## Election a fraud, says <br> Hartzenberg

PRETORIA. - Horrible irregularities dictated "that the "abortive" election shouild be declared null and void, Conseryative Party léader Ferdi Hantzenberg said yesterday.

In a statement Dr Hartzenberg said that if a failed election at: tempt was accepted, the CP would regard the new government as the "illegal product of an invalid election".

He said a further election was essential and proposed that polls should be arranged on an "ethnic basis" for those people who so wished.
The Independent Electoral Commission had been totally incompetent and most parties had expressed dissatisfaction.
In such circumstancees an election could not be classified as free or fair - Nor mould it result in peace. 304 A)
"It is unthinkable that in a civilised country a goyernment is elected through fraud and afterwards it is internationnally recognised and respected.'
The CP had been yindicated, in boycotting the election: The party's predictions concerning the forced time schedule and warnings of the IEC's incompetence seemed to have materialised, he said.
"The process was girned solely to install a communist African National Congress government, irrespective of the method or irregularities." - Sapa. , 㖣
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## DI CAELERS

Weekend Argus Reporter

HOLIDAYMAKERS in the new South Africa may well find themselves leaving Thekwini, stopping off at Mangaung for petrol and then heading for eKapa ... And if that sounds like they'll be in a different country altogether, read on.
Because these are just a few of the Zulu, Xhosa and Sotho names for South Africa's major cities and which, under the new African National Congress government, may well be rolling smoothly off everyone's tongues.
And it's about time too, says names and naming expert Adrian Koopman, who told Weekend Argus the alternative names had been familiar to South African blacks for hundreds of years.
"So many whites seem frightened of these name changes. But the reality is that they've been there all along, living side by side with the English and Afrikaans names for hundreds of years.
"The new South Africa is simply now acknowledging the existence of several million black people who speak Zulu, Xhosa Sotho and other languages."
Mr Koopman is the Maritzburg chairman of The Names Society of Southern Africa, a group of linguists, historians, geographers and social anthropologists interested in names, and he runs an honours course in Zulu names and naming at the University of Natal in Maritzburg .

## What's in a name? That'll be the big question facing a new government anxious to wipe out names - of airports, cities, streets, towns or buildings - that evoke painful memories for the country's black population.

His comments follow the announcement this week by Free State premier-elect Patrick Lekota that the name of that province's capital, Bloemfontein could change back to its original Mangaung, or "place of the cheetah".
The area of current-day Bloemfontein was a traditional hunting ground of the Basutho people who called it "place of the cheetah" for the abundance of the wild cats.

Discussing some other names whites could expect to be introduced to shortly, Mr Koopman said the Zulu name for Durban was Thekwini and for Pretoria was ePitoli. The Northern Sothos however, called Pretoria Tshwane or "place of apes" Cape Town's Xhosa name was eKapa, Johannesburg was eGoli (place of gold) or Gauteng, according to the Sotho version, and Maritzburg was eMgungundlovu (the name of Dingaan's old royal palace burned down by the Boers in 1838).
Mr Koopman's opposite number in the Cape, Bertie Neeth ling, who is also professor of Xhosa at the University of the Western Cape, forecast that apart from the major cities, air ports were also likely candidates for name changes, along with "obvious" unsuitables like Verwoerdburg.

He described name changing
as a risky business "because everyone knows that politicians of the day seldom last, and if you name buildings, squares and cities after them, the one thing you can be sure of is that you'll soon be changing them again".
"It can also be an expensive business and in the light of the ANC's planned reconstruction policy, I don't think we'll see any major changes that will take money away from that," Professor Neethling said.

Mr Koopman said he believed the new government would make "some fairly obvious symbolic changes", like the already amended flag, the national anthem and the airport names. Aside from that, people "really just need to be made aware of the other names that have been around for so long".

A Human Sciences Research Council committee had already, for the past three or four years, investigated and phased out offensive names in the country with those including "kaffir" almost all gone.
"The process is one of educating the whites. You certainly don't have to tell the several million black people about the alternative names. The time's long overdue for recognising that there are many more than the present two official languages of English and Afrikaans," he said.

## Bý Ike Motsapi

The anc has lodged a complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission about an Eastern Transvaal farmer who allegedly prevented his workers from voting on Wednesday.

ANC local premier candidate Mr Matthew Phosa said the farmer had locked up his workers during the voting on his farm on that day.
He said police and IEC officials, accompanied by ANC representatives, would visit the farmer. The delegation was due to visit the farm yesterday afternoon.

Phosa said they were concerned about the security of the boxes containing the ballot papers and the ANC would discuss the matter with the IEC.

## 304 A

 convina boasted that his organisation had convincingly captured the Eastern Transvaal region during the first day of voting on Wednesday."There is no doubt about the outcome. The one thing that is clear is that the ANC has won this region with a landslide majority," said Phosa.

But the Pan Africanist Congress said the results would be very close.

Local PAC official Mr Bhekisisa Mchunu said: "We are doing very well and, according to our sources, many people voted for us."
Phosa said the ANC scooped the majority of the votes in the region on Wednesday when thousands of people - including farm workers who "escaped" from their workplaces - flocked to the polling booths. to probe missing ballots

HUNDREDS of thousands of missing ballot papers have been found in two warehouses in the PWV area, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.

IEC commissioner Mr Dikgang Moseneke said people had been subpoenaed to answer questions about the papers found in warehouses on the Eas and West Rand.
Investigations were continuing, Moseneke said.

A shortage of ballot papers in the PWV caused long queues at polling stations in the region last Tuesday and Wednesday

The IEC said yesterday afternoion it hoped to complete the counting of ballots by tonight: :

IEC spokesman Mr Humphrey

Khoza blamed the problems on the late entry of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the elections, saying the printing of IFP stickers had affected the IEC's planning.
The extension of voting by a day in some areas had also compounded the problems.
The IEC said more than 500 complaints lodged with the commission were being investigated by the South African Police and independent agents.
Complaints ranged from a shortage of voting materials to irregularities in the behaviour of political parties.
It said the scrapping of conciliation in the counting process had led to a dramatic increase in the count rate. It said reconciled papers would be
counted separately.
"Where the count formally stood at 30000 late yesterday (Saturday) afternoon, the unverified position on Sunday afternoon was approaching five million, enabling a clearer picture of trends to emerge and, we believe, easing the minds of the electorate about the flow and ultimate success of this second stage of the electoral process." $3 \infty<\Leftrightarrow$

IEC spokesman Mr Pieter Cronje said further efforts were being made to speed up the process of delivering unverified results.

On the issue of unmarked ballot papers, the IEC said they had been secured and the commission would destroy them $\mathbf{3 0}$ days after the election outcome. - Sapa.

## Detention warning for pall disruptions Weekend Argus Reporter. 4) 94

A STRONG warning has been issued by police to rightwingers planning to disrupt the elections, as spoilers will be detained under the Internal Security Act until after the poll.
At a media briefing yesterday, deputy commis sioner General Johan Swart said more than lio people already had been arrested in terms of Section 29 of the Act in the past week. He refused to give further details.

General Swart said intimidation would be dealt with by teams of the SAP's top detectives.

The entire police force of 93000 , as well over 8000 reservists, would be deployed to secure the election

The SAP would be helped by the SADF the Traffic Department and various other security agencies, he said.

Independent Electoral Commission chioirman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler emphasised at the briefing that no firearms - bar those carried by the security forces - would be allowed near voting stations and that voters disregarding this rule would be arrested and prosecuted

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## NEWS Voters suffer frơn

## Frustration

 as officials delay yotingHUNDREDS of frustrated voters on the East Rand townships of Katlehong and Tokoza yesterday deserted polling stations after queuing for long hours in vain.

At Tokoza Youth Centre, Natalspruit Hospital and DH Williams Hall in Katlehong, most people gave up attempts to cast votes because of "fatigue and hunger".

They claimed to have been queuing for more than eight hours. Some said they would return today.

Yesterday had been set aside for the disabled, the aged and pregnant women.

At Natalspruit Hospital a number of pensioners and disabled people left the polling station about 2 pm .
"We have been here since 6 am and I do not see any progress. Some people who came after us have already voted because they are known to officials," said one pensioner.
$30(f+\infty)$
However, some were determined to brave the inconvenience and wait for their turn. Mrs Stella Malinga: 80 ) of Katlehong said: "I'm very excited. I am also tired and hungry but I'm not leaving. This is my first and maybe last chance to vote."

Polling officials said the late delivery of ballot papers at several stations was the main reason for the delays.

At Thembelihle Primary School at Mavimbéla Section in Katlehong; hundreds of people waited patiently for IEC officials to arrive.
But it turned out the school was not designated for special voting, although normal voting would take place there today and tomorrow.


LONDON. - British newspapers yesterday gave front-page prominence to the election, hailing the end of white rule as the most significant event since the collapse of communism in the Soviet bloc.
The Independent devoted the top third of its front page to a colour picture of smiling black children banging drums in celebration in Soweto.
Underneath, the banner headline was a simple quote from Arch. bishop Desmond Tutu: "It's like falling in love."
The Guardian's headline was "South Africa's hour of freedom" while the Financial Times front page story was headed: "New dawn for South Africa", quoting Mr Nelson Mandela.
The Daily Telegraph, in an editorial headlined "A cause for rejoicing", em phasised the historic nature of South Africa's election and the end of centuries of white dominance.
"In the post-Cold War world, the enfranchising of blacks... ranks with the collapse of communism in eastern Europe as a memorable emancipation of the human spirit," the editorial said.
But the Telegraph also sounded a note of caution, warning that the voting would not end South Africa's problems.
"Xears of enlightened government will be needed to overcome the evil of apartheid... a great

## ANC poll officers

## in KwaZulu criticised

## Own Correspondent

LONDON. - The ANC's "sharp" practices in obscure parts of KwaZulu/Natal could have greater consequences for SA's long-term stability than the rightwing bombing campaign, author Mr R W Johnson, presently in Durban, wrote yesterday in the Times here.
He claimed that the ANC had managed to push its own supporters as presiding officers in polling stations throughout the province. These people had the power to appoint other electoral officers and agents.
"Inevitably, this patronage is parcelled out among the presiding officer's family and political cronies ... thus one polling station after another
in the IFP's greatest stronghold is staffed with monolithic sets of wellknown ANC activists."

Large numbers of IFP supporters were reported to have said they were too afraid to vote as their enemies controlled the election arrangements and could mark them for retribution.
"Our people are too frightened to vote, they think the voting arrangements are blatantly unfair - which they are - and if they do badly, they are not going to accept the result," Inkatha candidate Mr David Durham told Mr Johnson.

Everything depended on how Inkatha fared in KwaZulu/Natal, Mr Johnson said.
danger exists that the country will be subjected to a new authoritarianism," it said.
The Times carried a commentary commending South Africa's "two-saint miracle" - the partnership of Mr Mandela and President $F W$ de Klerk. It was these two men, it said, who were responsible for the "deliverance of South Africa to the polling booths this week".
"I do not believe that this election was inevitable," commentator Mr Simon Jenkins wrote: ${ }^{i}$ 'It is miraculous."
Britain's tabloid newspapers ignored the election on their
front pages in favour of domestic issues such as the Daily Mirror's "Knickers to the Bank" story about a former Bank of England employee who smuggled out used banknotes in her underwear.
But the Daily Mail ran a twopage spread on its inside pages focusing on 79 -year-old Ms Alice Mafola who was among the first elderly and disabled people voting in Soweto.
"I've waited 50 years for this. One hour more won't be bad," Ms Mafola was quoted as saying as a delay was caused by the absence of Inkatha Freedom Party stickers on the ballot paper. - SapaReuter

# Vote tor SA envoy 'exciting' 

From NEIL LURSSEN
WASHINGTON .
Standing in line to vote here yesterday was a moving experience for South African ambassador Mr Harry Schwarz an experience he described as exciting but tinged with sadness.

The excitement came from seeing South Africans of all races gathered together and chattering in a multitude of languages waiting patiently to vote.

The sadness was that many South Africans had suffered unnecessarily.
"It was an exciting moment in my life, an exciting day for all of us.
"We could have done this without any lives being lost, without the hardship and without people being traumatised by what has happened in South Africa.
"I am pleased we are here now - and we just have to successful. Everybody must do something to make it succeed. It can be done. There has to be give and take."
About his future, $\mathbf{M r}$ Schwarz said his loyalty was to the country and to the president, whoever he might be.

Though he may have to vacate his post, he intends remaining in public life.
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Party's name and logo on them
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## RElection'94 - All the drama in pictures and stories on Pages 2 $3,5,6,8,10,11,15$

the system of sticking the "IFP's name on ballot papers.
He objected, in particular, to the suggestion that IFP supporters - thousands of whom are illiterate - could simply write the party's name on the bottom of the ballot if stickers wewre not available.
Last night Buthelezi held talks with IEC officials and Home Affairŝ Minister Danie Schutte
This morning the IFP president said he accepted an undertating by the IEC to provide' additional specially printed ballot papers, which would include Inkatha's name, and extra'workers in KwaZulu/Natal.
"I believe the issue of the ballots has solved the crisiś I Ssäw looming before us. As far as I am concerned it does solve the problem I was concerned about.'
-.His veiled withdrawal threat had drawn sharp rebukes from President de Klerk and the ANC. This morning IEC chai mitan Mr Justice Johann Kriegler was confident the ballot paper shortages in certain areas would be overcome.
Oercome.
Officials had worked through the night to ensure freshly print. ed ballot papers were distrib
ed, lor todays voting, he said.
Among the electoral problems vident yesterday were ballot aper shortages and shortialls other voting materials, which ed to temporary closures of some voting stations around the wirs,
Worst affected were stations in Tokoza, Katlehong, Daveyton, Benoni, Böksbừ, Vosloorus,

## To Page 3 <br> Copage 3

## Millions line up for freedom

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Sowe ( $3 x^{2} 4$
ille, Klerksdorp Rize, Walker-促 ophuthatswana's Odi region, Brs, Bafokeng, the Free State Northern Transvaal, KwoZulu/ atal and Western Cape IEC officials on the still frantically organising were IFP stickers late yesterdg more

The IEC considerterday:
of allowing IFP voters theption the party's name at th Write of the ballot paper the bottom Lást niopt $\qquad$ ?
National Dat the South African has replaced the SADF, ,which tatemaced the SADF, said in a tatement that the military ould help to distribute addi-
The National Peace
The National Peace Secretariagreed to an urgent laté nigh ppeal from the IEC that its montors assist IEC personnel IL, spokesman Humphrey Khoza said only 10 percent of 9000 polung stations were ex periencing difficulties
Enthusiasm for the election and determination to vote in spite of delays and administrative foul-ups - gave rise to scenes never witnessed before in South Africa.
Some voting lines stretched or several kilometres.
Many people waited through ut the day to cast their votes on the historic day.
Star election statisticians Ri hard Humphries and Mark haw said it was possible that tentibl vole or 22,7 milion poas it had be deald be too low, sit had been derived from disputed census figures....

ADECADE of administrative confusion awaits South Africa after May 10 when the new order comes into being. tion of some of those involved in unravelling the morass of apartheid-era laws and structures in time to ensure that the new order can begin functioning in the next two weeks.
Some candidly admit that it will be "a bit of a nightmare"; others present a more hopeful scenario of, as one constitutional lawyer put it, "a year or two of managed chaos, followed by another 10 of moderate disruption".
The difficulties exist particularly at the regional level, where the nine new provincial governments will be taking over a bewildering array of powers and functions from the existing, racially ordered provincial administrations. the homeland governments and the national government.
Some planners, especially those within the cuffrent provincial administrations, are advocating an all-inclusive blueprint, outlined in complex organograms, to provide an instant paper solution to the complex problems facing them.
Others are proposing a "step-by-step" solution, with the provinces taking over functions from the old administrative structures as and when they are ready."
The advantage of the blueprint approach," says PWV provincial co-ordinator Roland Hunter, "is that the old structures are carved up and everybody gets reassigned from a given date, which gives a measure of certainty in terms of new chains of command.
He adds. however. that this approach lacks flexibility and has the major drawback of imposing solutions on everyone. "Some departments, such as health in the PWV, might be ready to fall under new authority. But others, such as education, will take far longer, and some provinces are a lot better prepared than others."
Everyone seems to agree that the Northern Transvaal region in particular is a disaster. both in terms of the complexity of the problems

## Which province will get the Bop inspector's BMW?

Years of administrative chaos, particularly at regional $2-5 / 4 / 94$ level, await the new regime, writes Gavin Evans (Scy/f)

nvolved and the lack of preparedness of thos charged with solving them. With its raw mate rial including some of the country's most con servative whites, its most militant blacks changing things will not be easy, to put it mild ly.

In the Eastern Cape, the difficulties involved
in merging three separate authorities Transkei, Ciskei and the old provincial author ity - open the way for a fobs bunfight, while the relatively uncomplicated Northern Cape has yet to make any substantial moves in the direction of reorganising itself
So far, nothing has been decided either nationally or regionally as to which model will be used - though most players seem to think the blueprint advocates will win the day-and time is running out. The new constitution states that all existing legislation continues to operate until specifically rcpealed or amended, and all existing administrations continue to function.
This could present immense problems in practical terms. Take, for instance, the case of Mr Mathare", a fictitious senior schools inspector in the former Bophuthatswana. Until now he has happily carried out his functions through out the fragmented home land under the authority of the Bophuthatswana edu cation minister, driving a BMW owned by the depart ment.
So, what changes? Well first of all Bophuthatswana no longer exists, but its education department continues until the relevant authorities decide it is time for the provi
rovinces?
The former Bophuthatswana structures cur rently extst in three of the nine new provinces, and until their jurisdiction is sorted out Matl hare's only political master is going to be the national education minister. He, in turn, is going to have to take over the functions of 17 previous ministers - from the "independent" homelands, self-governing states and the previous racially distinct South African depart ments.

Qo when there's a teachers' strike, Mathare Omay find himself having to appeal to an extremely busy minister for authority to act And which of the three provinces gets his BMW when the mess is finally sorted out?
These are all little nightmares of the nea uture, but there's an even more pressing one acing planners and lawyers night now: to com plete the enabling proclamations which will allow the provincial governments to function before the new state president takes power on May 10.
No one seems to know exactly when this task will be completed, but it's a fatr bet to assume that the last " i " s will be dotted and the last " t " rossed a few minutes before the deadline.
The first tasks of the new provinctal govern ments will be to elect their executives, premiers and speakers, after which they will begin con-
stituting their key committees, draw up stand ing orders and rules, and make decisions such as how much to pay themselves and where to "sit".

Even some of these decisions could be a little more complicated than they might seem. In the PWV, for instance, there is some division between old Transvaal Provincial Administra tion tsars, who currently live and work in Pre toria and would like to keep things that way and the ANC, which has its national and reglonal headquarters in Johannesburg-and is likely to get its way. But even then, it will be a while before the PWV government has a permanent home.

The first sitting will be in the Johannesburg Civic Centre on May 5," says Murphy Morobe, provisional secretary for the PWV legislature. "We"ll then move to the Bullring at Nasrec for a while, and then to the City Hall, once it's been made asbestos-safe. That will be our last tem porary stop before a decision is made on our permanent location."

A ccording to Morobe, the transfer of effective Apower "won't happen overnight", and the TPA and other existing authorities will continue to exercise many of their previous powers in consultation with the new provincial executives.
Untll this is completed there will need to be a good deal of mediation and crisis management. both within provinces and between provincial and national levels. Already there is a plethora of potentially competing structures in waiting to take on this role
The new constitution establishes a Commission on Provincial Government to deal with disputes, appointed by the president.

Then there is the existing Commission for Administration - a body believed to be dominated by former Nat Broederbonders - which will become the Public Service Commission. There will also be a National Department of Administration, and the provinces will be given their own powers to set up administrative committees.
"There's going to be a lot of jockeying for power, position and salary - not only within the provinces, but between the various media tion bodies at national and regional levels," admits one provincial official
But if this all appears messy, the lawyers, planners and bureaucrats only need to look at precedents abroad to become further discouraged.
The Spanish are still sorting out the confusion of moving from fascism to democracy 19

6 Lots of cockups, plenty of confusion, a fair amount of corruption and a great deal of frustration. But in the end we'll muddle through - we always do

WHAT THE GUIDE BOOKS DONT TELL YOU
The Madam \& Eve Collection South Africa's \#1 cartoon strip.
These two women have captured a new niche in popular culture.
-The Nere York Times
"A South African Doonesbury.
-Reuters
'Spot-on pulse of South African life."
The Citizen
'Has located a common national funnybone.
-The Washington Post
AVAIIABLE AT A BOOK SHOP NEAR YOU

## The East Rand paper chase <br> In the townships and

 squatter camps of the East Rand, would-be voters were left frustrated as ballot papers and other supplies failed to arrive, arrived late or ran out. Gavin Evans was thereEZEKIEL MOHUTSIWA was not the first in the queue when he arrived at the Buhlebuzile High School polling station at 2am on Wednesday, but he managed to find himself a place comfortably near the front.
By 8am he expected to be on his way back home for a long breakfast wilh his family. in their shack in the East Rand township of Thokoza.
By 11.30am he was still there, in the same place, playing draughts with his friends and wailing. When we returned at 2.30 pm , he still hadn't moved.
"Tve watted over 12 hours and ril wait another 12. I've waited my whole life for this moment, and ril keep on waiting." he said.
The ballot papers never did arrive at Buhlebuzile High that day, and Mohutsiwa finally and sadly decided to go home at 5 pm . his electoral virginity still intact.
When we returned at 6.45 pm . about 200 would-be voters were still there - angry, confused and extremely disapponted. Not only were there no ballot forms but the only Independent Electoral Commission offictals who had visited the polling station during the day were a handful of monitors.
"This is definttely apartheid," John Mboma concluded. "They don't want us to vote - but they can't stop us."
Others were less patient. By midday they were tired, hungry, thirsty and forlorn. Some left and said they weren't coming back; others tried to find another Thokoza polling station which was operating effectively.

Stuart Manelli (22) waited from 3am until 10am for polling to start at his home - the Phola Park


PHOTO: THEMBA HADEBE
squatter camp - before jumping ship and taking a ride with us to the neighbouring coloured township of Eden Park. Voting eventually got going at Phola Park at 10.30am which is about the time it stopped at Eden Park with a queue nearly a kilometre long waiting in the sun.
"We got through about 700 voters before our ballot papers ran out," said an IEC official who, like many others on the East Rand, repeated unfounded rumours of trucks carrying ballot papers being hijacked. The situation in many other polling booths on the East Rand -
particularly in the extremely volatile African townships and squatter camps - was similar, with papers not arriving, arriving several hours late. or running out well before the end of the day. In other areas the ultra-violet lights didn't work, the invisible ink ran out or IEC officials didn't arrive
"We've had huge logistical problems in Thokoza. Kathlehong. Soweto and Khayelitsha," IEC spokesman Humphrey Khoza explained. "We decided to deliver the first batch of badlot papers to the remotest rural areas and assumed
it was easier to deliver to areas on our doorsteps. We had a helicopter leaving at 1 lam carrying 250000 ballot papers and then they'll be delivered to all the polling booths. Im sure the problem will be sorted out," he told me at 2.30 pm .

But Khoza was wrong. In several polling stations. such as the Buhlubuzile High School which the IEC was specifically mformed about. it wasn't sorted out by the end of the day - and more generally it was handled in an extremely uneven manner with things being considerably better organised in the white areas and the hostels
At Van Dyk Park in Boksburg. for instance. the queue moved quickly. despite its doubling in length because of the spillover from dor mant township polling stations. From back to front it took an average of two-and-a- half hours to cast a vote-a record for the East Rand, a policeman on duty informed complaining voters.
But in the rest of Boksburg things were far from rosy.
"I went first to the town hall -no papers: then to the stadium - no papers: then to Parkdene Primary - nothing happening: so I came here. You must tell your readers that Darren Hockley says the IEC sucks. They're very disorgantsed," said Hockley. a 21 -year-old fan of FW de Klerk and Guns 'n Roses.
The struation was even better at the East Rand Inkatha hostels. At Thokoza's Madala Hostel, for instance, the queue moved quickly and smoothly.
"This is my first time to vote so I don't mind a little wait. We're all Inkatha here and we want peace. jobs and everything nice," said a clearly delightcd Gloria Mahlangu (33).

The IFP's Thokoza chairman, Abraham Mzizi, said he'd been in constant contact with the IEC to ensure a steady flow of ballot papers, and his efforts bore fruit. He said he was cautiously optimistic about the way his hostels would vote.
"Everybody here is IFP, at least until they cast their vote. You never can be cocksure, but at least they got to vote," he said.

THE WHITE RIGHT

# Ferdi heads for oblivion 

cP support continued to crumble this week. ing on support for the FP a 20-member Caucus chairman and veteran MP Tom Langley and Transvaal Agricultural Union president and MP Dries Bruwer broke ranks and urged rightwingers to back Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front (FF).

As the $F M$ went to press, there was little doubt that the vast majority of white rightwing supporters would ignore the CP's call for an election boycott and vote for Viljoen's party - effectively signalling the end of the road for the CP as a political group.

The FF was given a further boost at the weekend when Viljoen signed an accord with government and the ANC guaranteeing postelection negotiations on ${ }^{\prime}$ the establishment of a volkstaat, if sufficient voters back the idea.

In another move that will have bolstered the party's fortunes, at least 40 former SA Police generals. including commissioner Mike Geldenhuys and head of police liaison Leon Mellet, are backing the FF.

There were also claims that scores of CP-controlled town councils in the Transvaal are effectively throwing their weight behind Viljoen by allowing the use of facilities for polling. This was expected to ensure not only that most whites in those areas would vote but that active resistance to the poll would probably be limited in those towns.

The councils now effectively supporting the FF were reported to include Nylstroom, Barberton, Delmas, Ermelo, Middelburg, Standerton, Wakkerstoom, Christiana and Koster. Viljoen believes the support of $35 \%$ $40 \%$ of the estimated $1,8 \mathrm{~m}$ white Afrikancrs should be regarded as sufficient to justify the creation of a volkstaat.

Ironically, a similar figure was proposed last week by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg as a pre-requisite to CP participation in the poll. However, he insisted that the figure be written into the constitution, along with a clear definition of self-determination.

It is also clear that the CP envisages a volkstaat based on race, which is totally unacceptable to all other political parties participating in the election. Even the accord signed with Viljoen makes it quite clear that a volkstaat will have to comply with the principles of democracy, fundamental rights and nonracialism.
In terms of the agreement - and depend-
ing on support for the FP - a 20-member
volkstaat council will be established after the election to negotiate its establishment. This idea had been proposed by the ANC months ago. There will also be volkstaat community councils and a 25 -member national advisory council, drawn from volkstaat supporters in the nine provinces.

Viljoen says while the agreement is not everything the FF kould have liked, it represents the most significant gain for Afrikaners so far in the negotiation process.

Though the accord gives no legal guarantee that the FF's demands will be accommodated, there seems little doubt that a strong showing by the party this week will force a new government to take its position serioúsly.
${ }^{3}$ The call by Langley and "Bruwer was a major blow to the CP. even though they have not broken away from the party to join Viljoen. Langley, one of the founders of the CP . is widely respected in rightwing ranks. Bruwer has considerable influence among white farmers in the Transvaal, though he stressed that his support for Viljoen was personal and that it was up to farmers to decide for themselves what line to take.

Langley said in a statement that he was satisfied that Viljoen had succeeded in achieving all that could reasonably be expected of a person in his position in the prevailing circumstances and he, therefore, deserved maximum possible support. Bruwer said it was important for the election to demonstrate as much support as possible for a volkstaat.

But in his final speech in parliament this week, Hartzenberg said the CP's hour had only just arrived. While the party would pay the price of boycotting the election, supporters of minority self-determination would in future thank the CP for its tough stand against the new constitution.

## TERRORISM

## Final solutions

White terrorism, in its ugliest form, apparently reared its head in Johannesburg and other Transvaal towns this week. Several
fatal bomb attacks seemed to be aimed specifically at buildings to be used as polling stations, or simply at sowing terror.

At the time of going to press, deputy Law \& Order Minister Gert Myburgh announced that someone was being interrogated in connection with the blasts. He said he could not divulge any details. A reward of R1m was offered by the police. Commissioner Johan van der Merwe said a breakthrough was expected soon in the investigations.
Before going to address the last sitting of the tricameral parliament, President FW de Klerk promised to crack down on the white extremists. "We are not going to let the Right delay this election," he said.
By Monday afternoon, nobody had claimed responsibility for the blasts. The rightwing Freedom Front, which is taking part in the election, said it condemned all acts of terrorism. FM 29/4/94

Among the incidents which rocked the country just days before millions of voters prepared to go to the polls, were:
$\square$ The Johannesburg car bomb which killed nine people and injured about 100, $\square$ The Germiston taxi rank bom- which killed 10 people, injuring about 50 ;
$\square$ A suspected petrol bomb damaged a polling station in Bloemhof, western Transvaal: $\square$ An Eskom pylon damaged by an explosion on the road between Wonderfontein and Stofberg in the eastern Transvaal;
$\square$ Extensive damage to the Home Affairs Department offices in the northern Transvaal town of Potgietersrus.
$\square$ An explosive device was thrown at minibus taxis parked under a bridge on the Johannesburg/Potchefstroom road near Westonaria on Monday morning;
$\square$ In the Karoo town of Steynsburg, an explosion caused R10 000 damage to the town hall and a poiling station in the nearby township was damaged in a separate blast; and
$\square$ Other explosions around the country were


## Huge effort for voters in KwaZulu <br> DURBAN. - An operation of unprecedented scale

 has been launched in KwaZulu for the extra voting day today.Nearly six million additional ballots including the IFP were being printed.
Radio messages in homeland languages and aircraft with "sky-shouts" were prepared overnight to inform selected regions that voting will continue today.
Special radio messages were recorded for broadcast in the areas to ensure the electorate were given the best chance to exercise their voting rights, IEC spokesman Mr Humphrey Khoza said.
The IEC insisted last night that administrative hitches had largely been resolved, and were confined to northern KwaZulu/Natal. It blamed the chaos in certain areas on shortages of ballot papers, marking ink and ultra-violet lights and innaccurate census figures, the last-minute addition of nearly 500 polling stations and an overwhelming turnout of voters on the first two days of voting.
The extra voting day seems to have placated IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi., who earlier had criticised the IEC after touring the troubled areas. - Sapa-Reuter OT 291494






## mof rigging © State president votes



## By Josias Charle

STATE President FW de Klerk expressed hope for a golden future for South Africa as he cast his vote in Pretoria yesterday morning.

De Klerk and his wife Marike arrived to a tumultuous appłause at Arcadia Primary School.

His motorcade arrived at about 8.40am amid jostling by local and foreign media trying to record probably the last white president of the country voting. De Klerk-and his wife left the hall by a back èntrance:

He condemned the bomb blast at Jan

Smúts Airpoit, bêlieved tó have injured nine people. De Rlerk said yesterday was a great day for South Africa.
"We have prepared and waited five years for this day and we haveachieved what we promised ourpople when we set out to do this."

He said South Africans were focking to the polls and he was confident this would ensure the envisaged government. of national unity was fully repiesentative.
"Boycotters will be identified as a small and insignificant minority. We stand before a golden era and if people vote right we can all give it-a go."


CLOSE SHAVE FOR VOTER . . . Enterprising barber Mr Freddie Ontong took advantage of the long voting queues at the Bonteheuwel Civic Centre yesterday to give Mr Harold Samuels an election trim.

## Picnics and haircuts licept voters laughing

VoTERS trapped in long queues yesterday amused themselves and haircuts.
One enterprisins Butheheuwel man took advantage of the lons wait at the civic centre to ply his trade. Braving chilty Cape Flats winds and rain and watched by amused poll-goers Mr Freddie Ontong used a blade attached to a comb to trim Mr Harold Samuels's hair before he joined the ptimistic and peaceful crowd of 000.

At Golden Grove Primary School polling station in Rondepicnics. They had come prepared with pienic baskets, flasks of cof fee, books and folding chairs. Children from the neighbourhood played cricket in the street while queueing voters cheered and shouted "Howzat!".
In Gobandlovu near woman died on Tuesday while
waiting in a queue to vote. Mrs Skhakhane Mathaba, 65, arrived at the polling station at 7 am and mid-morning.
But in the Peninsula St John Ambulance staff heaved a collec. tive sigh of relief yesterday when

PICTURES - PAGE 7
the unly casualties they tod attend to were volers who fainted from hunger in long queues.
hospital when hed a woman to hospital when she was about to ing station," said Sister Madge Maneveldt at the Elsie's River station.
But not all voters endured the wait stoically.
A frustrated voter in KwaNobuhle, Uitenhage, tried to storm after the officers refused to allow
him the use of a police vehicle to transport people to a less con gested polling station. He was aken into custody.
And there was a certain irrita ion in the air when former president Mr P W Rotha and his wife Elize jumped the queue at a poll ing station in the Wilderness near George yesterday to cast their votes. Mr Botha refused to peak to reporters afterwards. Mr Pik Botha, the world's lung-est-serving foreign minister,
tried to stake a place in the new South Africa yesterday by voting outh Afriea
But hund
or hours to vote blacks waiting were unimpressed as the well tailored Mr Botha surrounded by bodyguards jumped the queue to cast his ballot. "They may have given us the vote but they still think they run this place," one woman grumbled, rubbing her hours. - Staff Reporters, Sapa


By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK MAJOR organisational problems which marred yesterday's voting could force an extra day of polling tomorrow.
But bombs, rain and threats of in timidation failed to stop millions o South Africans surging to the polls on Shefirst dav of full yoting.
Serious logistical blunders, includ still without lry stickers, occurred in a number of provinces, causing lone delays and frustration amone voters Yesterday's massive turnout. on top of the series of organisational fail tres, created severe botllenecks a many polling in stations in Cape Town and other urban areas.
The IEC also extended woting hours and asked the army to help print and papers. Extra ballot papers were als printed in Port Elizabeth and dis patched to polling stations all over the Eastern Cape.
Last night, after admitting that or ganisation had been "poor" in a num ber of areas, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said a derision would be taken at noon today whether extend the voting by another day. Kn a significant rimbdown, Judge Kriegler said that if it became clear by
midday that not enough voters would be able to vole. the IEC would recom mend that voting continue tomorrow Mr Justice Kriegler concederd that if the poor performance of polling sta tions in the PWV region was repeated today and only 70 per cent efficiency was attained, he would suriously con sider declaring the clections in the region unfree and unf:it
"It will not be a disaster for the could be re-run in an affected area within 12 weeks. within 12 weeks

President FW de Klerk last also softened his earlier apowit or extension, giving cautin The reversal followed a hreat by IFP leader Chief suthu Buthelezi to withdraw his from the election unless the p. : $^{\prime}$ bedevilling the poll were ungenti dressed.

## Bread, but 1

BREAD will be deliuered despile it being declared a ohay, bakry spokesmen -However, milt was not expe The public holiday today cause confusion and cost Cum
ar withalrawing from the elen he told reporters at his wfin Ulundi, emphasising that it was ynfar to expect mithotis of ate voters to write the
Chief Buthelezi alsos sitid delay organisational confusion dev:another days veting for the poll rea and fait
His call was ebdorsed lypp: chief Mr Jay Naidom
Last night Home Aftairs Minis Danie Schutte thew to l'lomit to difuse the metuntans crisis, prom addtional official- and is iseiñ back up the election manhincr To rompround the aboer of the and other marties, here wats wint the validity and statio of halli, which the $1 F 1$ name had berell written.
Judge Kriegler said earlier ruling on what weikht such pro

## Ballot papers 'dumped'

## By DALE GRANGER

A CTTX businessman revealed last night that 500000 ballot papers had been "dumped" un attended at his storeroom near the alrport the da efore polling started on Tuesday.
He said the boxes arrived in trucks from two te had been told they contained IEC "material and had been asked to store them
Ife said he reluctantly agreed but felt uncasy and was astounded to discover later that the boxes contained hallot papers.
"I telephoned the police and the IEC telling them to come and remove them. Overseas ballot papers are guarded like gold in Fort knox. he said. The police and 1 counted the boxes and discovered their were 900000 batlot papers in them." The boxes were later moved under police serutiny to a second security company.
were distributed to polling stations.
The ditr told the pape Times stions
The man told the cape
IEC spokeswoman Ms Ina van der Linde said las night "we are re-organising the distribution of ballot papers". She added that "serious misplacement (of ballot papers) had taken place and we have asked the polite to investigate
 DUE to the elpertinus weekly Cape Times mefinder suipieizi will not be bunt morrow. Lates nearied in the main of Friday's Cape of Fridays Cape
under the Cape Homefinder :....
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If food supplies run cause of all these olidays we can


JOHNSON STREAK
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and threats of into stop millions o $\cdots E$ to the polls on if voting
-: blunders, includ ballot papers, many tickers. occurred ion among voters. $\therefore$ turnout, on top organisational fail. vert bottlenecks at : in ne in Cape Town areas.
tented voting hours are to help print and a- 5.6 million ballot Elizabers and dis-- stations all over the
$\therefore$ admitting that orce: "poor" in a numb. chairman Mr Justice said a decision would today whether to $\therefore$ by another day climbdown, Judge inlibecame clear by ene IEC would recomb - continue tomorrow cooler conceded that if , retie of tolling sta region w repeated 70 per cent efficiency would seriously con the elections in the :it unfair.
de a disaster for the lie said. The election in an affected area

President FW de Klerk last night President soften earlier oppositition to an extension, giving cautious approval for a longer voting period. The reversal followed an earlier threat by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi to withdraw his party from the election unless the problems bedevilling the poll were urgently addressed.
"I cannot rule out the possibility of

## Bread, but no milk deliveries

BREAD will be delivered today despite it being declared a public holiday, bakery spokesmen said. However, milk was not expected to be delivered, shopkeepers said. The public holiday today will cause confusion and cost brands" "hundreds of millions of rises off:
al Mr Colin B
Post offices and the ISE will be posed today. However, bankers sid the foreign exchange market would open for trade as usual. Cape Town City Council amer ency staff would be on duty a usual, a spokesman said. - Staff Reporter, Own Correspondent
( 2044 )
concerns were ralsed-about the run ming of the election: "We never promised you (the voter) a rose garden. We ale election, not a 12 -cylinder super charged election."
Mr De Klerk echoed these sent gents, saying: "If we cannot have a $100 \%$ perfect election, we must go for $n$ $550 \mathrm{0} 9 \%$ perfect election"

Smoothly
The IEC said it had received 10807 reports from polling stations indieatreceived more than 2000 reports of a wide variety of problems, including the failure of some polling stations to open at all.
In the Western Cape, voting went smoothly in many areas, despite massive queues. But in other areas, particularly in the Mitchell Plain voting district, which includes Khayelitsha, conditions were often chaotic. Closed booths annoy - Page 2
our withdrawing from the election," he told reporters at his office in Ulundi, emphasising that it was grosslay unfair to expect millions of illiterate voters to write the name of his party on ballot papers.
Chief Buthelezi also said delays and another day's voting for the poll to be free and fair.
Ils call was endorsed by DP leader Dr Zach de Beer and ANC election chief Mr Jay Naidoo.
Last night lome Affairs Minister Mr Dante Shute flew to Ulundi to try to diffuse the mounting crisis, promising additional officials and resource back up the election machinery. To compound the anger of the IFP and other part er the the tidily. and status of ballots on which the IFP name had been hand written.
Judge Kriegler said earlier that a ruling on what weight such problem

## ot papers need'

By DALE GRANGER
-〒ппп: revealed last might that papers had been "dumped" unstoreroom near the airport the day started on Tuesday.
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If food supplies run out because of all these extra bite the ballot.

ballots would be accorded would be decided by the IEC only after they had been counted separately.
Later, however, he said that while such ballots should be regarded as found under the Electoral Act to ensure that "they can be taken into account in any event".
Judge Kriegler emphasised at a press conference where a series of

WTTH THE WONDERMENT of someone who had just witnessed a blinding political revelation, General Constand Viljoen recently proclaimed that the African National Congress and the National Party were in a de facto alliance.

He was more or less correct, of course.
But this realisation should not have caused him surprise. One abiding fact about South African politics is that there could not have been, and there cannot be, any real progress on anything of importance without the ANC and the NP coming together.
It is a fact of life which Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the white far right, and the now defunct homeland governments should have foreseen when they joined other parties in the constitutional negotiations at the World Trade Centre - and when they stomped out in a huff, ostensibly because of the growing scale of ANC NP togetherness.

## Agreement or compromise

Without the ANC and NP finding one another on all the crucial issues, whether by agreement or compromise, there could not have been any progress towards a new constitution, a bill of rights, or an election.

To a very large extent, that remains a fact of political life in South Africa. Although, like all things, it will change in time, it seems likely to do so slowly - whatever the outcome of the election this week.
As De Klerk has remarked on more than one occasion, either of the two sides has the power to wreck the country, and both sides know it.
As he has tacitly implied, the best guarantee that the ANC will stick to its commitments constitutional or otherwise - is the ANC's knowledge of the certainty that it could not survive the consequences of reneging on any of its fundamental undertakings.

## Vilification of the constitution

Ironically, that certainty is being hammered home by none other than the IFP and Chief Buthelezi through their current election campaign and vilification of the constitution.
They are illustrating the fact that if a relatively small political party like the IFP, which all the polls indicate could not win an election even in KwaZulu, can cause as much mayhem as the IFP has; if it can send tremors through the stock exchange, then there should be little doubt about the capacity of the NP to do vastly more damage if it were provoked into doing so.
It may sound cynical, but it remains very probably true, that the violence of the present may contain at least some of the seeds of peace in the future.
The violence seems to be demonstrating to those who may doubt the fact -the radicals in the ANC, perhaps, and the nascent realists in the PAC - that the winning party next week will not hold all the levers of power and will not be

Sowetan $25 l 4194$
It appears to many as if the the National Party and the
African National Congress have entered into an
alliance of some kind. According to Hugh Roberton, a fact of political life in South Africa is that there can be no real progress without the ANC and NP finding


THE GREAT DEBATE ... Mandela's magnanimous handshake symbolised the de facto allance which to General Viljoen seems such an astounding development.
able toenforce policies unilaterally, or govern in the autocratic manner to which the country became inured under NP rule.
While constitutional power might change in the election in favour of the ANC, to a considerable extent the balance of real power will remain unchanged, with the forces at the disposal of the NP and its potential allies in any major confrontation with the ANC, remaining formidable.
No doubt without intending it, the attempt by the IFP, before its decision to participate in the poll, to disrupt the election and destabilise the country, had the beneficial effect of thrusting the NP and the ANC, and other parties, even closer together.

The IFP, in effect, has set itself up as the common enemy of the rest of the body politic, at a time when nothing could have been more beneficial in concentrating national attention on
what is, after all, a threat to the very principles of democracy.

## Democratle process

In the face of the IFP challenge, unity between the ANC and the NP has been greatly facilitated. They now jointly face a challenge to their own political security - a challenge that transcends even the running of the economy in its urgency and importance, for there can be no doubr that the growth of theeconomy will depend on resolving, by force or otherwise, the challenge of those who seek power without the benefit of a democratic process.
The Great Debate on television, and the magnanimous handshake which was its high point, symbolised the de facto alliance which to General Viljoen seems such an astounding develop-
ment.

## SiCOUH PTM  of war

By MARLENE BURGER
AN accord which could pave the way for an Afrikaner volkstaat was signed less than 24 hours after Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen ordered his supporters to mobilise for war.

The tripartite accord, signed at the Union Buildings in Pretoria shortly after llam yesterday, was negotiated over an eightmonth period between the right wing - originally represented by the Afrikaner Volksfront and now by the Freedom Front - the ANC and the government.

Three foreign governments - believed to be those of Britain, Switzerland and Belgium - were also closely involved in the process leading to the finalisation of an agreement that will see negotiations on selfdetermination for the Afrikaner continue after this week's elections.

The signing of the accord was originally set down for a fortnight ago. However, it was postponed three times.

On hearing of the latest delay on Friday afternoon sources at the Freedom Front's head office said, General Viljoen "went ballistic", convinced that the delays were a deliberate attempt to avoid signing the accord before polling day.
"He called his people together and told them in no uncertain terms that, if the government and the ANC did not sign by noon on Saturday, he would pull the Freedom Front out of the elections - and we would go to war," said a source.
"Our people country-wide were told to mobilise immediately 30447

The order to Frestom Front supporters to stand down went out shortly before General Viljoen's noon deadline yesterday.

The accord was signed at can international media conference by General Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer and ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki.

The Accord on Afrikaner Self-Determination makes provision for:


* Any community sharing a common cultural and language heritage, whether in a territorial entity or any other recognised way, to demand the right to self-determination.

The final constitution to give expression to any particular form of selfdetermination, provided there is proven support from within the community
© The formation of a 20 member Volkstaat Council, to be elected by members of the National Assembly supporting the establishment of a volkstaat.
(News by Marlene Burger, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

## 'Buthelezi, FW enter secret (304) talks over king, elections'

## Political Staff

PRETORIA. - President De Klerk and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi are reported to have gone into talks here at the latter's request.

The meeting was veiled in the utmost secrecy with neither side confirming the encounter, coming as it does just eight days before the elections.
Two issues are obviously on the agenda - the status of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the IFP's opposition to the poll with the accompanying violence this has created.
Both matters are surrounded by desperate last minute political signalling.

There is a revised constitutional offer on the table to the king and ANC sources are expressing some optimism that the monarch can still be brought around to accept the role on offer to him as the best deal to guarantee the future of his tradition.

The offer is a revision of the ANC proposal tabled at the Skukuza summit on April 8 and both ANC and government sources claim it would go a long way towards addressing King Goodwill's concerns about his position and future in Kwa-Zulu-Natal.
They said it incorporated suggestions made by the government, Chief Buthelezi and the monarch himself."
Further, the politicking surrounding the role of the king has reached new heights with ANC leader Nelson Mandela again urging a meeting between himself and the monarch and going out of his way to show utmost respect to "my leader and my king" - and, at the same time, "my child" as he told a rally at Umlazi.
The fact that Chief Buthelezi appears to have requested the audience with Mr De Klerk is being read by some political observers as a measure of the IFP leader's desperation in the corner of opposition where he finds himself pinned.
The king's imbizo planned
for polling days, April 26 to 28, is still on the cards but some political observers wonder if the king is not nervous that the turnout could be less than a total Zulu show of force.
"What if only 30 percent of his followers show up?" was a question asked today.

The offer from the ANC and the government and Mr Mandela's repeated attitude of respect for King Goodwill might at last be strengthening the monarch's hand.

Some sources have asked whether the mmeting was an attempt by Chief Buthelezi to gain a last-minute way in.

Mr Mandela has also, unlike some of his less patient lieutenants in the ANC, signalled that he does not discount Chief Buthelezi from the equation.
"I do not regard him as finished," said Mr Mandela, speaking at Ladysmith yesterday. "That is a dangerous.illusion. The Inkatha Freedom Party is an important organisation. If we want peace we have to talk to everybody. We want a united South Africa. It is an inclusive process as far as the ANC is concerned."

He praised King Goodwill's call for peace which the monarch made on Friday after a meeting with religious leaders.

With only days left before South Africa's watershed; general and regional elections, political signals are flying thick and fast and the ANC and the government appear to be redoubling their efforts to address King Goodwill's concerns so as to reduce tensions in KwaZulu-Natal.

Some have speculated whether Chief Buthelezi fears that he might be losing the support of the king.
The proposal to King, Goodwill is one of a constitutional monarchy in KwaZulùNatal where his constitutional powers, prerogatives, rights and obligations will be constitutionally entrenched and fully protected.
(News by D Lautenbach, 118 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria)

## Election is Afrikaners' only option - Vilioen <br> NELSPRUIT - The election would not be fair, but it was the only option open to the Afrikaner if a volkstaat was to be <br>  <br> Details such as its boundaries and the

 achieved, Freedom' Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen said at the weekend.Viljoen said it would be possible to win the volkstaat through force, but it was doubtful whether its borders could be defended in perpetuity.

Even if the borders of the volkstaat were maintained against a hostile unitary state, it would be at a great cost - in lives and to the region's economy.

A referendum was also impractical as a means of determining the support for the volkstaat, as critics would challenge the result on the basis that it was impossible to separate true Afrikaners from the rest of the population, he said.

The final option of waiting until after the election and hoping ANC president Nelson Mandela would honour promises to accommodate Afrikaner self-determination was unthinkable as it was unlikely such promises would be kept.

It was, therefore, necessary to use the election not as a means to win seats in the new parliament, but to demonstrate the Afrikaner's support for the volkstaat, Viljoen said.
$\rightarrow$ The Afrikaner leadership had gravely erredsin not addressing the specifics of the volkstaat, he said.
rights of people living within its borders had been avoided, leading to a wide range of misconceptions about what the state would look like. $\mathbb{B}$

He added that ar-image had been created of a consolidated state inhabited soleated.of afrikaners "surrounded by a wall with a guard at the gate".

Viljoen said even if a state that was home to half the Afrikaners was achieved, it would still leave the other half living under a unitary government.

Viljoen described the volkstaat as a loose entity that exercised cultural control over its people, with differing levels of political control depending on the size and political control dependemunities.
Meanwhile, the Freedom Front is to sign an agreement with the ANC and government in Pretoria this week, Sapa reports from Heidelberg.

Viljoen told a meeting in the town on Saturday that the agreement was aimed at obtaining clarity on the implementation of legislation. He said he would also try to obtain clarity on the interpretation of the principle of self-determination to avoid confusion after the elections.
Report by G Duvonage, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and $N$ Lawis. Sapa, 141 Cormmissioner St, Jhb.
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# Defining freeandfairelections 

## Southeaster Csuppli to South) (304A

The Independent Electoral Commission will decide after voting endson 29 April wheth:er the election was substantially free and fair.

In evaluating how free and fair the election was, anything which affected the election will have to be considered. The periodbefore, during and after the elections until the election results are announced will be examined

In assessing how substantially free and fair the elections were, the IEC will examine the extent to which any problem affected the election. The main question the IEC will have to answer will be Was the will of the people expressed freely, clearly, secretly and on an informed basis?"

If despite some problems having existed, it can still be said that the will of the people was clearly and freely expressed, the major requirement of a free and fair election will have been met.

The IEC has an electoral code of conduct which binds all individuals and parties that have registered for the election to acceptable forms of behaviour. The electoral code of conduct aims to create a climate that encourages free and fair elections and political tolerance.

In determining how free the election was,

the IEC will examine whether the following freedoms did exist:

- to join or support any political party.
- for parties and individuals to stand for elections
- to freely debate and express differing political views
- for all parties to campaign, hold rallies and canvass voters.
- to be free to complain about the behaviour of any political party
- from violence, force and intimidation
- to get easily and safely to voting stations.
- to vote in secret

In deciding how fair the election was, the IEC will examine whether the following did exist:

- an independent body to run the elections.
- basic human rights and protection for the voting public.
- fair treatment of all voters, political parties
and candidates by election officials, the government, police, army and judiciary.
- unbiased reporting by the media.
- a clear definition of who is entitled to vote and how the secret vote works
- a voter education programme good enough to have prepared voters to exercise their vote in an informed way.
- fair andequal access to funds and resources for party campaigns
- fair and equal access to political and educational information by voters.
- voting stations that are safe and easy to get to.
- a ballot counting system which is open to scrutiny and prevents cheating.
- an election process undisturbed by violence, force and intimidation.

It is not expected that all of the above factors will be met in full.

The IEC will look at the degree to which these factors exist. It will then judge the extent to which any of them might have affected the election.

This means that even if not all the conditions were absolutely perfect it will still be possible for the election to be declared substantially free and fair.

## Elections set to cost IEC, R700m TIM COHEN.

THE Independent Electoral Commission yesterday released its prêlimináry budget estimates, which suggest that the elections will cost nearly $R 700 \mathrm{~m}$. $1 \leq / 4194$ said the preliminary budget fiad beèn pré sented to and approved by the State Ex: penditure Department and the TEC.
The consequences of the elections failing for any reason were virtually beyond contemplation, and from this perspective, R697m was a small price to pay, she said The largest item on the budget is staff remuneration, with about R 297 m being allocated to salaries and allowances.
The 16 commissioners are entitled to R25 000 a month for the anticipated five months of their postings. They do not draw the full amount if still employed by the organisations from which they have been seconded.
Department directors receive 114,000 to R16 000 a month
Administrative spending of R145m in ciludes R39m for transport and R43m for post and telephones. Printing costs are set at R46m, with R17m being allocated for stationery. R124m has been budgeted for equipment and R34m for rentals, ,staff accommodation and furniture
Professional services will cost R23m and $R 7 m$ is being spent on the Independent Electoral Commision's voter awareness campaign, Operation Access.
Roporn by $T$ Cotion, TML, 11 Diggonal St, Jhb.


## TEC to pay SABC election costs <br> PRETORIA - The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) has agreed to pay $R 31,5 m$ to the SABC to cover the costs of the corporation's election coverage and advertising. The SABC had threatened to withdraw Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative (Debi) advertisements if an outstanding account of R3,5m was not paid. It also told the TEC that it was owed R18m "to cover election costs" and R10m in lost advertising revenue. <br> DP TEC delegate Colin Eglin said the TEC was sympathetic to the SABC's claims, although a "hard-nosed business approach" would bepadopted wher scrutinising the accounts. One delegate said the Debi advertisements should be withdrawn as they made no sense and only confused voters. SABC group finance GM Steven Schu- <br> ADRIAN HADLAND <br> bach said advertisers were reluctant to place advertisements in, or on elther side of, political programmes such as Agenda. They were particularly concerned about being identified with political spokesmen appearing on these progranimes, <br> The extensive ejection ety for this month and next, including political debates and polling station cóverage, was expected to result in a R10mToss in advertising revenue. <br> Schubach said the SABC sorb an estimated R18m in clection nopt abge expenditure tiring election reportovertime, satellite feeds and communication lines were some extra costs likely to be- ipcurred during "the biggest election 

## SABC costs

this corporation has ever covered".
The TEC's decision to award the SABC R31,5m was "very good news", he said.

The TEC also heard a request from the interparty liaison committee for R54m for political parties' transportation cost 3044

The committee, made up of represontatives of all parties fighting the elections, said non-partisan buses and taxis should be made avallable for ferrying voters during polling. It asked if the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) could co-orpinate the proposed transportation system

The TEC said it would be difficult to
negotiate "such a huge amount of money" from the State Expenditure Departinent and control of such a system would Je a "logistical nightmare". It asked for" more information from the committee. $i \geq$ :
Meanwhile, the IEC reported thatitinad been unable to raise the R47m needed from international sources to top up thes:state electoral fund. The TEC agreed that, as the State Expenditure Department could not accommodate the full extent of the difference, political parties would be apwarded the equivalent of R2 a voter, or $\mathrm{R}^{2} 4 \mathrm{~mm}$, instead of the expected R3, or R69m:.


Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. - The launch of international mediation got off to a late start last night, but with the good news that top ANC, government and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiators had agreed only hours earlier on draft terms of reference.
Its final acceptance depended, however, on the parties' principals, who were expected to consult with their negotiators late last night.
The draft was finalised at a meeting in Pretoria yesterday afternoon, attended by, among others, ANC secretary general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, and Inkatha's Mr Ben Ngubane.
The launch was held at the Carlton Hotel here to mark the arrival in SA of the seven mediators earlier in the day.
Negotiators from all three sides confirmed that the future of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini would also be dealt with at mediation.
However, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi put a damper on expectations that he would go along with the draft, again linking the negotiations and the
election.

## Rejoin

Reading from a prepared speech, he said: "We hope that through the work of the mediators a door can be opened to ensure that Inkatha can rejoin the electoral process on an equal footing with all other political parties."
Spokesman for the mediators, Dr Henry Kissinger, said the mediators could only "marvel" at the efforts by SA's leaders to overcome their differences.
"In the limited time available, could I ask everybody to begin with their best position. We in turn will make every effort to bridge the remaining differences'" he said.
Mediation began as the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission begąn discussions on the poṣsibility of extending the number of voting days in KwaZulu/Natal.
The TEC also decided yesterday to strengthen the Natal/KwaZulu emergency regulations.
Meanwhile, the government who until now has been lukewarm about the mediation process, fearing it could reopen a range of already-settled constitutional issues, will join the mediation process. Own Correspondent, Sapa

## T:LEzとm...

## 600000 without valid voting documents

Political Correspondent
MORE than a million temporary voter's cards have been issued since February - but there are still more than 600000 voters who don't have eligible dogyments.

The Department of Home Affairs has appealed to voters to apply for temporary documents promptly. $304 A$

So far 22045450 voters have been issued with documents that will enable them to vote.
Still outstanding are an
estimated 663700 potential voters.

Documents that may be used when voting are blue or green identity documents, old green identity cards, identity documents issued by TBVC countries, reference books, temporary identity certificates or temporary voters' cards.

Meanwhile Independent Electoral Commission member Oscar Dhlomo said the IEC would devise "further emergency measures" if it appeared that substantial numbers of people would
not have valid identification by polling day.

Dr Dhlomo said he did not think there would be "millions and millions" of people without identification on April 27, but added: "We will do our best to ensure that all citizens who are qualified to vote and who want to vote are enabled to, and if it means devising further emergency measures we will not hesitate.
"Our mission is to help people to vote wherever they are.
(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape

## MICHAEL MORRIS

Political Correspondent
THE Islamic Party is to choose a new leader today after ousting Abdullah Gamieldien from the top spot last week ... but the former leader's name and face will still appear on the ballot paper.

And Dr Gamieldien has allegedly decided to hold on to a portion of the party's funds.

While Dr Gamieldien prepares a legal bid to contest his removal, the IP's 18 -strong executive was to meet today to choose a new leader.

The party will ask voters to ignore his face and name on the ballot paper. ( 304 A)
"Vote for the party, for the leader," said spokesman Fra'ad Rahman. ARCT $13 / 4 / 94$ dent Electoral Commission, the appearance of Dr Gamieldien's name and picture on the ballot paper does not mean he will have any legal claim to votes or a seat, or that the party will be obliged to accept him as a candidate.

Mr Rahman said Dr Gamieldien was ousted because the party "was unhappy" with him.

However, the former leader appears to have decided to hold on to $\mathbf{R 6 5 0 0 0}$ meant for party coffers. The IP claims he did not deposit a cheque he received from the IEC into the party's bank account.

Dr Gamieldien has continued to insist he remains the bone fide leader of the party.
(News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)


## ANC to change 'colonial' names <br> MARITZBURG. - "Colonial" names

of cities, streets, airports and national monuments would change if the African National Congress won the elec tion, the ANC said here. 3044 )
"We are thinking informally about the idea. Airport names, especially international ones, would be changed sooner," said spokesman be changed
sitsile. sitsile. $A R G / 3 / 4 / 94$

She said the ANC would not like visitors to arrive at a. "Louis Botha named and added:"Main streets named after DF Malans and Louis go."

The ANC changes were time aware that name costly but it would consuming and along with the iss be done "bit by bit ments", Ms Kgositsile said. - Sapa-

## $\square$ ANC labels campaign 'racist'

JOHN VILJOEN Staff Reporter
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It was undoubtedly aimed at the coloured population and it was imposesidle to make a ruling without referring to racial groups, Mr Bozalek said.
One photograph and caption associted the ANC with the necklace method of murder. This was "hard-hitting propaganda", but stopped short of linking the ANC with such practices.
Mr Bozalek upheld the ANC's objecdion to a passage in which the dog "Uitsmyt" suggested some ANC leaders would rather give children guns than food. The magazine created the impression that the ANC had used millions in foreign aid to buy arms and the NP had been unable to argue this innuendo away, Mr Bozalek said.
The photograph and caption created a false impression and could even be said to be inflammatory, he said.

The dog also suggests that under an ANC government the slogan "kill a coloured, kill a farmer," could become common.
This was "undoubtedly inflammatory" and went beyond the bounds of fair political debate.
Mr Bozalek agreed with the ANC"s complaint about Uitsmyt's "fantasy", which portrayed the result of giving 14 -year-olds the vote.
Photographs depicting the dog's thoughts showed a women being prevented from attending church by armed youths.
The NP had chosen to depict a most sensitive issue in a crude fashion intended to inflame passions against the ANC, he said.
A caption in which a character in the magazine reported that a threat against coloureds had been made at a fictional ANC rally contravened the code and was inflammatory, he ruled.
Mr Ngeuka said afterwards: "We are obviously delighted at the finding. Our position has been vindicated the NP has once again been exposed as conducting an obnoxious and racist campaign in our region, which will have disastrous consequences for us all."

## Campaign started to recruit public servants for volkstaat <br> PRETORIA - A campaign to recruit pub- <br> The men moved into the unoccupied plot

lic servants for a "volks republic" was launched yesterday by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg.
Hartzenberg said each public servant would receive a document enabling them to join the "republic's" public service when it came into being shortly.
"Needless to say, such officials (who respond) will enjoy preference when it comes to appointments in our public service," Hartzenberg said.

It would be assumed public servants who did not indicate they wanted to join the "volks republic's" public service wanted to work for the so-called new SA, if there were jobs left for them after affirmative action.
Referring to public servants' strikes elsewhere in the country, he said no-one could blame central government public servants if they also demanded their pensions now in order to get back some of their sions now ions.

Sapa-AFP reports from Newcastle, that group of about 40 armed ultra righta group yesterday continued their occupation of a vacant lot in the centre of the townis $\qquad$
of land last week to protest against the March 31 proclamation of emergency rule in Natal and KwaZulu, police spokesman Lt-Col Steve Naude saic 304f $\sim$ He said police would not take action against the group from the Northern Natal Boerekommando until it received instructions to do so from the Newcastle municipality, which owns the occupied land adjacent to a supermarket.
Town Clerk Dawie Schutte said the municipality had given the group written warning to evacuate the land, but they had refused The town council was to meet last refused. Mecide what further action to take, he said.

The right-wingers set up a tent and a radio tower in the empty lot, which they surrounded with barbed wire, saying they were showing their solidarity with Zulu nationalist demands for sovereignty.
Their leader is Leonard Veenendaal, the former AWB chief for Johannesburg, who is wanted in Namibia on charges of murder, sabotage, arson, theft and illegal possession of firearms. - Sapa-AFP.
Roport by $N$ Patterton, Sppa. 141 Commisasioner St, Jhb.
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## Tribunal bans inflammatory NP magazine CAPE TOWN - Th elec-

 toral tribunal for the Cape Town district yesterday granted a final order prohi: biting the NP from printing, publishing or distributing a photo magazine described as "racist and inflammatory" by the ANC. Adjudicator Lee Bozalek also ordered the NP to pay costs and ruled that all copies of the magazine be delivered to the Indepen dent Electoral Commission for disposal. 1314194He found that the magazine, entitled Winds of Change Blow Through SA was "fairly shot through with inflammatory material" and contained matter which contravened the Electoral Code of Conduct. Bozalek also criticised ANC' westeri Cape leader Allan Boesak for stating on SABC TV on Sunday that the tribunal "will find that the comic is racist and inflammators $=04 \wedge$ ANC regional spokesmar Bulelani Ngcuka said his party was "delighted" with the finding. - Sapa: Report by E H Kamp. Sopa, Nodbenk
House, Strand St, Capo Town. House, Strand St , Cape Town

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## Coumeil beefs up emergency measures

PRETORIA - The Transitional Execu tive Council (TEC) moved yesterday to force the KwaZulu government to cooperate in election procedures by agreeing to extend the powers of the state of emergency in Natal and KwaZulu.

The reinforcement of the powers, by the addition of several new regulations was necessary to prevent KwaZulu gov ernment officials from interfering with the requirements and duties of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC)

SACP representative on the TEC, Joe Slovo, said the elections could not be left "to the goodwill of the KwaZalu government". There should be no element of discretion in whether officials and facillties, such as goverament buildings, were made available for the elections. The current emergency regulations were inadequate to ensure the KwaZulu government's co-operation, he said.

The TEC, noting the reluctance of the KwaZulu government, some traditional leaders in the region and members of the public service to participate in the elections, resolved to allow its joint executive secretariat and state legal advisers to

ADRIAN HADLAND
draft the new reguiations. Details of the new reguiations had nopresentative Dawie de Villiers said only that "further steps may be necessary to enhance the democratic process".

The content of the new regulations would be based on the needs of the IEC and the security forces, he said.

Sapa reports that at least 11 people were killed after violence erupted again in KwaMashu, Ntuzuma, Ndwedwe and Bambhayi, near Durban, on Monday.

The latest reports push the toll in Natal to at least 178 since the emergency was declared 12 days ago. 1314194 $\square$ Abont 40000 people are expected to march on the magistrate's offices at Vryheid in northern Natal today in support of the Zulu monarchy $304 / 8$ blem

Police have appealed to marehers to heed the emergency regulations, in terms of which they are not allowed to carry traditional weapons.
Peport by A Hadiand, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pta
See Page 12

## AWB men found guilty of roadblock killings

FIVE AWB members who shot at 10 blacks including three children they stopped at a bogus roadblock last year were found guilty in the Rand Supreme Court yesterday of murder, attempted murder and assault

In a marathon judgment which resumes for the third day this morning, Judge D Marais and two assessors found all five men guilty on four counts of murder and six counts of attempted murder.

The men were part of a group of nine armed right-wingers who set up a bogus roadblock on the Krugersdorp-Ventersdorp road on December 12 last year to apprehend black motorists

The 10 victims, four of whom died from their wounds, were travelling in two vehicles stopped at the roadblock. They were ordered out of the cars and told to sit on the ground.

The AWB men opened fire on them at close range and without warning.

The judge found that four of the men, Petrus Matthews, 26, Martinus van der Schyff, 25, Frederick Badenhorst, 20, and Marius Visser, 23, had intended to kill their victims when they opened fire.

He found that they had fired their weapons in accordance with a decision taken at the roadblock by at least six of the AWB men.

He said the four at the very least should have. and must have, foreseen that their

SUSAN RUSSELL
uniawful activities could lead to deaths.
The fifth man, Karel Meiring, was also convicted of murder yesterday.
The judge said there was no direct evidence that Meiring had fired his handgun, but he rejected Meiring's testimony that when he had heard a shot he had jumped into a car used by the right-wingers and had not asked his friends what had happened afterwards.
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There was also evidente-that dreiring had toid his friends after the incident that he had fired two shots.

The court found the five men and two coaccused, Gerhardus Diedericks, 34, and Andre Visser, 39, guilty of assault.

Marais said the men had gone out on the night of December 12 intending to apprehend, assault and intimidate blacks. They were all guilty of the assaults that had taken place.

Marais will continue with his judgment this morning

He has still to give his finding on the murder and attempted murder charges against Diedericks and Visser.

Two other co-accused, Phillipus Kloppers, 40, and Deon Martin, 30 - who were allegedly the leaders of the group - were referred for psychiatric observation last month and will be tried separately.

## Y BY HELEN GRANGE

The Democratic Party has slammed the Independent Electoral Commission's (IEC) decision not to make home visits to get votes from the invalid and frail.
DP MP Douglas Gibson said the decision "effectively dizenfranchises tens of thousands of South Africans".
IEC spokesman Div Naicker said it would be logistically mmpossible to go to the homes of the bedridden. "In previous alections, only white invalids were
visited. This election involves the whole racial spectrum. We have enough difficulty setting up vating stations in some rural areas."

Gibson said: "Even at this late stage, the DP calls upon the IEC to review the decision and instruct its electoral officers coontrywide to carry out their mandate." He said the Electoral Act extended voting powers to homebound invalids.
The IEC has printed about 3,5 million temporary voter cards to be issued to eligible voters without other enabling
documents, the IEC's Ching Madiba said yesterday.

He said over one million femporary voter cards had already been issued, and asked voters to apply for the cards only if they had no other documents.
The application form for the card had also been simplified to speed up the issuing process in the TBVC states.
Madiba further appealed to eligible voters who had not colelected their identity documents to claim them from Home Affairs offices as soon as possible.


Row over prisoner vote

Star
EBY ESTHER WAUGH POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT
A joint Transitional Executive Council/Independent Electoral Commission delegation is to see President de Klerk about Government moves to block the extension of the right to vote to all prisoners.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told yesterday's TEC meeting that Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte refused to implement a TEC decision. granting all prisoners the vote.

Schutte, he said, had made his stand at a meeting with IEC member Helen Suzman, Correctional Services Minister Adriaan
$1314 / 94$
Vlok and himself. Schutte said the Government did not see its way clear to implementing the TEC decision.
Ramaphosa accused the Govermment of using the issue for party political purposes. The Government, he said, now had to face the reality that the IEC and TEC had agreed to extend the vote to all prisoners, while the NP was using the issue in advertisements against the Democratic Party.

Agreement could Tot be reached on the size of the delegation to see De Klerk, but this would be finalised by TEC joint executive secretaries Mac Maharaj and Fanie van der Merwe.


## Tellers offered R350 a chay to THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) and SA banks are finalising plans to

 recruit bank tellers to count ballotsAn IEC spokesman said yesterday talks with banks were taking place. The commission planned to hire bank tellers bemission planned the of their counting skills.

More than 19000 counters would be recruited, with a significant proportion being bank tellers.

It is understood that they have been offered R350 a day plus travel expenses.

Counting is expected to take two days. Meanwhile the IEC has estimated that 3,5 -million temporary voter cards have been printed by the Home Affairs Departbeen printed million of these have already been issued.
The registration process for issuing the cards has been simplified to help minimise cards has been imple as people struggled to fill in the complicated forms.

The IEC pointed out that a temporary voter card was not needed by people with ID documents, reference books or temporary identity certificates. 3

It said a total of 22709152 voters were eligible to vote. Approximate numbers in each region were: Western Cape 2,4-million, Northern Cape 440 000, Eastern Cape 3,2-million, Free State 1,6 -million, Natal 4,6-million, North West 1,7 -million, PWV 4,9-million, Eastern Transvaal 1,6-million, and Northern Transvaal 2,3-million.

Roport by $\mathbf{T}$ Cohen, 11 Diagonal St. Jhb



JOHANNESBURG. - The international mediation between the ANC, Inkatha and the government was heading for disaster last night on the question of whether the outcome should cause the election to be postponed.

At one stage there seemed to be a real threat that the international team, headed by former United States secretary of state Dr Henry Kissinger, would aban don its efforts and head home.
Dr Kissinger was feverishly at work at shuttle diplomacy, meeting senior negotiators from the ANC, the government and Inkatha, including President FW de Klerk. in a bid to save the process last night.

At a meeting with Inkatha, ANC and government negotiators put forward a new proposal which separated into two documents the terms of reference for mediation and the implementation and timeframes of any agreement.

Inkatha's chief negotiator, Mr Ben Ngubane, emerged from the five-hour meeting in Pretoria saying Inkatha's central committee would have to meet first to discuss the new proposal, which he described as "only an idea at this stage".
Mr Ngubane said IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi had told him the central committee would have to discuss the matter because the negotiators would need a "broader mandate" to pursue the issue.

The ANC's chief negotiator, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, emerging earlier from the meeting, said he expected Inkatha to reply to the
proposal last night so mediation could begin today.
He said he expected that, if there was no agreement on the terms of reference, the sevenman mediation team would delay its decision about leaving until this morning.
Government negotiator Mr Danie Schutte said that the ANC had insisted at the meeting that specific mention be made that the mediation should not affect the election.
Mr Ngubane said it would be "lethal" for Inkatha to accept that mediation would not affect the election and possibly lead to its postponement.

## . - Signals

He suggested that mediation could begin while the three sides worked at resolving details of the timeframes and implementation. However, Mr Ramaphosa rejected this, saying it would amount "to taking a leap in the dark".
He said the ANC had picked up "signals" from Chief Buthelezi and the Inkatha negotiators yesterday that the "ultimate objective is to get us into a situation where we would start negotiations on the postponement of the election".
However, the ANC would never agree to discussing a postponement, he said.

An Inkatha adviser said the IFP would not agree to the ANC and government's demand for a clause stipulating that mediation could not affect the election.

Early yesterday, at the start of mediation at the Carlton Hotel here, an angry Chief Buthelezi rejected the terms of reference and accused the government and the ANC of scuppering the process.

He insisted that terms of reference agreed to by a joint ANC/Inkatha team on Sunday be used to guide the mediation process. These terms did not mention timeframes, in particular the ANC and government demand that mediation could not affect the election.
"The mediators are now held in suspense because government has stepped in and messed up everything that has been agreed to,"'Chief Buthelezi said.
Instead of heading off to an Eastern Transvaal retreat to begin the mediation, the mediators were left stranded at their Johannesburg hotel until later in the day.

Dr Kissinger and fellow mediator Lord Carrington yesterday said they were not prepared to mediate on the issue of the election date as it had to be settled between SA's political players. Own Correspondent, Sapa
of the date. Our position is that the date is sacrosanct ... we could not see oursclves engaging in negotiations on the date.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer has also said the IFP's only objective appears to be the postponing of the election.

ANC and Government sources had been highly optimistic late on Tuesday that progress was possible on the basis of what they believed had been an agreement with the IFP.
However, Ngubane said the IFP had indicated all along that it was not happy with the formulation of the clause as it precluded a postponement of the date.
"It was not an agreement. It was co-operation to try to find an acceptable agreement.'

Another area of disagreement last night was when any deal reached in mediation would be included in the Interim Constitution.

The Government and ANC be-

## d tottering <br> 4494

lieved this should be done after the election, but the IFP felt that if changes were necessary the election might have to be postponed so that Parliament could be recalled for amendments.
Last night Ramaphosa said the IFP was to take a fresh proposal to Buthelezi in terms of which two separate documents would be placed before the mediator ( $30 \Leftrightarrow 4)(4 \in 3)(8)$

One would deal with the terms oi reference and the other on the implementation of agreements reached.

## Explore

However, Ngubane said there had merely been discussion on this and it was simply a suggestion that they would explore:

Buthelezi sad yesterday that the Governments input on Tues: day had led to the inctusion in the terms of reference of a clause which specificallysexcluded the election date issue from the mediation $\cdots$ atas? ( 47 Sauer Stiteet: Johannesburg)

## - BY CHRIS WHITFIELD <br> ESTHER WAUGH and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

International mediators were locked in crisis talks this morning over the looming failure of their mission to South Africa.

This follows yesterday's breakdown in talks between the ANC, the Government and the dissenting IFP over the mediators' terms of reference.

The mediators, headed by former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington, met delegations from the three organisations last night.

This morning the mediation team went into a meeting at their Johannesburg hotel, ap-

parently to decide on whether they should abandon their mission now.

The IFP was arranging a central committee meeting on the issue in Ulundi, after failing to agree in five hours of negotiations with the ANC and Government on what the mediators would address.

Despite guarded optimism by ANC and Government negotiators that a way out of the deadlock could be found, the IFP was downbeat.

IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said: "Any move from now would require a central committee meeting. We don'n't have any mandate to give a

WISE men could decide today whether to pack it in and go home following deadlock on the election date
 possibility of a solution until our central committee meets.
He said he had spoken to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi after the three-way talks last night and the IFP president had indicated that the central committee would have to meet.
The prospects of mediation actually getting off the ground now seem remote. The mediators have already shown signs of impatience, indicating that they would leave the country if no progress was made. They are expected to decide this morning when to leave.
The three delegations were scheduled to meet the negotiators separately last night.
Central to the differences between the parlies is whether a reference to the election date should be included in the mediation team's terms of reference. The IFP does not want any reference, but apparently intends that the issue should go before the mediators. The ANC and Government feel the mediators should not address the possible postponement of the election.
Also in dispute is exactly who agreed to what at a meeting on Monday night. The ANC and Government say IFP negotiators agreed to the inclusion of the date clause but Buthelezi blocked it when he got sight of the proposals.
ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night: "Their ultimate objective is to get us in a situation where we negotiate on the postponement - To Page 3




## Leon chased from campus

 by studentsCape Town - Democratic Party
MP Tony Leon fled the University of the Western Cape after a chaotic DP election meeting was disrupted by rowdy ANC and PAC supporters yesterday.

Cans were flung at Leon, monitors and security guards by a mob of about 150 shouting students who pursued them as they ran to a getaway car.

Leon's appearance in the UWC students' union was marked by loud, sustained singing and chanting from about 100 ANC and PAC supporters.
"You are creating a new form of oppression and fascism in South Africa," Leon told his noisy detractors. - Sapa

## (C de Villiers, 141 Conumissioner st. Ihb)



$S 1$ Tiy raydartley: 714199
 THE Independent tiectorare Foreign Correspondents' Associpaper editors and amid a storm over whether journalists ation this week amid a storm will have access to polling stations one eision to enforce a Journalists object to an me decision bars those not provision of the Electoral Act the election from polling involved in the administration (20 the elector
stations. (C) The IEC has the discretion to allow In terms of the Act, he stans, but has decided it will journalists into the polling stations, but has staged photolimit access to designated times when ony sill be allowed. graphs of the leaders casting a stream of complaints from The IEC move has led to a sman Niki Moore. "Journalists journalists, said IEC spo be able to say whether or not the are saying they must be able to say whet their role - that's election is free and fair, but thats and monitors."
why we have foreign observers and moiding officer at a The Electoral Act empowers $1,1 \mathrm{~km}$ from the booths. polling station to keep the press 1,1km from the chairman Foreign Correspondents Associan Justice Johann Kriegler Paul Taylor said IEC chairndents persuasive arguments had given foreign correspondents persuasive a a journalon the need for secrecy during poller access." he said. ist, I would obviously prefer faler accer (News by Ray Hartles, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburk)

# SUNDAY TIMES CAPE METRO, 3 April 1994 Racist tactics slammed 

## By NAZEEM HOWA

NEGATIVE campaigning by parties contesting the Western Cape has been slammed by several political analysts who have warned that this is paving the way for an escalation of violence in the region.
Of particular concern to the analysts is the NP's "swart gevaar" tactics to draw coloured voters.

Recent examples, they say, include the distribution of a comic book which the ANC claims promotes resentment between coloured and black people. Although the IEC this week banned the NP from distributing further copies, several thousand books have already been distributed.

But it is not only the NP which has resorted to
such tactics. DP regional leader Hennie Bester this week admitted he had been incorrect in suggesting that ANC leader Nelson Mandela had called on township residents to drive whites out of their areas.

The DP and NP have also played up the occupation of houses in Tafelsig by blacks as being a natural conclusion of affirmative action.
The ANC, too, is not blameless. This week it started a whispering campaigning claiming that Mrs Marike de Klerk ignored a coloured child while visiting a hospital ward. ANC members have also resurrected claims that she was against her son Willem's engagement to Erica Adams, a young coloured student.

Analysts have also warned that the ANC's.all-out courting of the coloured vote - prompted by recent polls showing the organisation's limited support in that community - could lead to increased alienation.
"The ANC . needs' to make sure it does not take its black support for granted. They could easily lose significant support to the Pan Africanist Congress," an analyst warned.
Butwhat worrries analysts most is the longterm damage being done to the Western Capelh: rough such negative campaigning.
"All the parties seem to have adopted'awin-at-all-costs approach. What people don't seem to realise is that we are going to have to work to gether after the April poll:So increasing tension between races now will only make the task of building a non racial Western Cape more difficult after the elec tons, one analyst warned
-Archbishop Des mond"Tutu ands several other Wéstern Cape clergy, including the Muslim Judicial Council this 5week condemned what they termed "blatantly racist tactics
(Nows by Howay 12 si Georges Mali (cape Town) tomer
 inting of votes

THE Independent Electoral Cominis sion has pledged that counting of the votes cast in the country's'first all-race election will be characterised by "abso. Iute transparency",

Addressing a media briefing last night, IEC spokesman Humphrey Khoza said vote counting, which would begin at 6 am tomorrow at counting stations throughout the country; would be attended not only by IEC officers, but also by local and international observers as well as by representatives of the parties contesting the elections.

Provisional results, which would be no more than mere tallies, would be released throughout the day as counting ended at the various counting stations.
Khoza said each counting station would represent about 10 polling stations, and the numbers of both the votes cast and ballot papets returned in the area under that counting station would be made public. 304 )

Polling stations where irregularities were alleged would be dealt with in terms of the Electoral Act, he said.
However, Khoza said he personally felt the fact that all political parties contesting the election had complained about one thing or another was "ablessing in disguise":
This attested to the IEC's independence and non-partisanship.
He said a number of allegations of irregulanties had been received and a. breakdown of these would be provided at a later stage.
Among the reports received was that ANC members allegedly took control of a polling station in Parys in thè Free State "for a short while", but thing" s later: returned to normal and ballot-boxeswere not affected.
Khoza said the IEC was aware of allegations that IEC officers had been found by the police tampering with ballot papeŕs in KwaZakhele outside Port Elizabeth..-Sowetan Correspondent.

## DP Sowetar 71494 <br> DP must apologise

AN INDEPENDENT Electoral Commission tribunal has ordered the Democratic Party to apologise for a statement made by its Western Cape premiership candidate Mr Hennie Rester, in which he attributed a racist statement to African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela.

This was the second completed IEC hearing in the country, and the first in the Western Cape. Tomorrow the IEC willhearan ANC complaint about "racist" NP comic book. Rester told a public meeting in Cape Town on February 28 that Mandela had told his supporters to drive white parties fut of the to wnships. During the IEC hearing the DP admitted the statement was groundless. - Saba.
(Repor ti by Dennis Cavernilif 122 Berg Street Cape Town)
$i:$

## MPs get eviction notices

DURBAN. - Houses are not as safe as they used to be if you are an MP who hasn't made it on to the National Assembly election list of any party.

MPs who were provided with houses in Cape Town for R120 a month while Parliament sat, have been given eviction notices.

Present MPs who are on party lists will keep their homes until
the election - but will have move out if not elected.
Those affected are living in three specially created parlia mentary "villages": Acacia Park for House of Assembly MPs, Peli can Park for House of Delegates MPs and Labonia Park for House of Representatives MPs.
It is understood that Acacia Park will prohably be kept for

MPS, trat the other two villages are likely to be sold off.

Their sale is expected to more than recover the costs of their creation.

Among the MPs who will miss having Table Mountain in their back yards are members of the Conservative Party who have not joined the Freedom Front, and those belonging to Inkatha.

NODELAY. A determined Mr Nelison Mandela emphasises elections will not be delayed despité a


THE April 27 pol will go ahead the government and the ANC sad yesterdayas 700 extra troops: poured into Kwazulu/Natal yesterday.

The new tropos boosted the tally since the state of emergency was declared to about 1900 ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said the poll. could not be delayed, nationaly or in kwazulu. Independent Electoral Commissionn chair-: man Mr Justice Jhan Kriegler denied the IEC plannedotrommenathe postponement of the elections fin Kwazulu saying the political climate should change, not the election date.
Meanwhile anTECcontingency election plan-
has swung into acton 1 nothe area with - the launching of operation Acesssto promote free electioneering prevoustyono areas. A.spokesman said the IEO would forge ahead with planning for a fultseale étection until a political decision to do othervise was táken Judge Kriegler sidat 4 o provide yotin facilities for those who wish to yoter and that's what we intend."
Mr Mandelabelieved security forces had the capacity to curb the conflictin the eqiongi-
 We will hot postponeour freedom. . . we will not postpone our plans to build a better life for all "South Africans, he said

President F W De Klerk's spokesman Mr Dave Steward said the government had noted the conclusion of the working committee and political measures were needed to remove obstacles to holding elections iñ Kizaulu/Natal.

ANC and KwaZulu government sources ex pressed pessimism'that tomorrow's summit at an undisclosed venue between Mr de Klerk, Mr "Mandela, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill quelethinl woûld achieve a breakthrough.
O101 die in Natal Page 2

Attempts to reach an accord between the Freedom Front（FF），the ANC and the Govern－ ment about the constitutional principle for the establishment of a volkstaat are continuing， but progress appears slow．
The talks，which have been continuing for seyeral months，centre on principle 34 of the Interim Constitution，which makes provision fond an elected member of Parliament to pur－ suethe establishment of 8 volkstaat through a volistaat council．304円）
The FF requires that provision be made for the party to use the election to test support for the idea of a volkstaat before it commits itself to taking part in the election．
Among the FF＇s requirements are that votes be counted by polling stations in certain areas to get，a picture of support for a volkstaat．
tProfessor Braam Viljoen，one of the facilita－ tors of the accord，said on Tuesday that talks were oontinuing and that a final draft had been drawn up－but it would probably be referred back for discussion．
The＇NP poured cold water on speccilation that the parties were close to agreement but FF spokesman Corné Mulder was，$m$ upbeat about prospects for reaching a， ment within the week．
（47 Saver St．Johanneshúrg）
点劵：



By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff
THE negotiations for the establishment of a 20 -person volkstaatraad after the elections were going well and progress was being made, Freedom Front spokesman Dr Corne Mulder said yesterday. He emphasised however, that the document disclosed in the Cape Times yesterday was an unsigned, draft account.
The progress was also welcomed yesterday by a spokesman for the State President's Office.
"Provision for the volkstaatraad has been written into the constitution and it is heartening that the Freedom Front and the Afrikaner Volksfront are taking up the opportunity provided in the constitution," he said.
The AVF said it had "no comment at this stage".
However, it is understood the
 mayreject

## council

AVF will refuse to participate in the council, as it does not guarantee a volkstaat.
The AVF has been sending a representative to the volkstaatraad negotiations but its participation has been low key.
Also yesterday, AVF spokesman Mr Koos Kemp said an urgent strategic planning meeting of AVF-aligned burgerrade (citizen councils) had been called to
ratify an undisclosed plan to obtain an Afrikaner volkstaat.
An AVF statement to Sapa said people's representative council "president" Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg would address the meeting on the functioning of the burgerrade and their role in the process to establish a volkstaat.

- Deputy Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Fanus Schoeman said the acceptance of self-determination had already been incorporated into the new constitution.
Speculation that an agreement had been reached and could be signed at any moment was not correct, he said.
"What is indeed true is that talks about one or other form of self-determination and the details of the volkstaatraad are on the go, but there are still too many differences of opinion over some issues to talk now already about an agreement."
top candidate
FORMER＂Witdoek＇． warlord，jailed Transkei coup－plotter，alleged cun－runner and self－ styled＇Military Intelli＇ styled ：Military Intell－ gence agent，Mr Nkose－ kaya＂Prince＂Gobingca， is a top candidate for the satop Democratic African Democratic
Movement $\$ 04 \boldsymbol{A})$

He is fourth on ，the
party＇s national list．
rhe 49－year－old cam the $49-y$ a close friend paigner is a close friend and recently faced alle gations that he was in gations in a gun－running volved in a gun－running
scheme from the Ciskei to Cape Town black
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## DP ordered to apologise to Mandela

Cape Town - An Independent Electoral Commission tribunal ordered the DP yesterday to apologise for a statement made by its Western Cape premiership candidate Hennie Bester, in which he attributed a racist impre cation to ANC president Nelson Mandela.
This was the second completed IEC hearing in the country, and the first in the Western Cape (304, Groundless

At a public meeting in Cape Town on February 28 Bester said Mandela had told his supporters to drive white parties out of the townships.

During the IEC hearing the DPadmitted the statement was groundless.
Bester's statement was ret ported in the Cape Times on March 1.
The tribunal did not find the DP guilty of contravening the Electoral Act, nor didit find that the statement con travened section sbiof ftre Electoral Code of Conduct, as there was no evidence onvo. lence and intimidation resulte: ing from the statement. Sapa.
(Denniṣ Cavernilis; 122 Berg St CT)







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 A new government will soon be treading the marble
and granite corridors of parliamentary power. Each

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## Portuguese leader urges pesitive vote

LONDON. - Portugat's-President Mario Sdares has appealed for the large Portuguese immigrant community in South Africa to vote positively in the enstion to non-racial democracy.
"I urge them to bet on peace, to bet on democracy d to bet on development,"Mr Soares said yesterday.
There are an estimated 400000 to 600000 Portu-
There are an es in South Africa. Lisbon is anxious
guese immigrants in south back to Portugal if the
lections in South Africa fail to bring peace.
Meanwhile, the British Foreign Office played down
Mean that it had drafted contingency airlift plans rep 350000 British citizens in South Africa
for 350000 British citizens in spokesman last night said: "If anyone :wants to
A spokesman last night said: number of commerial planes so there is no need for an evacuation." But it is known that the Foreign Office is becoming But it is known that the Foreign oft increasingly concerned as it monition in South Africa.-Own Correspondent,
Sapa-Reuter, The Telegraph ple

DURBAN. - Durban's deputy mayor, Mr Dave McNaught, is third on the national list of nominatons by the African Democratic Movement, the party of former Ciskei military ruler Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.
The brigadier heads the list, followed by Mr Siphiwo Pita, Mr McNaught, Mr Nkosekaya Gobingca and controversial right-wing counillor Ms Joanne Allen.
Ms Allen also heads the list of can didates for the Natal parliament. Mr McNaught said he would serve as the party's'environmental adviser and spokesman in the run-up to the

April poll
The days of "old-style, white politics" were over and he would support a black party that yas anti-communist. 5
He appealed to the Inkatha Freedom Party and other federal leaders to vote for the ADM, saying they should vote for a party that would look after the interests of moderate groupings and fight for "provincial Ireedom' ( $3 \times 1$ A
If the Inkatha Freedom Party was contesting the election, he probably would have voted for it, he said. -
Sapa, Own Correspondent


READY TO VOTE . . . Capetonian Mr Stephen Hendricks, studying at Harvard, will join thousands of South Africans voting' in the US in the elections.

## US <br> gears up to help SA indict citizens vote

BOSTON. - At the age of 39. Mr Stewhen Hendricks of Cape Town is finally getting a chance to vote.
He's one of thousands of South Africans in the United States who can join their countrymen in the elections this month.
"I realise what so many of my forefathers were fighting for," says Mr Hendricks, a fellow at the Harvard School of Public Health.

The South African government is working with the US Federal Election Commission and state governments to set up polling booths for the elections.
There will be booths in New York, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego. Boston, Houston, Dallas, Philadelphia, Raleigh, Atlanta, Miami, Phoenix, and Washington DC.
"This is the first time anyone has asked us to set up polling places like this," said Mr Jack McCarthy, spokesman for the Massachusetts secretary of state's office.

More than half a million South Africans living abroad are eligible to vote, including about 150000 in the United States, according to Mr Waldemar Zastreas, the country's deputy consul general in New York.
Mr Zastrcau said about 4000 South Africans in the United States cast ballots in the 1992 referendum. - Sapa-AP
 Neither will leave for south
frica until all parties have
 ington have confirmed they
have been asked by the.IFP to
mediate between it and the oreign secretary Lord 'Car US secretary of state Dr HenOHANNESBURG. - Forme
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voters as determined by of an estimated 22709152 vices had their docum the Central Statistical Sergional and district officents by last Friday. The reDay tomorrow and Fofices would be open on Family Sapa ${ }_{\text {Report }}$ by


in November. 3048 apor
of all the parties contesting the wetter Cape regional elections, the DP has shown the most spectacular improvement, with its support growing from 5,7 percent in November to 10,5 percent last month
This would give the DP five seats in the 42seat provincial legislature and a place on its executive.
The poll shows the DP is winning back white voters from the NP and now has the backing of 18,6 percent of whites as opposed to 11,3 percent in November. Its support among coloured voters has also improved marginally.
On the other hand, the poll reveals, support for the ANC in the National Assembly elections in the Western Cape has dropped from 42,9 percent to 31,3 percent.
The ANC has shed significant numbers of coloured and white voters $;$ but retains the support of a massive 94,1 percent of black voters.
The results reveal that on all issues put to people polled, a majority of blacks have faith in the ANC, while coloureds and whites put their faith in the 'NP.
För example, asked which party was most: suitable and capable of solving the education problem, out of the 45,7 percent of the total voters polled, who chose the ANC, a huge 97,4 percent were black. Of other races polled 25,9 percent whites and 26,5 percent coloureds chose the ANC.
4.

Favoured party
On the same question the NP scored a total of 40,1 with only 2,2 percent of blacks saying they would entrust the NP to solve educational problems, against $.54,8$ percent of coloureds:and 49,2 percent of whites who all favoured the NP.
ThienPriscored 12;5. percent with only 2,2 percent of blacks trusting it with education The PAC scored a low, $3 ; 8$, : The ANC is also the favoured party to end apartheid and discriminatiori ( 48,1 percent) against the NP's 40,1 percent The pollindicates that perhitios more than anywhere else in the couintuy, vo ers in the Western Cape will make use of the two-ballot system to vote for one party for the national government and. another for the provin-
cial government.
It also shows that 14 percent of the whites and eight percent of the coloureds who said they would vote NP nationally claimed they would support the DP and, to a lesser extent, the ANC in the provincial elections.
"Another remarkable response was that 22,9 percent of those polled in the Western Cape indicated they were" "totally in favour" of Nelson ! Mandela against 18,7 for Mr F: W de Klerk Whereas only 9 percent indicated they were totally against Mr Mandela, 16 percent showed they were against Mr de: Klerk.
disl

The 22,9 percent "totally in favour" "of Mr Mandela, 1,3 percent were white, 78,1 percent black and 4,2 percent coloured.


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THE launch of Frances
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# Experts outline  <br> between the South African Defence Force 

FRANS ESTERHUYSE<br>Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

FAR-REACHING changes - affecting many aspects of social and economic life in the the New South Africa, not least in the face of South Africa's security forces and public service - are highlighted by the updated report of a high-level team of experts who studied South Africa's action priorities and made recommendations.

Some of their recommendations have already had a significant impact on the country's socio-political debate.

The team is the Nedcor/Old Mutualsponsored Professional Economic Panel (PEP) which consists of economists, Business people and political figures from across the ideological spectrum. Among them are political analyst Dr Frederik van Zyl Slabbert, Dr Neva Makgetla of Wits University's economics department, and Dr Cees Bruggemans, group economist of First National Bank.
Their proposals include a number of measures to enhance the public perception that the security forces behave impartially. While focusing on aspects likely to hinder the transition process, the panel made suggestions for restructuring the army and the police - a matter also dealt with in the interim constitution.

The core negotiations were conducted
(SADF) and Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK) on the one hand, and the South African Police (SAP) and the African National Congress on the other.

The panel's report focuses on some striking features of agreements reached and on significant changes to be brought about immediately or soon after this month's elections. These include:

- The defence force will, for the first time, be directly accountable to pariament.

All parties contesting the elections which have private armies will contribute on an equal basis to a new single National Defence Force, as the SADF will become known on April 28.

The NDF will refrain from furthering party-political interests, and its members will be entitled to refuse any order which constitutes an offence or would breach international law of armed conflict binding on South Africa.
The NDF, whose chief will be appointed by the president, will comprise both a permanent force and a part-time reserve component.

The panel reports that the SADF has also moved towards the application of business principles in its operations.

- Turn to page 3


## Defence 'xiewed a a business' <br> \section*{a From page 1} <br> "vague beyond packages are left

"This has become imperative in a situation where the defence budget has already declined by 44 percent in real terms since 1989 , and indications are that it may be reduced further, with units being disbanded in an austerity drive to coincide with the inauguration of the NDF," the report says.

The SADF has noted it will have to cut funding on certain projects to be able to afford the costs of its integration with MK, homeland armies and other armed formations.

The Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence will have as one of its functions the overseeing of any planning, preparation and training for a future defence force.

Unlike the NDF, the South African Police Service will not be directly accountable to parliament. Instead, the national commissioner will be accountable through the national minister of police, and the provincial commissioners through the regional police ministers.

An independent mechanism will be established under civilian control to investigate complaints of misconduct allegedly

Furthermore, community-police forums will be created at police station level. Their duties will include promoting 10 cal accountability of the Service to communities.

In addition, plans are being made to train civilians for entry into the future police force. The training is being arranged in conjunction with the University of the Western Cape, and will be undertaken by local as well as international agencies.

On restructuring the civil service, the panel made a series of recommendations designed to render the civil service more accessible to a broader range of interests, more amenable to the requirements of the disadvantaged, and more open to public feedback.

However, the panel says among issues that have not been finalised is the security of public servants under a news government. A draft agreement not yet adopted provides for a one-judge judicial commission, to be appointed by the president, as well as a tribunal under the Labour Appeal Court. The panel reports that
vague beyond a guarantee of a fair and equitable pension, medical aid subsidies and the maintenance of salaries."

Meanwhile, the commission for administration and the ANC have already intensified training programmes for managers in the civil service. These attempt to redress inequalities without sacrificing efficiency.

A number of universities are also developing programmes to train civil servants for the new South Africa. In October last year the United States Congress approved legislation to urge institutions such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to finance training programmes for future government officials.

The ANC/Cosatu/SACP alliance declares in its reconstruction and development programme (RDP) that an extensive programme of affirmative action is required in the. civil service.
$\frac{?}{\text { Within two years of its intro- }}$ duction, recruitment and training should reflect South African society in terms of race, class and gender.
(News by FS Esterhuyse. 122 St George's Mall. Cape Town):

ANOTHER woman tas emerged in the Western Cape's premiership stakes as Constand Viljoen's newlyformed rightwing Freedom Front enters the election fray. ARG2 494
Eleanor Lombard, a former Conservative Party election opponent of the National Party's Hernus Kriel, is top of the Freedom Front's list of Western Cape provincial candidates and has been named as the movement's candidate for prime minister.

The main line-up for prime minister of the Western Cape is now: Hennie Bester (Democratic Party), Allan Boesak (African National Congress), Patricia de Lille (Pan Africanist Congress), Hernus Kriel (National Party) and Eleanor Lombard (Freedom Front).
Mrs Lombard entered politics in 1984 when she stood as a CP candidate against Mr Kriel in a pariamentary byelection in Parow. Mr Kriel, a former provincial councillor, won the election and became an MP.

Subsequently, Mrs Lombard became involved with Carel Boshoff's AfrikanerVryheidstigting (Avstig) and went to the World Trade Centre, Kempton Park, as a member of Avstig's negotiating team. She is also a member of Avstig's citizens' council.

She is an ardent supporter of Professor Boshoff's planned Afrikaner volkstaat in the north-western Cape, which she believes is the most viable of the volkstaat options put forward so far.

Professor Boshoff and other members of Avstig are also backing the Freedom Front and are among its election candidates.

Mrs Lombard, a former teachers' training college lecturer, told Weekend Argus the Freedom Front was gaining support in the Western Cape not only from National Party members, but also from members of the Inkatha Freedom Party.
"We are astonished at the public response so far," she said.

She regarded General Viljoen as South Africa's "voice of reason". "With his military background he is providing a silent power. This, accompanied by his sound and sober judgment, makes him the right man at the right time. He is certainly in tune with South African realities and we believe he can negotiate a better deal for us than Mr De Klerk and his team can do."

Mrs Lombard said the provision made at a late stage for the establishment of a volkstaat council in the new constitution would enable the Freedom Front to continue


Picture: HANNES THIART. Weekend Argus.
$\square$ FRONT TEAM: Some of the Western Cape election candidates for General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front line up in their campaign office at Melkbosstrand, from left, Pieter Grobbelaar, Ernst van Zyl, Pat Móhr and Eleanor Lombard, back, who is also the the FF's candidate for provincial prime minister.
negotiations after the elections.

Other Freedom Front candidates in the Western Cape include: Dr Chris Jooste of Vredendal; Mr Ernst van Zyl, a councillor and former mayor of Kraaifontein; Mr Pieter Grobbelaar, a company director and farmer of Stellenbosch; Dr J A de Wet of Plettenberg Bay; Mr Pat Mohr, a Cape Town businessman; and Mrs Hester le Roux, a housewife and former teacher

Outlining the party's policy, Mr Grobbelaar said the Freedom Front stood for a confederal system of government, was committed to the promotion of peace and security, was against communism
in any form, and wanted a larger measure of federal atitonomy in the Western Cape than provided for in the present constitution.

Mr Grobbelaar said that if about 80 percent of the 2,4 million voters in the Western Cape voted in the election, a total of about 1,8 million votes would be cast. He estimated the Freedom Front could get about 10 percent of these votes.

This would mean about five seats in the regional parliament.

The Freedom Front is conducting its Western Cape campaign from an office in Melkbosstrand - 5531656. ${ }^{1}$ (News by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

The constitution and
map for the rightwing
"Boerevolksrepubliek"
announced by
Conservative Party and
Volksfront leader Ferdi Hartzenberg last
weekend is an effort to consolidate their claim to a large chunk of South
Africa. It is a kind of
"Afrikaner homeland",
typical of the
Verwoerdian Bantustans.

## PIETER MALAN

Weekend Argus Reporter
THE preamble of the constitution of the "Boerevolksrepubliek" calls on the descendants of the Voortrekkers and those who lost their lives and property in the South African War to accept God and their nation's command to establish their own republic.

Rightwing watchers believe the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) has adopted the name Boerevolksrepubliek for their Afrikaner independent state in an effort to differentiate their state from the volkstaat that Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen most probably will champion in the elections.
Details of General Viljoen's volkstaat are vague, but an agreement between the Freedom Front, the African Nationment is expected soon It will menl is expecticis of the Fredom Front's idea of a rolkstat in more detail

Until now, General Viljoen has been unwilling to discuss the borders of the volkstaat apparently because he believes the elections will indicate support for a volkstaat in a particular region.
Two totally different roads to an Afrikaner heartland seem to be emerging.
Dr Hartzenberg's AVF territorial plan - revealed last weekend - leans heavily on the fact that most of the land in the Transvaal, Free State

# Ferdi spells 

out demands

and Northern Natal is already owned by what they call "our people" - Afrikaner rightwing supporters.
This territorial claim is loosely built around the old republics of Transvaal and the Orange Free State as well as the Republic of Vrybeid (a re-
public in Northern Natal which joined Transvaal in 1888).
Excluded from this are the present Bantustans, other large areas of land owned by the Stare - the Kruger Nationa "volksvreemde" (alien) are around Johannesburg and the

Free State goldfields.
They also are willing to hand over a part of the Free State north of Lesotho to that coun try or to the Tswana people.

The 34 -article constitition also allows for other districts or cantons to become part of the republic of their own free
will - the north will - the north-western cap being the most likely candi date.

Citizenship will be granted to all "Boere-Afrikaners" living within the boundaries of the republic on the date of indepen dence.
"Boere-Afrikaners" living or born elsewhere can apply for citizenship of the new republic.

Non-citizens will have the right to be treated according to generally accepted standard as prescribed by international law" as well as those standards accepted in the constitution's own human rights clause - al though some sub-articles in this section, like the right to a job, apply only to cilizens.

The constitution emphatical ly states that citizenship is a precondition for appointment to any civil service post.
"For big concentrations of non-citizens within the boundaries of the republic, cantons can be created which will be connected to other states in southern Africa.

Exactly when
when and how the this republic will come into being is not clear

Dr Hartzenberg has previously said that the must come into being before the elections.

Article 34 of the republic's constitition states that the interim assembly - of which Dr Hartzenberg is the president will publicly announce the dat on which the comes into being

The interim assembly will also administer the election for the first house of assembly of the new republic.

 FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Args
Political Correspondent election factor, it is
claimed.
FRANS ESTERHUYSE


 Moves are afoot to
form a coalition CO









It's the dirtiest Cape

 Cape to work for Hernus
Weekend Argus，April 2／3 1994
 $\qquad$
＂Apparently it atfects sheep
and
Beeratle as well，
said Mrs De
Cynthia Killops of Misty Morn
stableyard in Philippi said a
show horse stabled for a client
became ill on Wednesday． The other horses at the stables
were under constant observation
and precautionary measures



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 at seed depot Bomb blast







SAD SIGHT：David Killops of Misty Morrs stable yard in philip－ GAD SIGGT：David KIIOPs of tor Quality．The horse inured poi－
pi comforts sick gelding Quest

## 8

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LIBBY PEACOCK Reporter Weekend Argus Reporter



Several horseowners saidt they
unged authorities to ingestigate
after scores of horses fell ill
many had to be put down． They said authorities had not
eniersact．－Sapa．



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Another farmer，whose sup－
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## ${ }^{6}$ Nats aren't doing their

## share for peace'

## By Quentin Wilson

NATIONAL Party participation in peace keeping structures in the Western Cape has been criticised as "inconsistent and unenthusiastic" by an executive Western Cape Peace Committee membe ( 304 A

Mr Barend Hendricks, the ANC representative on the Peace Committee's executive, claims the NP "barely participates in the peace committce, and when they do, they send junior party members who may not make decisions".

While the chairperson of the committee, Professor Jaap Durand, denies there is a problem, the NP itself has admitted that its participation has been below par.
According to Mr Melt Hamman, NP MP for Ceres, the NP struggles
to find members who have tinne for the peace committee.
"The truth is: that we are fairly thinly stretched and people are not always available to attend peace meetings," Hamman said. "But we are trying to do our best."
Hendricks was "extremely concerned" at the NP not getting. its act together: "We are worried that the violence in the Western Cape is increasing, particularly on the trains and between gangs."
But Durand refused to criticise the NP: "The NP are part of the peace committee structures and there is no way I can say they are not participating," he said.
He added that he had between out of the country for the past two weeks and could not comment on NP participation during that time.





# Sales surge as consumers anticipate poll shortages <br> <br> $\square$ Supermarkets say some items popular, but it's not 

 <br> <br> $\square$ Supermarkets say some items popular, but it's not}

## HENRI du PLESSIS

## Staff Reporter

WESTERN Cape shops have reported unusually high sales as consumers appear to be stockpiling in anticipation of shortages during the election period.

Candles, blankets, black plastic bags, canned foods and dry foods such as mealiemeal and rice went from supermarket shelves as fast as they came in, some stores reported

Increased buying appeared more prevalent in the northern areas of the Peninsula than in the southern suburbs.

But, supermarket managers denied there was panic.
"People seem to be stocking up in case of shortages, similar to the buying before Easter when everybody knows some items will not be available," said Bill Gordon, Spar retail operations director in the Western Cape.
"There is nothing dramatic about it. I believe people realise suppliers will be giving their staff off over the election days to allow them to vote and for their safety.
"Deliveries might be interrupted, but I doubt it is more serious than that."

Rice and candles were popular with consumers at OK in Durbanville, said a spokesman.
"We ran out of rice at one stage, but we soon got more from one of our other branches. Non-perishables are selling faster, but I would not call it panic buying."

Stocking up seemed to take place mostly in the traditionally white areas.
"I don't know whether it is because of fears or simply because they have a higher disposable income," said the spokesman.

Pick'n Pay also had somé evidence of stockpiling, said chairman Raymond Ackerman.

According to reports, black plastic bags were popular with
"survivalists" as a means of blacking out windows and preventing shattered glass from flying if stones were thrown.

Meanwhile, uncertainty about the future is making itself felt on the supermarket shelves of Pretoria, reports The Argus Correspondent.

Consumers allege that there are gaps on shelves, or shelves are empty.

Reasons given by callers for the empty shelves varied from people stockpiling goods to supermarkets deliberately keeping stocks low for fear of looting after the elections.

Suggestions of panic buying also were raised in a recent Pretoria City Council meeting by two Conservative Party city councillors.

Pieter Strobos said that if one looked into housewives' supermarket trolleys these days one could see they were stocking up on tinned goods, and Hennie Fourie alleged that police were issuing lists advising people to buy tinned goods.

General manager of the Faerie Glen Hypermarket, Frik-
kie Rossouw, said more tinned food was being bought than average but it was not panic buying.

A visit to supermarkets in Pretoria revealed that shelves containing tinned items such as corned meat, mixed vegatables and pilchards were noticeably empty or not well stocked. Flour, breakfast cereals, cooking oil, packet soups and to a lesser degree sugar and some toiletries were also not plentiful.

But on the whole shelves were fairly well stocked.

Explaining the particularly bare-looking shelves at his supermarket, Mr Rossouw said there had been a delay by suppliers after the violence in Johannesburg last week.

A rash of scare pamphlets, some anonymous and some on AWB letterheads, has been distributed in the past week, warning people to stockpile and batten down the hatches for the election period and the weeks to follow.

At least three different circulars falsely allege that stockpiling and other contingency plans have been recommended by a political analyst from insurance brokers Price Forbes.

In response, Price Forbes has placed advertisements in all major newspapers denying that they prompted the panic buying. A spokesman for the group said that risk analysts had held private seminars with certain clients but denied that the analysts advocated panic stockpiling.

A manager at a Spar store in southern Johannesburg said he had sold "masses" of tinned foods and non-perishables such as mealie-meal and candles in the past week.

And Pick 'n Pay group marketing director Martin Rosen confirmed that the group's sales were up to 50 percent ahead of budget in March thanks to edgy shoppers hoarding non-perishables.

While the circulars allege that petrol will be unobtainable over the election period, garage managers yesterday denied having been told they would not get their normal supplies.

Eskom has poured cold water on claims that widespread blackouts are expected.
Housewives' League president Lyn Morris advised consumers to buy things they would normally buy, "but to get just a little bit more".
"Buy some extra tea, salt, pasta, tinned meat and fish. You may never use them. But it is best to be prepared. Another thing that most people seem to forget is toilet paper and dog food.
"It also makes sense to have a few extra candles and a gas cylinder ready although Eskom has given an assurance that it has made contingency plans. Bear in mind that we have a lunatic fringe both from the far right and the far left, and you can't watch every electricity pylon," she warned.

ANCKriel at Rylands meeting

A man holding several placards aloft, including one with the legend "Kriel is a killer", upset National Party supporters, who shouted for placards to be put down.

Officials wanted to remove the man from the hall, but ignored him after Mr Kriel asked that he be left alone "so that can speak to him".
However, a few minutes later the protester continued to interject and the meeting was interrupted for several minutes as NP officials tried to remove him from the hall; an argument ensued.

When procedings continued people - identified later as protest banners greet
uslim fund 94
danehtalists continued to heckle and demand to ask questions.

Amid the uproar Mr Kriel, the NP premiership candidate for the region, was applauded when he said the NP's priority after victory in the Western Cape would be to unify the region's people. (304A)
"We have to have a common goal to improve the quality of people's lives. To do this we will need the co-operation of everyone including the ANC and the PAC. After the process of the election, we will have to co-operate to do something positive for the people."


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this election will force even the most
lethargic to go to the polls． however，that the euphoria around


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 intend voting，the turnout will be majority of African and white voters apathetic when it came to electoral
politics．Polls indicate that while the



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The demographically representative poll was conducted among 2601 people of whom 398 were white, 500 Indian, 100 coloured and 1603 black.
While the findings are "emphatically not" predictions of the general election result, they are a pointer to the way people might vote on April 27.
The wild card is the Inkatha election boycolt, complicated further by violence, intimidation and the introduction last week of a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal.
The survey, however, suggests that more than half ( $54 \%$ ) of Inkatha supporters say they will "definitely" vote.
Where, then, are they and the large ( $18,9 \%$ ) number of floating voters likely to put their crosses? That large unknown bloc could determine whether or not the ANC achieves an absolute majority in the region.
It will be to the advantage of the ANC if the Inkatha boycott is generally successful. If it isn't, then the second-choice parties of Inkatha supporters take on a special signifivance.
If the boycott doesn't work, but Inkatha does stay out of the election, the poll suggests that the NP is likely to be the biggest beneficlary in Natal, followed by the ANC and the PAC.
Nationally, Constant Vilijoen's Freedom Front seems the most likely beneficiary and Inkatha's abstention could tip the scales to give the Front a Cabinet post.
Though the DP is the second choice of a significant number $(29,8 \%)$ of white Inkatha supporters, it only attracts $0,9 \%$ of its black supporters - and black support outnumbers that of whites by $5: 1$ in Inkatha.
The researchers say that excluding the floating vote, the ANC's position has slipped slightly from $52 \%$ last November to $50,3 \%$ in February. Inkatha's rating has also fallen from $32,7 \%$ to $24,8 \%$. The NP, however, has jumped from $9,5 \%$ to $19,1 \%$. The DP also shows a $1 \%$ increase to $3,2 \%$, while PAC support rose marginally to $1,1 \%$.
Reasons for the shifts are complex. The
with more -Indian than white support. Indications are that lower income families feel increasingly threatened by the ANC and are seeking salvation through the NP, though intellectual and higher income Indians are more likely to vote for the ANC.

The final twist, though, suggests that most of De Klerk's support from Indian and coloured communities comes from women. Perhaps it's simply his sex appeal.

Results of the MPD survey of voter sentiments in the biggest province, the PWV, suggest that the ANC has dropped somewhat in relative support, as have Inkatha and the white Right, while the NP has regained support lost last year to emerge in quite a strong second place - though way behind the ANC.
The survey's final estimate of PWV voter intentions: ANC - $71 \%$, NP - $14 \%$, Freedom Front - $10 \%$, DP - 3\%, and PAC $2 \%$.

## KWAZUHU/NATAL <br> On a plate <br>  <br> 

The ANC has twice the support of Inkatha in troubled KwaZulu/Natal, while the NP comes in a distant third - a dramatic change from the position as recently as July 1992, when Inkatha was reckoned to enjoy regional support of $37 \%$ to the ANC's $23 \%$.

Based on figures from the second regional opinion survey conducted by Data Research Africa for the Launching Democracy project - an initiative sponsored jointly by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (MPD) and the HSRC - Nelson Mandela's ANC (led regionally by Jacob Zama) commands $36,7 \%$ of support compared with $18,1 \%$ for Inkatha, $13,9 \%$ for the NP, 2,3\% for the DP, and $0,8 \%$ each for the Freedom Front and PAC. That means a fairly even division between pro-ANC and combined anti-ANC support, with the ANC having the edge.

pollsters say the ANC has gleaned white, Indian and coloured support from a proviously undecided group, while black support levels have remained static.
Inkatha support among non-African minorities is virtually static, but it has lost norities is virtually static, but it has lost
nearly $25 \%$ of its mainstay black support. On the face of it this might seem to indicate that the Inkatha losses have been an NP windfall.
But what has actually happened is that In the Inkatha losses have been an NP windfall.
But what has actually happened is that Inkatha's support has remained static while support for other parties has risen through electoral mobilisation - much the same bloc of Inkatha support as before constitutes a of Inkatha support as before constitutes a
smaller portion of a larger overall total.
The researchers point out that the NP's strong improvement has been achieved with strong improvement has been achieved with
virtually no additional African support, but dramatically increased support from minorties as more people come off the fence. It's just a touch surprising, however, that the NP, the architects of apartheid, may emerge from the election in KwaZulu/Natal
 support for other parties has risen through


## portant provinces have been high-

 lighted by an update of the Sunday Times Pulse of the People poll.With just over three weeks to election day, the results of the poll among 850 respondents in the PWV, Western Cape and Natal provinces show a leaching of support away from the ANC, a growth in National Party support and a surprising surge in DP forturies.
Although the ANC's dominance in the PWV and Natal is unchallenged, the new poll, conducted by Markinor, indicates that the NP is poised to take the Western Cape. The province is likely to be one of two - the Northern Cape is the other - that will not fall to the ANC.
But the poll, a revisit of the national survey commissioned by the Sunday Times in November, alsb shows a considerable number of white voters are undecided. This means voting patterns could change even further in thip next three crucial weeks.
The main points of the poll are:

- The ANC has shed support in the PWV, Western Cape and Natal, but is still comfortably ahead zulu/Natal. In the We win majority support in Kwaw Natal sald they were against an zulu/Natal. In the Western Cape it has been overt . modependent yolkstaat.
taken by the NP. and in particular the Western Cape where coloured were 骨 favour of an mdependent - The Democratic Party is winning back the the fiea support of white voters who had ditched it in favoir supe support among whites for a volkof Inkatha and the NP. In the provincial elections in the PWV and Western Province, the DP is benefite ing from the introduction of the two-ballot system and could qualify for provincial cabinet seats in
both provinces. oth provinces.
- Support among blacks in Natal for Inkatha has grown since the Zulu king entered the political arena. But it has lost virtually all its support among nonblacks.
Had the IFP contested the election, sufficient numbers of voters who intend voting DP and NP in national elections would have switched support to the IFP in the provincial poll.
By now the IFP would have been running a neck-and-neck race with the ANC for control of the province.
- Support for the AVF and CP was negligible in the three provinces at the time of the poll. This support had gone to the NP, but Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front could win it back in the remaining weeks. The poll was conducted before the Freedom Front registered and therefore does not reflect support for it.
- Large numbers of white people ( 35 percent in the Western Cape and 15 percent in the PWV) who were willing and able to vote did not know how they would cast their ballots or refused to say. A high proportion of these would-be voters are likely to be right-wing supporters.
In an election dominated by personalities, the influence of the two major players - President FW de


## A TALE OF THREE PROVINCES Page 21

Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela - is clearly visible in the poll in The NP's lead in the Western Cape can be attributed to Mr de Klerk's enormous poppularity among coloureds - a third said they were "totally in favour" of him Only 4,2 percent of coloured voters said this of Mr Mandela.

That the ANC is still in with à chance in the. Western Cape can be attributed to the fact that a massive 78 percent of black voters said they were totally in favour of him. Only two percent of blacks said this of Mr de Klerk.

Voters are equally polarised over election issues.
Whites regard violence, jobs, education, securing a free enterprise economy and attracting foreign investment as the most important issues. More than half of them believe the NP has the best policies to tackle these issues in In the PWV the number of whites who think the DP has the best policies to tackle these issues has doubled to about 25 percent 7 percent of voters in , Puection- Cape and 72 percent in $\mathbb{W}$ estern

- The NP has made gains it am three provinces evang inificantly, however, in Kwaand in
 was taken it had lured much support away from were daginst. In an, 30 percent of
 staat was estimated at 31 percent in the PWV and Western Cape and 22 percent in Xwazula/Natal.
Newn by Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonai Street


Dramatic gains for Nats
为安名 fintrom Page 1
since November，explain－ ing the steep rise in its sup－ port in the province．

Alinost 50 percent of black voters said creating jobs was the most impor－ tatit election＂issue：＇This was followed，in order，by houses，ending discrimina－ tion，education and vio－ lence．About half of black voters in Natal；more than 80 percent in the PWV and more than 90 percent in the Western Cape think the ANC has the best policies to address these issues．
Coloured voters in the Western Cape list their chief concerns as violence， jobs，education，housing and inflation．More than hialf think the NP has the best policies to tackle these issues．
In Kwazulu／Natal＇the Pulse of the People poll showed that overall sup－ port for the ANC dropped from 40，9 percent in No－ vember to 32,3 percent in March．

But because of the IFP boycott and the likelihood of a low poll in the pro－ vince，Markinor estimated the ANC would get the backing of 50,4 percent of the province＇s willing and able voters in the national elections on April 27－28．

About 20 percent of IFP supporters said they would ignore boycott calls and cast their ballots．Some 70 percent of these voters said they would support the NP in the national elections， pushing its support up to 29,9 percent（ 21 percent）in the，province．
＂The DP has clawed back
the support of whites and Indians from the IFP to increase its support among voters to 6,4 percent（ 3,5 percent）．In the provincial elections it will also get the backing of some Inkatha supporters，pushing its sup－ port even higher to eight percent

In the PH the ANC is down from 65,9 percent in November to 56，5 percent in March．

However，the main rea－ son for this is that the boundaries of the PWV province have been altered since the first Pulse of the People poll in November． As a result there are almost two million fewer black voters in the pro－ vince than there were in November．
Among black voters in the province，support for the ANC has remained con－ stant at about 80 percent．
About 10 percent of black voters have not de－ cided how they will vote and five percent will not vote．
It is among white voters in the PWV that there has been the greatest swing．
About 7，3 percent of whites said in November that they would back In－ katha and 20 percent the CP／AVF．Now support among whites for these parties is down to four per－ cent and 3，2 percent re－ spectively．
The biggest beneficiary has been the NP which has seen its support among whites grow from 40,7 per－ cent to 55,7 percent for the national elections．As a esult its support is up to 23，2 percent．
The DP has also gained， with its support among whites increasing from 9,3 percent to 19，7 percent．Its support＂among willing and able voters in the province for the national election is up to 9,4 percent（ 3,2 per－ cent）．Neither party has made inroads among blacks：
Nor can either party be entirely confident it will retain this support．The DP is under threat from：the Federal＂Party while Gen－
eral Viljoen＇s Freedom Front is likely to draw sup－ port of conservative whites away from the NP．
A high proportion of white voters－some 16 percent－said they did not know how they would vote．
In the Western Cape the ANC＇s support has dropped from 42,9 percent in No－ vember to 31,3 percent in March．It has lost half its white supporters and about a quarter of its coloured supporters．However，it re－ tains the backing of about 90 percent of black voters．
The NP has lost some of its white supporters to the DP but has made major inroads among coloureds． More than 55 percent of coloureds now say they will vote NP，giving the party the support of 37,8 percent of willing and able voters．

Given this voting trend， it can be confident of get－ ting the backing of signifi－ cant numbers of the 35,6 percent of white voters and 20，9 percent of coloured voters who said they had not made up their minds or refused to tell pollsters how they would vote．

The marginal improve－ ment in support for the DP in the national elections in the Western Cape（from 5，7 percent to 6,7 percent）is the result of the party mak－ ing a modest inroad into the coloured community．

However，in the Western Cape provincial elections， Markinor estimates that the DP will win 10,5 per－ cent support－enough to qualify it for membership of the provincial cablnet．

The reason for this increase is that people who said they would vote for the NP in the national elec－ tions indicated they would support the DP at a provin－ cial level．
Although support for right－wing parties was down from 2,6 percent to 1，7 percent，General Vil－ joen stands to gain the votes of somé undecided white voters．
News by Mire Eobertacon in Diagonal
Street，Sohamesburg）

## THE ELECTION

## A new last outpost? $\mathrm{Fm}, 14494$

The Mational Party could win an overall majority of votes in the western Cape in the general election, according to the results of an opinion poll published this week.
The survey, conducted in February by Market \& Opinion Surveys for the nonaligned Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD), indicates that the NP has $52 \%$ of voter support in the region. The NP's nearest rival, according to the survey, is the ANC/ SACP alliance which has $34,5 \%$ of support. Democratic Party support is put at $6,3 \%$ and support for the PAC is $4,2 \%$.

Backing for the white Right is set at $1,6 \%$, but the poll was conducted before General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front became a factor, though this is not expected to have much influence on support patterns in the province. Inkatha support comes in at $0,8 \%$.

The demographically representative poll was conducted among 1410 coloureds, 574 whites and 516 blacks. It was part of the MDP's "Launching Democracy" project, which is funded by a number of local and international organisations including the HSRC and US Aid.
The NP's apparent dominance of the western Cape is in sharp contrast to the results of an HSRC survey published in Johannesburg last week, which gives the party only $19 \%$ of the total vote nationwide. That poll gives the ANC $72 \%$ of the total vote.

## Rising level

The NP has for some time been confident of winning control of the provincial government in the western Cape but has until now not expected an overall majority. Its rising level of support indicates the consolidation of support among coloureds who comprise more than half the voters in the region; blacks and whites each make up $25 \%$.

The latest poll shows that support for the NP among coloureds has increased to $68 \%$, compared with $25 \%$ for the ANC and $5,4 \%$ for the DP. The NP is also supported by 72\% of white voters compared with $12,6 \%$ for the DP, $7 \%$ for the right wing, $4 \%$ for Inkatha and $3,6 \%$ for the ANC.

The ANC is supported by $81 \%$ of blacks in the western Cape compared with $16 \%$ for the PAC, $1,6 \%$ for the NP, $0,6 \%$ for the DP and $0,1 \%$ for Inkatha.

A total of $76,3 \%$ of respondents indicated they would vote on April 27. Stellenbosch University political analyst Jannie Gagiano says this figure is high as a percentage of the voting population.

Cape Town University political scientist Hermann Gilliomee says one of the most extraordinary findings in the survey was that support for the ANC among rural coloureds was around $23 \%$ compared with $12 \%$ among
coloureds in urban areas.
Rural coloureds have traditionally been considered to be far more conservative than urban dwellers.

Gilliomee says the reason for the finding may be that race relations in rural areas are "harsher" than in towns and cities and the support for the ANC indicates a protest against white domination.

MDP researcher Wilmot James says there is a perception in urban coloured townships that the ANC is dominated by the SACP which could result in religous persecution.
The ANC is also perceived as an "African" party whose affirmative action programme could be a threat to coloureds. There is also concern about possible nationalisation under an ANC government.

## Trusted leador

ANC western Cape leader Allan Boesak is well known in the coloured areas but is perceived as being extravagant and having a "morally ambiguous" lifestyle.
The NP on the other hand has succeeded in presenting itself to the coloured community as a party that has really changed its policies. President F W de Klerk, in particular, is perceived as a person who can be trusted and who will not introduce radical political or economic policies.
The DP has not succeeded in shaking off its image as a white, English-speaking, up-per-class party.
Researcher Bob Mattes says that in the black community in the western Cape the ANC has by far the superior organisation. The party is well integrated into the community.

The PAC has some organisation, but lacks funds. He believes the level of support for the PAC as reflected in the poll may be misleading because many potential PAC supporters may boycott or simply not get around to voting.

The NP, DP and Inkatha have virtually no organisation in the black townships and it is almost impossible to find anyone on the ground who will admit to supporting the three parties. Violence and intimidation will cause a significantly high percentage of whites and coloureds not to vote, which could be a serious threat to an NP victory in the region.

The number of coloureds who said they would vote dropped from $65 \%$ to $46 \%$ when asked if they would still vote if there was violence and intimidation. The figure among whites dropped from $83 \%$ to $57 \%$ and among blacks from $86 \%$ to $74 \%$.
Whites and coloureds identified the ANC supporters as the most likely perpetrators of violence and intimidation. Gagiano says this
creates a scapegoat for poor results for the NP regardless of who is responsible for violence.

## NEWS Teargas thr

## Kriegler

 reviews election Soueteratsposition
By Mathatha tsedu Political Editor

THE chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission yesterday said there was a need for the political climate to change but not the date for the elections.
Mr Justice Johann Kriegler's explanation followed strong opposition from the ANC , which said it would notentertain postponing elections.
The aninouncement was made by the jointcom mitteoof the EC and the South African and KwaZulu governments on Tuesday It stated that fear, intimidation and political intolerance in the areas under KwaZulu meant celections cannot be held there ( $304 \cap$ )

It also said both the Kwazulu and South African police forces were in no
position to ensure free and fair elections in KwaZulu at this stage.

Coming two days before tomorrow's historic summit between the leaders of the IFP, ANE, the State President and King Goodwill Zwelithini, the announcement was seen as a call for the postponement of elections in KwaZulu and raised expectations that this' could be the outcome of the summit:
The ANC, seen as pivotal in any decision to postpone the elections, has rejected the deat.

Spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus" said yesterday the ANC would not "at this stage". consider regional or national postponement.

He said the state of emergency needed to be tightened so that "people's rights are enforced". He said while the issue would be on the agenda of tomorrow's summit; the ANC was going to insist that free political activity in KwazZulu should be the main point as this would eliminate violence "The ANC is not going in (the summit) with the aim to see the elections postponed. We feel we havè a legitimate case for elections to proceed," Niehaus said.



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## Campaign is biased, says <br> De Klerk (zan

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## VREREDUCATIPNTM4 <br> Paying for Debi

The financiaily troubled Democratic Education Broadcasting Initiative (Debi) is going ahead full steam in spite of being broke. Only three documentaries and a music concert have been cut from its programme, says chairman Ruth Tomaselli.

The R3m still needed to fund Debi's R7,5m budget will come from either the Independent Electoral Commission, which is responsible for voter education, or the SABC, which is broadcasting Debi programmes on radio and TV.

Tomaselli, who is also a member of the SABC board, says Debi has so far received R3m from the Department of Home Affairs (DHA) via the IEC, R1m from the SABC and R500 000 from a private backer (not a political party) who does not want to be identified. ( $364 \wedge$ )
Asking the SABC to piok up the tab for Debi is not Tomaselli's first choice but she believes lack of funding must not be allowed to inhibit the success of the campaign. She says allegations of financial mismanagement are completely unfounded.

It is clear that some local productions will have to be ditched if the SABC pays Debi's bills. Most of the R3m still needed is owed to SABC production house Safritel.
It does, however, seem that Debi rushed into its campaign without careful consideration of the financial implications. A recent study by SABC financial personnel apparently showed that Debi should have a budget of nearly R16m to do its job properly.
But Tomaselli says Debi had good reason to believe the DHA would fund the entire campaign. Unfortunately the department did not make a commitment in writing and it is now clear that no more money will be forthcoming from that source. Nevertheless, she believes it is the State's responsibility to fund voter education.

She is also convinced that Debi is achieving its objective based on letters received, orders for programmes and TV ratings which place two of Debi's main productions in the top 10 on CCV-TV.

The NP and DP disagree. DP spokesman Douglas Gibson describes Debi programmes as irritating, boring and not worth the expense. He doubts they are having much impact on their intended audience.

The NP believes Debi is biased towards the ANC. President F W de Klerk has suggested that some of its programmes carry subliminal pro-ANC messages. Party spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk says

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

Fu
this has been proven by analysis.
In particular the NP objects to US actor Danny Glover, political activist Fatima Meer and Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu being used to promote Debi's message.
Tomaselli admits that the use of Glover, who portrayed ANC leader Nelson Mandela in the film Bopha, was a "clear mistake," adding the programme has now been withdrawn. But she does not regard Tutu as political and sees Meer as a member of the SABC board and long-time activist (Meer is also Mandela's biographer).
Tomaselli says the NP has complained about only three of the 38 personalities used by Debi to put across its message. In total, she adds, the complaints relate to only "two or three minutes" of more than 16 hours of TV time.
The NP has also complained about Debi's repeated use of the phrase "now is the time," which Van Schalkwyk describes as "the ANC's election theme."
Tomaselli responds that a double page NP advertisement in the latest Sunday Times is headed "Now is the time to make the change" which is similar to the phrase used by Debi.
She says Debi programmes were deliberately compiled without any input from political parties. The IEC was consulted to establish which messages it needed to get across to

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voters. She says the campaign was carefully planned and structured in three phases to provide the most benefit to voters.

## Judge Kriegler admits polling won't be perfect, but says it'll be good enough <br> In scarcely a fortnight, SA faces its most

politically sensitive, complex and largest election ever. The number of voters will rise from 2 m to 20 m . Yet the institution charged with its organisation, the Independent Eleatoral Commission (IEC) has still to appoint the full complement of 180000 electoral officials who will man about 9000 polling stations in 374 voting districts.

Moreover, the location of voting stations will be known only next Monday - eight days before the historic event.

Add to these and other apparent logistical problems the perception of rising violence in some areas and the question is raised weether the election will not have to be declared unfair and unfree by the monitoring instituton - which is also the IEC.

To IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler, that's altogether too alarmist. But he reflects that to organise an election like this is "probably a two-year job - to do it neatly and tidily and as one would like." But "we don't have two years, we didn't even have four months," and it is a massive logistical task.

According to the judge, the IEC is on track - or, rather, "on the peculiar track that we have." Take the identification of voting stations: ordinarily, he explains, one would like to have had that firmed up and fixed two months before an election. "But that's simply impossible in view of the time constraints and the political climate."

He is emphatic the IEC "will have all voting stations confirmed" by April 18. "I would have loved eight weeks; we will have
one week. They'll be there, they'll be notified and published. The district electoral officers and presiding officers for all those stations will be in place, trained and equipped with manuals. We will be in a position, come special and ordinary voting days, to present an election to the people. It will be a close run thing" but "it will be there."

Kriegler agrees he owes it to everyone to explain precisely how the system works: "We do not try to run voting stations from here. The exercise is based on a cascading down from head office all, the way to electoral officers in the voting stations ( 23 per staton). We appoint provincial and subprovincal officers. They identify district electoral officers (DECs), who should have a knownedge of the local community. We check them out and if we're satisfied we appoint them. The LEOs in turn identify and, subject again to our approval, appoint the voting staion officers.
"The idea was not to have LEOs and voting officers and presiding officers identified and appointed months or even weeks before the election. They need only four days of training. By the end of next week (this weekend) each and every one of those people should be identifred and in the following week-and-a-half they will be trained."

If this sounds too good to be


Judge Krieglor
true, Kriegler offers further reassurance "One is inclined - if you do not understand the cascading process - to say, well, you've got another 180000 people to appoint, how many have you appointed? If you've only appointed 20000 the answer must be the election wont come off.
"But it doesn't work that way. For instance, the presiding officer of a mobile vol ing station won't be provided with a motor vehicle by the IEC. We'll contract people with vehicles to do the job according to the training and the schedule that we provide. The optimal degree of decentralisation is what the election is about."

Ask about the impact of violence and Kriegler advances similar equanimity - a little reminiscent of Peace Accord chairman John Hall's indefatigable stance in the midst of violence a couple of years ago.
"It's an enormous country," observes Kriegler, "with some 22 m to 23 m voters. The overwhelming percentage of our country is peaceful, quiet. It's ready for an election and it wants an election. I suggest it is not fair to concentrate on the bad spots."

Postponing the poll in KwaZulu/Natal, say, would be most unwise and is simply not on because it's unlikely that conditons will improve in the 12 weeks after which the poll

cases will not have telecommunications it's just not possible. But there will be reasonably secure voting facilities, with officials sufficiently trained to conduct the voting exercise and safeguard the ballot boxes."

Kriegler is not saying there won't be hitches at any voting station. He expects problems - "precisely what, I don't know, but it's our job to see that structurally we have the flexibility to pick them up."

To illustrate the point, he cites voter numbers. "We're trying to run an election without a voters' roll. We don't know the number of enfranchised in a particular place. Not only that, we're running an election without reliable demographic data, especially for the informal settlements. It's a tricky exercise and to say that everything will run smoothly is not correct. But if they run short of ballot papers we've got the logistics to supplement demand. We're guesstimating a total elec-

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torate of between $22,5 \mathrm{~m}$ and 23 m ."
It'll be an adequate election, not a good one, Kriegler concedes.
What about the situation in Kwazulu/Natal after the failed leaders' summit?
"Things look no better and no worse than a fortnight ago. Our view then was that the KwaZulu government was not giving us the support we need. We've been planning and we still intend to offer in the province as a whole, in those parts of KwaZulu where it is possible and on the periphery of those parts where it is not possible, adequate voting facilities. This may mean increasing up to tenfold the number of voting stations on the periphery of problem areas.
"We can do little about intimidation on a governmental or quasi-governmental scale save report it (to the security authorities). can say with fair confidence that from i... IEC's administrative point of view, we $\cdots$. man an adequate election in that provines And in the absence of major political quasi-military disturbances, it will be viable, free and fair election."

In sum, the judge argues it is possible it. have a relatively fair election which is, never theless, not completely free.
"Our brief wasn't to produce a perfe. election, nobody could give us such a brief. $\mathbf{i}$ you ask me whether, at present, we think . can run what the statute requires, nā̄ıli 'substantially free and fair elections throughout the country, including KwaZ: lu/Natal, the answer is yes.
"To what extent we succeed, we'll have evaluate after the event. But one thing clear: we are neither statutorily empowered nor does commonsense dictate, that we aban don the exercise in advance. Millions of $\mathrm{p}=2$ ple in Natal want to vote and are entitled $\pm=$

## ANHOUNCING THE RESULTS

There will be between 800-1 000 counting stations around SA. Tallies from each will be passed on to the provincial or subprovincial headquarters and batched tallies ( 3000 each) will be transmitted to the IEC headquarters in Johannesburg.

Running totals will be announced hourly either at the counting station or the IEC press centre, which may be based in Midrand, for the national assembly and each of the nine provincial legisiatures. But these figures will be unofficial and provisional because they're subject to possible recount and adjustment as a result of objections by parties or the Monitoring Directorate.

Final results - 10 in all - will be announced "as soon as possible" but should be known on the following Tuesday or Wednesday, says Judge Johann Kriegler. But this depends on the number of objections. Counting will start on Friday morning, April 29. The result must
be certified between two and 10 days after the poll and the IEC's decision will be final.

The IEC comprises 10 eminent South Africans chaired by Judge Kriegler, as well as five international non-voting commissioners.

SA commissioners include Dikgang Moseneke, Helen Suzman, Dawn Mokhobo, Oscar Dhlomo, Frank Chikane, Zac Yacoob, Charles Nupen, Ben van der Ross, Rosil Jager and Johan Heyns. The foreigners are: Gay McDougall (US), Ronald Gould (Canada), Amare Teckle (Eritrea), Walter Kamba (Zimbabwe) and Jorgen Elklit (Denmark).

Appointed by State President F W de Klerk on the advice of the Transitional Executive Council, the IEC's mandate gives it sole charge of the conduct of the election. It has three main divisions Election Administration, Monitoring and Adjudication.
(voting stations) being manufactured by the thousands, which will not have electricity or running water or sewerage and in many

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coloured people under the NP rule used gise to the ANC leaders such as Nelson
Mandela and Walter Sisulu every time Franklin Sonn, Peninsula Technikon
rector, said he would personally apolosoned by racism... by voting for the
NP," Dr Boesak said. We can't allow our children to be poi-
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## Party challenges ANC plan <br> THE African Christian Democratic Party, which launched its programme

 for social and economic transformation yesterday, already had the support of about $9 \%$ of SA's voters, chairman Johan van der Westhuizen said.He said the party was positioning itself between the ANC and the NP, adopting a liberal/conservative stance on social questions and a conservative stance on moral questions. The 17-page document which set out its programme for social and economic transformation constituted the only real challenge to the ANC's reconstruction and development document, he said.

The manifesto's preamble states that the crisis facing SA society could not be solved by building on the "same crooked foundation of our failed social/economic system".

A mere change in central government would not itself provide the answer to the enormous social needs SA faced. The document called for a strategy which would introduce a "new dimension of freedom".

The framework of the party policy
was made up of an ethical system that was "just, compassionate and pleasing unto God", an economic system based on an open market and the "free interplay of incentives", and a democratic dispensation based on "direct democracy".Einady $814+44$

The party supporteif a federal dispensation and the empowerment of individuals and communites to take charge of their own lives, a two-tier government and the-"debureaucratisation of society".


It did not subscribe to the view that the state should be the leading agent in reconstruction but favoured wealth being created by stimulating entrepreneurship and small business. It opposed the forced redistribution of wealth but aimed to create a statutory body to maintain national standards.

The party opposed the confiscation of land, but supported land restitution by legal means.
Report by 7 Cohen, TMin, 11 Diegonel St, Jhb.


African Christlaín Democratic Party leader the Rev Kenneth Meshoe and party choirman Johen van der Westhulizen at nowe conference in Johannesburg yesterday to launch their party manifesto. Plcture: GARTH LUMLEY
Party challenges ANC plan

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## TIM COHEN

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PETER FABRICIUS $3 \alpha(\mu)$ The Argus Foreign Service WASHINGTON. - The South Africa Free Election Fund (Safe) has raised more than $\$ 6$ million from American companies to finance voter education.

Safe president Johm Sims said here that the organisation urgently needed at least another $\$ 2$ million (R6-m) for three projects - the voter card initiative, double ballot voter education materials and the Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative (Debi).

Safe collects money mainly from companies and businessmen and distributes it to 46 South African nongovernment organisations involved in voter education.

Five foundations or companies have donated more than $\$ 250000$ (R750-m) to the fund - the Charles Stewart Mott Foundation, the Teresa and $H$ John Heinz III Charitable Fund, the H J Heinz Company, the Coca-Cola
The largest individual donor is Safe chairman Tony O'Reilly, who is also chief executive officer of HJ Heinz and the new owner of Argus Newspapers in South Africa.

Dr O'Reilly is the only individual in the "elector member" donor category, which means he has donated between $\$ 100000(R 300000)$ and $\$ 250000$
$(R 750000)$


O'REILLY: Gift of up to \$1/2-m makes him Jargest private donor to US fund for voter education in South Africa.

Mr Sims appealed this week for a final two million dollars, mainly to distribute voter cards and provide transport to get voters to the polls.

He said the IEC had asked Safe to play a major role in providing two to three million voters with proper voter identification cards, especially in Bophuthatswana and Ciskei.

The Ecumenical Assistance Trust chaired by Dr Beyers Naude, recommends where the funds should go.

Parties which have received Safe funds include the Matla Trust, the Council of Churches, the Johannesburg Inner City voter Education Programme, Project Vote, the Cosatu voter education programme and the Dutch Reformed Mission Church.

The ANC has also been raising election funds in America through the Fund for a Free South Africa.

## Former envoy to smooth US- <br> \section*{PETER FABRICIUS}

## The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. - US Commerce Secretary Ron Brown has appointed a top former diplomat and legal academic to be his personal adviser in South Africa and to co-ordinate the administration's trade programme with South Africa and southern Africa.

Mr Brown yesterday named former deputy assistant-secretary of state for human rights Millard Arnold, 47, as the first person to occupy the position of minister counsellor.

Mr Brown had announced in South Africa last November that he was allowed one personal appointment at this level and that he would make it in South Africa as a sign of the importance the administration attached to trade relations with the country.

Mr Arnold would be based in Johannesburg to serve as the principal
adviser to Mr Brown and the US ambassadors in the southern African region.

He would be responsible for developing and managing United States commercial activities "in this emerg. ing area of trade and investment opportunity".
"I am very pleased to designate Mr Arnold for this new position in an area of the world with great market potential for US business, trade and investment," said Mr Brown.
"The Minister Counsellor will co-or" dinate the formulation of a commerical program in consultation with me and the Chiefs of Mission in the area to identify and stimulate optimum oppartunities for US business in the region.
"Mr Arnold's experience and expertise make him a superb candidate for this important new post." Were adamant that this
month's poll would not be deThe government and ANC
were adamant that this boycotting IFP to still take
part in provincial elections. last night that special provi-
sions could be made for the There were also indications logjam behind the violence
sweeping KwaZulu-Natal will be put to King Goodwill
which could break the political
logjam behind the violence At the meeting proposals
will be put to King Goodwill hope that today's talks would
produce any result. He added that he had little
hope that today's talks would of the ANC, were behind the at-
tempts to assassinate him. members of the Communist Chief Buthelezi told the Brit-
ish newspaper Daily Star that can National Congress presi-
dent Nelson Mandela today. President De Klerk and Afri-
can National Congress presifunds to KwaZulu, when he and be influenced by threats of
force, or the cutting off of He warned that he would not
oe influenced by threats of

 AS the crucial KwaZulu sum-
mit began at a secret location
today, Inkatha Freedom Party

 out to aл.каи
king and a commitment by him to tell his subjects they could vote if they wished. This would still leave the IFP out of the election. providing a spark for more violence in Natal

Yesterday Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela met for brief discussions on the meeting. Government and ANC negotiators also held talks.

The four leaders gathered at a secret bush venue early today for the critical talks, which could hold the key to a peaceful election and an easing of the crackling tensions in KwaZulu-Natal.
King Goodwill and Mr Mandela met from 9am for about an hour before joining the other leaders for day-long discussions.

It is evident that the king's position will be critical to the outcome of the talks. He is likely to be offered some form of constitutional entrenchment of the Zulu monarchy.

Although he has rejected similar overtures in the past sources were last night confident the king's demands could be accommodated in new proposals.
"But progress effectively depends on whether the king is prepared to soften his demand for independence for KwaZuluNatal," said a source.
It was reported yesterday that Zulu royals believed the king would be prepared to drop his independence demands, but that these would again be linked to IFP demands for changes to the interim constitution.

Meanwhile British Prime Minister John Major says he hopes today's summit will produce a solution enabling all parties to take part in the election in three weeks time.

In a letter yesterday to each of the four participants Mr Major said: "I strongly hope your meeting will :nd a clear message in support of peace and democracy and against violence and unrest."

Britain looked forward to close relations with the new South African government.
(News by E Waugh and H Grange, 17 Sauer Street, Johannesburg).


## Qualifying for Special votes

A SPECIAL voler is a person who will cast his/ her vote as a special vote because he or she cannol go to a voting station at any time on April 27th or 281h.

These could be people whocannot attend because of illness, physical disability or pregnancy.

People who are in prison during the election and people who ate out of the country during voting days will be treated as special voters.

Special voters will cast their votes at a prearranged time on 26 April.

Where to vote?
Election officialsmay visit them at registered hospitals, old age homes, prisons or private homes.

People who are out of the country may vote at diplomatic missions abroad.

Blind, deaf and illiterate voters will not be treated as special volers. They will cast their voles at the general voting stations on April 27 or 28 .

Electoralofficers, who must tak'e an oath of secrecy, will assist them in casting their votes.

## How to register

A person wishing to be freated as a special voter must submit a sworn affidavit to the presiding


People in hospital qualify as Special Voters Picture courtesy ofSpeak magatine olficer before the election. Prisoners 8149

This must explain why he/ she cannot attend a voling station on gencral voling days.

## Procedure

The presiding officer accompanied by two or more party agents shall visit oldage homes, and hospitals at a pre-arranged time.

The presiding officer will also allocate time for people to visithis/her office.

## DEBI Radio and Television Voter Education Programmes - 4 April to 10 April

| TV1 | Wednesday - 13:00 |
| :---: | :---: |
| Monday - 07:00-How to | Khululekarepea |
| vote. | Wednesday - 13:00-Make |
| Tuesday -07:00-Communily | Your Mark Game Show |
| Leaders | Thursday-18:30-Peace hain |
| Wednesday - 07:00 | Thursday- 22:00-Youth and |
| Community Leaders | Voling |
| Wednesday - 22:00 | Friday - 18:30-Peace Train |
| music progra | Salurday -07:30-Everyday |
| Thursday-07:00-Com | Democracy |
| leaders | Saturday-13:30-13I: m ( ${ }^{\text {asic }}$ |
| litiday - 07:00-Community | Programme |
| Leaders | Saturday - 23:00-It's your |
| CV | vote quiz show |
| Monday-18:30-Peace Train | NNTV |
| Tuesday-18:30-Peace Train | Monday-11:00-P'eace ${ }^{\text {Prain }}$ |
| Tuesday-20:30-Make Your | Tuesday-11:00-Peace'Train |
| Mark Game Show | Tuesday - 22:00-1.iving on |
| Tuesday - 20:00-Khululcka | the Edge |
| Wednesday - 18:30-Peace | Wednesday - 11:00-Peace |
| Train | Train |

:4 14

All prisoners will bo able to vote, in prison. The district electoral officer will liaise with prison aullorities liaise with prisonanthorities
to find a place inside the prison for voting stations. The presiding officer with party agents will visit Special voters in prisons at a prearranged jime.
What to expect $3 / 4 \theta$
A special voler shall submit his $h_{\text {acr eligibility document }}$ able to vote, in prison. The

to the presiding officer in front of party agents.

The voters' hands will be checked to ensure they have nol voted before and then marked with invisible iuk.

An official shall tear a ballot paper from a ballot book, mask it on the back with an official mark and hand the ballot paper to a special voler.

Every volur shall then mark the ballot paper in secrecy

Thuruays
Wednesday -13:00
Klumluteka repeat.
Thursday - 11:00-Peace
Train
Thursday - 19:30-II's Your Vote ( amme Show
Friday-11:00-Pcace Train Sunday - 15:00 - Rural Women and the Vote
RADIOPROGRAMMES
Mondays
10:00-Jacaranda Stereo
10:30-Radio \%ulu Tuesdays
10:30-Radio Z.ulu
19:45-Afiikaans Slereo
19:4s - Radio Zulu Wedniesdays
10:30 - Radio Zulı
20:00-Radio Metro
20:45 - Radio Sesotho

10:30-Radio Zulu
18:00-Radio Zulu
18:00-Radio Setswana
Stereu
18:00-Radio Swazi
18:00-Radio Ndebele
Findays
10:30-Radio \%.ulu
09:15-Radio Xhosa
21:05-Radio Xhosa
Saturủays
10:30-12adio Zulu
13:00-Radio Sesotho
Sunlays
10:30-Radio Zulu
20:30-Radio Zulu-1.etten response programme.
according to his/her choice The paper must then be folded in such a way that only the oflicial stamp on the back of the paper is visible.

Sjecial voters' envelopes Themarked ballot paper must be placed in a ballotenvelope.

The voter then seals the envelope and places it in the covcring envelope for the National Assembly before handing it to the presiding ofticer.

A second ballot paper for the l'rovincial legislature will be issued for special volers to vole in their regional ballot.

The voler will put this ballot paper in a second covering envelope marked "Provincial legislature".

The envelope must be placed by in a sealed ballot box as soon as possible. The presiding oflicer shall then transmit the scaled ballot box to the districtelectoral officer whon spucia! voting hours enu.

## Able-bodied voters

Special voters who are able to walk can vote at special voling stations chosen by a district electoral officer.

Relatives of young men of voling age who are at traditional initiation schools may apply for voting stations or presiding officers to visit these areas.

## IEC

Phone Directory

- Western Cape

021-418-5892

- Eastern Cape

0401-91134

- Nurthcin Cape

0531-43-6468

- Natal

031-363-5037

- OFS

051-48-3091/2

- North West

0140-23359

- PWV

011-353-1520

- Northern TvI

0156-35874
-Eustern Tvi
01314 -72050

Friday April 81994 SOWETAN
Friday April 81994 encer census
A recently completed 22709152

## By Carl Peters

EVERYBODY who applies for the necessary documents to vote in the coming elections will get their documents in time and will definitely vote. the Department of Home Affairs said yesterday

Mr Charles Theron, a spokesman for the department, said they were coping with the demand for documents and were processing about 26000 voter cards a day.

He said that just under a million people have been issued voter cards since - they were introduced in February this year.

## Documents to vote

He said there were only 823353 people whose standing. These people needed the documents to vote in the elections which are only 18 days away.
"Provided everybody applies, they will vote. Our office hours have been extended and we were open on both public holidays which fell on Monday and Wednesday," he said.

showed that ther potential voters.

## Temporary IDs

A total of 21885799 citizens had the necessary documents - identity books, temporary IDs or voter eards, he said.

Residents in the homelands who qualified to vote could use the identity documents issued to them by the homeland authorities, he said.


Pre-election tensions flare up in Worcester

## By Quentin Wilson

A FIERCE election campaign is on? the go in Worcester, with both the main players, the National Party and the ANC, accusing each other of harassment and intimidation of

Tempers flared on Wednesday when local NP MP, Mr Anwar Ismail, and his "security guards" were involved in a tense stand-off with ANC members after ANC posters were removed from the Parkersdam post office complex.
According to ANC spokesperson, Mr Riyahd Williams, armed NP supporters ripped down ANC posters and threatened ANC mem-

South 814-1214194
bers with violence if they continued putting up posters at the post office.

But as far as Ismail is concemed, an agreement was made between the two parties not to put up posters and stickers on municipal property and that he and his supporters were merely enforcing the agreement by removing the posters.
Williams denied there was such an agreement and said the ANC would report the matter to the Independent Electoral Commission.
Said Williams: "The fact that NP supporters brazenly removed ANC posters in the presence of Ismail and in front of ANC members indicates that the NP has embarked upon a deliberate campaign of provocation
and intimidation.
"From the incident it is clear that Ismail is intent on dragging the election campaign in Worcester down to the level of verbal and physical abuse, a terrain on which he is evidently more at home than with political debate about principles and issues."

Ismail denied threatening ANC members with violence and alleged it was ANC members who physically abused NP supporters.
"They are the ones involved in violence," Ismail said.
"During an ANC motorcade in Worcester recently, one of our supporters was hit on the head with an ANC flag."


## Business rejects Kriegler claim <br> 圆 BUSINESS STAFF <br> appeal for help from the busi-

The business community has reacted sharply to criticism of its lack of assistance in the up coming election by Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) chairman Judge Johann Kriegler.

It points out that it has geared itself for a major role in the election process by setting up the Business Election Fund (BEF), which identified the resources it could provide the IEC.
It said yesterday that many businesses and organisations were already assisting the IEC, but it recognised that more resources were needed to tackle the task.
"This is everybody's election and everyone has to pitch in to ensure a free and fair election," said the chief executive of the BEF, Andre Fourie, in response to the IEC's original
ness community.
The IEC was given just four months to arrange for more than 16 million people to go to the polls at more than 9000 polling stations countrywide.
To do that, it was estimated that more than 200000 people would be needed.
"The BEF has been conducting an electoral support programme for some time, concentrating on a multimedia communications operation to project its message of participation, tolerance and support, conducting voter education in rural areas, as well as aiding the IEC where requested," Fourie said.
The BEF had called on its member companies to supply skilled manpower, as well as technical and logistical support, to the overworked IEC.
Mike Rosholt, chairman of the BEF, said the body had
sent an appleal to all businesses to help the IEC.
"We have appealed to all employers and employees through the major business organisations such as Sacob, AHI, Nafcoc and so on - to make themselves available to serve the IEG, in varigus capacities
"We have also sent a mail shot to 25000 small busin esses, especially to 4000 black-owned businesses, carrying the same message," he added.

A pamphlet calling on both employers and employees to make themselves available, was part of the BEF appeal. It gave details of where to contact IEC officials and how to volunteer.
It asked for people to come orward who were willing to act as electoral presiding officers, election monitors and election observers.

## WESTERN CAPE 14194 Sails in the sunset

The National Party remains confident of winning the western Cape on April 27 in spite of the latest opinion poll that predicts a close finish with the ANC. The Sunday Times poll was one of the last before the publication of opinion polls became prohibited this week in terms of the Electoral Act. $364-7$

The poll indicates that the NP could win 15 seats in the 42-member provincial legislature, the ANC 14, the DP five, the PAC, rightwing and "others" one each; five seats are at the mercy of undecided voters.

The results are a further boost to the NP after an HSRC survey for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy (MPD) suggested that it will win over $50 \%$ of the vote in the western Cape (Current' Affairs April 1).

The ANC's fortunes in the province have slumped in the past four months in spite of hard-sell efforts by Nelson Mandela

In what was widely seen as a desperate move last week to shore up support, Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn quit the SABC board to campaign actively for the ANC. His action was interpreted as a vote of no confidence in ANC regional leader Allan Boesak's ability to deliver the province. It also vindicates anti-Boesak elements in the ANC who warned last year that he would be more of a liability than an asset.

In belated reaction to the strength of the NP's western Cape campaign, the ANC is accusing the Nats of "swart gevaar" tactics

FINANCIAL MAIL •APRIL • $8 \cdot 1994 \cdot 39$

## CURRENT AFFAIRS

by insinuating that an ANC government will mean a loss of jobs held by coloureds and other discriminatory measures.
But the ANC's efforts are highlighting the NP's campaign rather than countering it. It seems the ANC has fallen into the classic NP election trap of being forced to react to virtually every significant issue in the campaign, rather than being left to market its own policies proactively.
It is also significant that while the ANC appears to be vacillating between promoting Boesak as its candidate for regional premiership and playing down his role by bringing in high profile community leaders such as Sonn, the NP is relying almost totally on President F W de Klerk to bolster its image

Its candidate for premier, Law \& Order Minister Hernus Kriel, has adopted a low profile - possibly because opinion polls indicate that he is even more unpopular than Boesak.
$304-7$
On the other hand, the MPD poll shows that De Klerk is the preferred leader of $42 \%$ of voters in the western Cape compared to $26 \%$ who favour Mandela.

The poll shows that the NP has $68 \%$ support among the western' Cape's $1,3 \mathrm{~m}$ coloured voters compared to $25 \%$ for the ANC. The NP is also supported by $72 \%$ of the 665000 white voters compared to $3,6 \%$ for the ANC. The ANC has the support of $81 \%$ of the 442000 black voters compared to only $1,6 \%$ for the NP.
According to the MPD poll, the predominance of coloured and white voters in the region means the NP should win $52 \%$ of the vote, ANC 34\%, DP 6,3\% and PAC 4,2\%.
The Sunday Times poll is less generous to the NP, giving it only $36 \%$ against $33 \%$ for the ANC, $12 \%$ for the DP and $2,3 \%$ for the PAC. It also indicates that the NP has gained support from the ANC in Natal and the PWV since a similar poll in October. The ANC is still expected to win a comfortable overall majority in the National Assembly.

[^3]
The Independent Electoral Com-

## Poll crisis in EC <br> sowehm 28444

THE lack of voting materials in the Eastern Cape has cached crisis proportions and four million extra ballot papers are being printed, the IEC said yesterday.
At a briefing the IEC admitted the crisis and said it has aunched an internal investigation into how the situation developed.
IEC media officer Mike Chandler said there were fears some areas could become violent due to voter anger.
In some areas polling stations have had to close. In Tsolo in Transkei about a quarter of a million voters where still waiting by late this afternoon for the polling stations to open. $\quad f+4\}+5$
The IEC said it hoped to have two million ballot papers printed by midnight last night and the other two million by today. The Commissíon said the IEC nationally had suggested all voting stations stay open 24 hours.

IEC director of monititoring Mark Anstey said: "It appears that the national plan underestimated the volume of equipment and resources for the exercise." - Ecna (Report by A Trench, 47 Oxford Street, East Londion.) ' .....



RANIIC EFIORTS TO KEFP the lnkatha Freedonn Party in the eleclion process continued last night with Independent Elcctoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler saying if the IFP pulled out it would a great tragedy.

This followed a veiled threat by $\mathbf{1 H P}$ leader Chiel Mangosuthu Butheleai earlier in the day that the Ifer would consider pulling aut because of problems over fic shortage of IFP stickers on ballot papers at polling stations in KwaZulu/Natal and elsewhere.

Kriegler said he liad responded to Buthelezi's concerns in a letter sent to the Chief Minister last night.

Also at issue is the IEC.'s stipulation that handwritten ballot papers showing a preference for the JFP would be dealt

## it will be tragic if IFP were pull out:

with in terms of Section 47 of the Electoral Act, which relates to irregularitics in ballot papers.
Speaking at a Press briefing at the ILCC media centre in Midrand, Kriegler said if the IFP pulled out "the electoral process will go on. They may pull out but the race will conlinut and they will come last". (4tin) (304
Kriegler said he would make an assessment at noon today before taking a decision on whether voling would be extended for another day.
He said it would be tragic if the IFP pulled out because millions of people had decided to vote and had set their hearts on making the process a success.

More people than were expected had turned up at poling stations and that had
contributed to the problems. Problems ranged from shortages of ballot papers, IFP stickers, marking ink and ballot boxes, said Kriegler.

Steps were taken by last might to remedy the situation and 8,6 million additional ballot papers had been printed and were being sent to polling stations that had shortages.
Irovision was being made to empty ballot boxes and use post office bags.

Giving a general picture of the election prucess, Kriegler said these ranged from excellent in some areas to poor in others. He futher made an impassioned plea to all would-be voters to be calm and patient.
"It's your election that we are doing our level best to deliver," he said.

ELECTION ++ + ELECTION ++ + ELECTION ++ + ELECTION
 casts his vote at Ohlange High School hall in Inanda, north of Durban.


PRESIDENTIAL VOTE . . . President F W de Klerk casts his vote along with his wife Marike in Arcadia, Pretoria, yesterday. Picture: AP


DP LEADER . . . Dr Zach de Beer casts his vote early yesterday at the Woodstock Town Hall where he met with the Russian observer of the election, Mr Nikolai Ryabov, chairman of the Russian Central Electoral Commission. Picture: ANDREW bergman

## Hopeful leaders quick off the mark

SOUTH AFRICA, leaders were among ta. first to cast their votes :polling stations opicicountrywide yesterday. ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela was met with wild cheers from voterz as his convoy sped away from the Ohlange school in Inanda, north of Durban, where he voted. Africans is for all South Ale ocasion It is the realisation of hopes and realisation of hopes and ried over decades" red President $F$ Klerk hailed the election as "a great day for South Africa".
After casting his vote at the Arcadia Primary School in Pretoria, Mr D:Klerk said the country was on the eve of a golden era.
After voting at Umla zi's King Zwelethini sta dium, IFP leader Chiei said he was prepared to accent the outcome of the election, provided they wection, provided they were free and fair.
eader General Constand Viljoen was accompanied by former police and derence force generalwhen he voted at th $c$ Voortrekkerhoogte towil hall.

- Dr Allan Beesak, the ANC's Western Cape pre miership candidate, vot= ed in his former leme town of Somerset wes which he left when his family lost its house un= der the Group Areas Act.
- "My vote is secret, but the guess is yours-I think I voted for the DP," quipped Democratic Party Western Cape pre Hennie Bester as he lef Hennie Bester as he lef tre polling booth.
- DP leader Dr Zach de Beer voted in the Wood: stock Town Hall only 20 H metres from where he was born. - Sapa


## the rain to cast their votes.

 Many blacks swelled suburban queues of voters after serious logistical problem were encountered in some townships. arn Cape had 43 in the West dents, including the shortage of dents, including the shortage of by mid-afternoon, iEC spokesman Mr Tyrone Seale said. Polling in the greater Cape Town area was $87 \%$ trouble-free. The shortage of ballot papers throughout the country was underlined by, an IEC decision, to ask the SA National Defence Force to print 9,3 million extraballot papers, although intially 80 million had been printed in Britain.
The problem faced by the IEC was the distribution of these bal lot papers in sufficient number Mr Seale said the IEC had b. moving material and equipment moving material and equipment to cope with the problems. He felt the problem about absence of some IFP stickers had been resolved with the IEC decision to allow voters to write in the IFP name.
It had also been decided that all polling stations would be alvoters had cast their ballots.

The IEC believed that everyone in the Western Cape would be able to vote by tonight, Mr Seale said.
The Democratic Party leader in the Western Cape, Mr Hennie express concern at the arrange express concern at the arrange stations in stock with.,essential supplies for the election.
"It has become evident that most polling stations are inadequately stocked."
However, he added: "The turn out of voters was miraculous." cans cast roughly 90000 votes in SA's first attempt at democracy on Tuesday. Sapa reports that roughly 60000 had been received
from the US. $S$ Ses The Independent Elec toral Committee said unconfirmed numbers showed 1310 votes had been registered in New Zealand.

By yesterday the IEC had received 12500 votes from Australia and 3000 from Namibia. 28147

Sapa reports that in Uganda 1200 SA residents voted on Tuesday and Michael Hartnack reports that polling for the estimated 10000 SA residents in Zimb゙abwe was slow as many voters had to have the voting process explained to them.

In Mauritius 1089 South Africans voted while in the Seychelles 147 votes were cast.:

According to the IEC 38 people had voted in Pakistan and 27 voters made * their mark in New Delhi

In Hong Kong, Beijing and Singapore, 593, 28 and 365 votes were cast respec tivley. And 215 votes were cast in the Thai capital of Bangkok.

Moving westwards, 119 South Africans voted in the gulf state of Bahrain and in Turkey $1 \not 2$ yotes were registered.

Linda Ensor reports from London that actress and MP Glenda Jackson was one of the prominent former Anti-Apartheid Movement figures who released 1000 green, black and gold balloons in Trafalgar Square.
Neil Lurssen reports from Washington that SA ambassador Harry Schwarz desćribed voting as "exciting but tinged with sadness".

The excitement came from seeing South Africans of all races gathered together to vote while the sadness lay in the realisation that many South Africans had died unnecessarily.
Report by B Payne. TML. 11 Diagonal St. Jhbit Ensor. TML, 32 Hatton Gdn, LonWeshington.

## Team <br> By WILEM STEENKAMP <br> CO-OPERATION was the key. to <br> ${ }^{\prime}$ gets $\underset{\text { wor }}{\text { wor }}$ done'

 success for the Western Cape Joint Operational Centre (JOC) yesterday, as it struggled to overcome the huge polling logistical problems thrown at it.The JOC, a collaborative effort by the IEC, the Western Cape Peace Committee (WCPC) and the newly-named SA Police Service (SAPS) and SA National Defence Force (SANDF), is entrusted with
election activities and related security measures in the region.
Yesterday, as it will today, the JOC oversaw the deployment of thousands of election officials, police and military personnel, helicopters, fixed-wing aircraft, and election and peace monitors in the Western Cape.
Today in areas where there were logistical snarls, JOC members scurried around arranging ballot
papers from elsewhere, organis ing transport for voters to other polling points and facilitating communications between the groups involved.
SAPS Brigadier Mattie Beukes, the JOC chairman, described the co-operation as "five-star".
WCPC representative Mr Wilfred Schärf agreed. Mr Eldred de Klerk of the IEC said everybody involved had realised they were "working for the common good".


VOTING inside many of the country's prisons went ahead without much disturbance yesterday as prisoners lined up to cast their votes in the country's first democratic elections.

Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) representative Ben van der Ross said yesterday there had been some "unpleasantness" at Johannesburg's Leeuwkop and Diepkloof prisons after prisoners had grown restless when IEC polling teams arrived late.

But Correctional Services spokesman Brig Chris Olckers said prisoners'had simply become "naturally" restless and had" "banged mugs against the bars".

Correctional Services Commissioner Gen Henk Bruyn expressed his appreciation to IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler for the IEC's professionalism.

He also thanked the thousands of prisoners involved for their responsible and dis ciplined approach.

Olckers said 2454 prisoners had voted at

- Y SELLO MOTLHABAKWI
no negative'reaction to the President's proclamation barring certain categories of prisoners from yoting had been noted inside the prisons.
R Prisoners convicted of murder, rape and robbery ifith, aggravating circumstances cannot vote in these elections.
Lawyers for Human Rights yesterday criticised the decision and said it was irresponisible aind eynical $\Rightarrow-3$慜ANC spokesman Balena Kgositsile said the decision was regrettioble in the light of efforts by the organisation and all transitional structures to press De Klerk to grant the vote to all prisoners.
*2SA:Prisoners' Organisation-for Human Rights spokesman Golden Miles Bhudu staid De Klerk and the present Cabinet had above the heads of the TEC and the liber

Correctional Services official Capt Pe Sityeline? about $98 \% \%$ of the 115000 prison ter Venter said voting by 721 prisoners on population was rejected by Correctional Robben Island had proceeded smoothly. "a Services, Which said the .estimate was




## Monitors in IEC palace revolt <br> The IEC's monitoring <br> polng ineficiencies. The division

division took over the running of the election as disruptions threatened to discredit the poll.

## Stephen Laufer, Gavin Evans, Gaye Davis, and Stefaans Brümmer report

AS Judge Johann ndependent and the Commission stood with heir backs to the wall this week, a "palace revolution" saw the monitoring division under Peter Harris wrest control of poll management from the election administration division
Described by one IEC source as having had "a secret deployment plan for the ballot papers which was so secret, no-one knew where they were", the discredited administration division emerged as the culprit responsible for the massive
ad railed to plan detailed deployment of voting materials from district to local level, said the IEC employec.
The clear absence of any contingency planning which would have allowed presiding officers to btain missing supplies from conveniently located depots had proved a major hindrance to attempts to jump-start the election in affected areas.

Having proved its superio organisational skills in the Transkei where a so-called laundry squad had successfully ironed out potentially massive problems, the monitoring division moved to centre stage in other regions, displacing the increasingly ineffectual administration division.

The monitors' coup led by Harris who is a lawyer, was seen as something of a vindication for the squads of jurists who run the IEC. Critics had suggested the commission's organisational fiascos were rooted in Kriegler's failure to
appoint experienced business managers, inciuding logistics and transport experts, to run the election.
Despite the glitches, South Africans sent a powerful message to detractors of all persuasions: No level of incompetence was going to stop the "mother of all elections" and the advent of democracy
From the Cape to the Limpopo patience, tenacity, and a good supply of food, water, and umbrellas emerged as the key ingredients in a massive expression of popular will.
With voters queueing patiently for a third day, Krlegler battled to regain the high ground he had lost through a host of avoidable technical glitches. Under immense pressure to disarm those preparing to cry "foul" by ensuring that at least the second half of the election functioned properly, he ran a marathon of emergency meetings with the political parties and his rellow electoral commissioners.

At stake was whether th. would be able to


Sticky problem... Although most ballot papers had the JFP sticker attached, so me - like this voter's ballot at Nwamitwa - slipped through
free and fair. despite hitches which had prevented people from voting timeously, particularly in the two areas where Inkatha was expecting its strongest showing Natal/KwaZulu and the PWV Printers, the South African Police and the South African Defence Force were mobilised in an effort to find solutions to logistic issues, particularly the non-delivery of voting materials to up to 30 percent of poling stations.
The absence of the agreed Inkatha sticker at the bottom of many ballot papers emerged as a key issue, and Inkatha chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi put the judge on notice early on Thursday morning that he could still dispute the election if whing didn't improve dramatically.
While reserving judgment on whether Inkatha would ultimately withdraw, party spokesman Ziba Jiyane satd on Thursday that "tha s no way we can regard "ther s no way we can regard this a completely free and fair. We can' budge on that now". Saying ballot boxes had been left open and stolen by ANC youths, he said that "on the substantial issue of the stickers, we won't accept what the IEC are saying".
Jiyane charged in some areas IEC officials were affixing the Inkatha stickers to ballot papers after people had voted. "We don't want to be the ones to spoll this election," he said "but the whole thing is terrible."
Battling to keep his options open on the Inkatha sticker issue Kriegler said "the likelihood is that very much fewer than 100000 bailot papers" had been issued without them. The commission would set the affected votes aside, and assess their importance once it was clear how many of them there were. But reports from around the country spoke of ballot papers being issued without the Inkatha addition.
The Electoral Act requires the IEC to declare ballot papers lacking the Inkatha sttcker invalid. But section 47 of the law allows Kriegler to weight invalid votes if he feels they would influence the outcome.
Krlegler said this was "not a purely mathematical exercise". At issue was whether the overall outcome of the election was affected. The distribution of the votes would have to be taken into account, as would voting patterns in general.

The IEC chairman has the authority to declare the votes invalid, to count them in full, or to award a percentage to Inkatha.
The sticker fiasco has given Buthelezi the potential to dispute the elections.
ANC spokesmañ Pallo Jordan said his organisation favoured counting all ballot papers, including those where voters had written Inkatha into the space where the party's sticker should have been.
$\because$ It seems that would be a clear expression of voter preference." said expression of voter preference." said
Jordan. "Why should voters be Jordan Why should voters be
penalised for the failure of the IEC to penalised
As the week progressed, an ANC demand that the election be allowed to continue for as long as necessary forall those who wanted to vote to be able to do so was echoed by the other parties. But IEC sources said the National Party, satisfied by Thursday that the vast body of its supporters had voted, was resisting an extension. "Their hope is clearly that other parties will suffer more than they will, if people can't vote." said one IEC officlal.
But Kriegler was under mounting pressure to extend voting into Fiday, atteast in those districts worst affected by delays.

## Biame it on miscalculation

Paul Stober
POLICEMEN investigating the failure of ballot papers to arrive at the polling stations are unlikely to find anything more sinister than miscalculation and maladministration on the pairt of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC). 3044 )

IEC security advisers blamed serious miscalculations on the part of the commission for the shortage of ballot papers which held up the election for nearly two days in some parts of the country. "Most of the stuff went out Tiuesday morning and by the night it was obvious the job could just not be done. There were lapses in the security arrangements because there was a miscalculation with the deployment of IEC people involved in transferring the stuff," said an adviser.

The IEC originally planned to take ballot papers to its district electoral offices in South African security force vehicles accompanied by an IEC security official, two or three days before the poll. The papers would be kept there under strict security until they were distributed to polling stations on voting days. After a day's voting, any ballots left over at the polling station would be returned to the district office, for use the next day.
Although some of the voting material went out to the districts last Friday, the bulk of the ballots only began to go out from Tuesday; the first day of polling. The IEC also did not have enough security officials to go out with all the vehicles and this may have slowed the distribution of the ballots.
By all accounts, the IEC had an attack of first night nerves and slip-ups - officials arriving late and breakdowns in communica-tion-added to the delays. The Eastern Cape and the violence wracked East Rand townships were hardest hit by a lack of ballot papers and insufficient equipment for polling stations. $1 \sim M 294$

On Wednesday, the IEC's director bf monitoring in the Eastern Cape, Mark Anstey, said: "It appears the national plan simply underestimated the volume of equipment and resources for the exercise."

The same day, IEC chairman Justice Johann Kriegler, announced the South African Police would investigate to check if there had' been interference with the IEC's distribution system. However, Kriegler pointed out that there was no evidence indicating a crime. He indicated he also leant toward the view that there had been a miscalculation about the number of voters in certainiurban and rural areas. The IEC printed another 8,6 million ballots locally to solve the shortage.
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 and expense allowances. R25 000 a month - excluding subsistence
 than for similar jobs in the civil service. Best
paid were the 16 commissioners who, for the
 money, especially insofar as remuneration of
staff is concerned.


 The IMC will disband this week, but both
the:TEC and the IEC are expected to carry on (IEC) and (IMC).
siondependent Media Commis-

 most officials of the interim structures Extraordinarily high salaries were paid to
 โеэท! assist in the interim structures decided on by Although some had to give up regular jobs to For many South Africans the transition to
democracy has been financially rewarding. transition will grind to a halt by the end of
next month. elections completed, the financial
gravy train of the constitutional
transition will grind to a halt by the end of T $\begin{aligned} & \text { iTH South Africa's first democratic } \\ & \text { elections completed, the financial }\end{aligned}$
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## Chris Louw

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 monthly salary of R1 734 for a private. The


 The scales which were accepted by the TEC



 Few complaints were lald before the IMC in
the four months of its existence.



 hotels concerned"
 The IEC spokesman said the issue was still
 accommodation reserved by the IEC during
the Easter holiday and never taken up

$\square$ REALLY TRIBAL: A Zulu, dressed in traditional garb, casts his ballot in Nqulwane, KwaZulu/Natal

## Peace monitors the 'real herres' <br> EDWARD MOLOINYANE <br> were the thousands of peace monitors deployed at the polling stations.

IT was the unsung volunteers of the National Peace Committee who were the real election heroes rather than the highly paid Independent who had to shoulder most of the blame for Wednesday's
oing confusion.
The NPC deployed thouat polling stations in antici pation of violence that could erupt, especially among the verse political persuasions. But the fear of widesprea volence was unfounded as hing largely went withou hiccup - at least on the oters' side.

According to Western Cape co-ordinator about 2200 mont Mkalipi, Cape, 1000 of the Western Peninsula.
Commen
Commending the voters for their behaviour, Mr Mkalipi
said that while monitors did not really have muntors did
because of the do because of the moters ${ }^{\text {to }}$ atto
tude tude, most were volunteers little or no pay for long hours. Although the peace com-
mittee monitors by-side with their highly paid IEC weunterparts, their spirits, were never down and they
said.
The monitork with zeal, h y radio to the Joint Opera tions Centre from all areas
including George, Oudts hoorn, Grabouw, Vredenberg Beaufort West, Springbok
Helderberg, Stellento Helderberg, Stellenbosch, This was to enable them to be moved to a different area
at short notice as at short notice as the Peace
Committee had expected Committee had expecte
nightmare scenario".
Amiong the "volatile" areas as having a potential for viif as having a potential for vio-
lence: were Khayelitsha and Nyanga.
Mr Mkalipi said there
 by, while a crisis-resolution by, while a crisis-resolution eventuality.
Apart from the stand-of between ANC and NP sup monters in Mitchell's Plain man chain to formed a hu two groups on Thursday there was "no conflict resolu "The mood was not we expected and considering trative hiccups concerning voters having to wait be-
cause of the cause of the non-availability
of ballot papers of ballot papers at some sta
tions, the voters have to
"Most of the work w
eventually ended up doing was to move voters from overcrowded polling station
to those less to those less congested," said

He said while monitors were supposed to work six-
hour shifts, most worked from dawn to closing time on Wednesday, and none complamed.
At the numerous Langa
and Bonteheuwel and Bonteheuwel polling sta-
tions on Wednesday, it was through the intervention of the peace monitors that jourpolling stations after enjer tions from some electoral of-

## Journalists jockey for position as supplies dry <br> up in KwaZulu/Natal

## GREG KNOWLER

Weekend Argus Corresponden
THIS week, South Africans turned out latest democracy Estimates of the voter ange from $90 \%$ downwards; but these are more guesswork thani anything From it appears the Independent Electoral Commission also was caught out by On first day of voting, Weekend A位 Althound Durban.
eral people were open about their vot ing choice.
that many people did not yod was that many people did not vote for
what they believed in, but rather for system they hoped would work in the "I national level the Freedom Front a a Volkstaat, but because I here neve in to be a strong opposition voice in parAnother said he put his
side the Inkatha Freedom Party "for the sake of peace" and not beca
believed in the party's policies.
"I have to "I have to live in this province for live in conflict, I voted for the - IFP he said.
Apart from the long lines being
multiracial for the first time one was friendly and enthusiastic a if they were queuing for an important foothall match. lems, such as shortage of voting pa
-

## Academic urges checks and balances

DURBAN. - Natal academic and unrest monitor Mary de Haas has urged the IEC to undertake a series of lidity of the electoral process in Kwazulu/Natal.
reports from various sources alleging serious voting irregularities. m"These include allegations of armed ing vothins, voleting being stans threateninto booths $\%$ lack of control over the issung of abalot papers and inefficien-
cy and partisannship on the part of voting officers."
She suggested the following "man-
datory" steps be taken" before vote
pers at about $15 \%$ of poling stations Wh the country.
IEC called a a contingency plan? The hannesburg on Wednestay nce in Joand every foreign correspondent in IEC spome to ask that question. IEC spokesman Mr. Kumi Naidoo was like a boxer caight on the ropes
and trying to fight his way out of the corner- except he had no telling Using
Sing complicated legal jargon and have been said in a few words, the spokesman did nothing to placate the
media who had spent the months hovering between pastinking problems and nervous breakdowns. Irascible IEC chairman Justice Jolater that day and although he did no have all the answers, he lambasisted But the demands of foreign and 10 cal news desks on journalists and tok it
toll this week toll this week and tempersist among the During African Dresident Arrican National Congress
vote in Inanda Mandela's trip to vote in Inanda early on Wednesday,
violence erupted among the rat pack A woman from the BBC was rough eraman and st retaliated by shovin his lens away
After a grinning Mr Mandela depos looking for the wome cameraman wen on one of the Press buses and started throwing punches, beating her up.
Her colleagues eitecter Her colleagues ejected him from
the bus and she laid a charge of as-
sault.
counting started: were officially ditstributed forms that before the elections compared wict completed ballot forms cast per district; full audit of ballot boxes and their serial numbers, and the seria
numbers of their seaiss ma full list be dra here the KwaZulu Police was sole responsible for overnight was solity
ballot boxes and that this be the into consideration when assessing the validity of voting proceduress checked voting turnout per district be
district against adiult population pe

## INKATHA - 12914194 <br> Hope springs efernal

There was a palpable air or relief in Durban following the signing of the tripartite agreement last week, while Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi returned to Ulundi to a gero's welcome $(\$ 05)(3049)$

The general feeling was that Inkatha's last-minute decision had transformed the outlook for the election and transition from one of spiralling strife to one of hope. Such

## TM 291494

hope has, however, been dashed by this week's deadly bomb blasts, thought to be the work of forces opposed to the election.

While Buthelezi claimed the switch was done altruistically in the interests.f SA, this


Buthelezi, however, immediately cautioned, as he launched into a frenzied six-day election campaign, that violence will not disappear after April 27.

While Inkatha may have U-turned on participation, its campaign platform remained substantially the same: opposition to the interim constitution; the need for an "indestructible" Bill of Rights; greater regional autonomy under a federal rather than unitary State; and a noninterventionist economic system to prevent, iñ Buthelezi's words, "the ANC destroying' ${ }^{3}$, through central government tyranny. Ours is the rallying cry for free enterprise and democracy."

In spite of the difficulties of a condensed election campaign, Inkatha election field director Farouk Cassim predicted a good showing: 55 seats in the national assembly and outright control of Natal.'The party was also bullish about support in the PWV and western Cape.

Y
Inkatha, Cassim added, rejects the idea of an alliance - initially mooted by Natal NP leader George Bartlett and Pik Botha in the Transvaal, but shot down by NP leader F. W de Klerk. Cassim scoffs at Bartlett's suggestion of an NP/Inkatha deal to freeze out the ANC.

"Apart from the fact that we expect to win Natal, the Nat suggestion again demonstrates that the party's cynical quest for power supersedes principle. First they work with the ANC to freeze us out, now they want us to help them against the ANC. It's just not on." Cassim believed much of the Inkatha support would come from the NP, the DP and the rightwing - in äddition, of course, to the groundswell of loyal followers who would have boycotted the election at Buthelezi's behest.

Not everyone agrees, however. University of Natal political analyst Sandy Johnston said it was highly debatable whether Inkatha would be able to recapture many of its original supporters who resigned themselves to voting for other parties. $\qquad$ $\because \because$
"Inkatha has not come in trailing clouds of glory. The way the party has conducted itself during negotiations and the boycott, plus the fact that it has come into the election without any substantial gains at all, means that they are unlikely to take many white and Indian voters from the DP and NP. Further, they will struggle to get back whatever they had before. Even the bedrock constituency seems to be in some disarray and seems not to have been heavily mobilised and geared to voting," says Johnston.

Nevertheless, he still expected the party to make a substantial showing at the polls. And Inkatha's entry could have woken up disillusioned white and Indian voters, who had written off the election as a foregone ANC victory in Natal, into turning out at the polls.

## CURREMT AFFAIRS

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Johnston added that, while Inkatha rejected pre-election overtures for an alliance with the Nats, such a coalition should not be ruled


Johnston feels that victory in Natal will still go to the ANC - though Inkatha's return is a general stimulus to the campaign and will make it a much closer contest.

The chances of a hung parliament in Natal, Johnston feels, might depend on the performance of the DP. "It would be an interesting situation if the DP held the balance of power between an Inkatha/NP coalition and the ANC. The DP has turned into an anti-ANC party - but spends the rest of the time slanging the Nats. One wonders which way it would go."


## Prisoners go to the polls, too sowetan 271494 By Sharon Chetty

PRISONS throughout the country were transformed for a few hours intohives of activity as inmates cast their special votes. (
Despite prolonged protests by the SA Prisoners Organisation for Human Rights, murderers, rapists-and those convicted of fraud, cormption, bribery and armed robbery with aggravating circumstances were excluded from voting.

In several areas, logistical problems led to the polls opening late., Treat At Diepkloof prison, voting got under way only around lunch-time as officials had to wait for ink, ballot papers and boxes to arrive.

Brigadier Chris Olckers, spokesman for the Correctional Services department, said presiding officers at the prison polling stations were authorised to stay open until all eligible prisoners got their chance to vote.

He said the worst problem experienced was of poils opening late.
"We are confident that every prisoner who qualifies will get to cast a vote," he said.


## Plea to

INKATHA president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa, the ANC and Lawyers for Human Rights yesterday called for an extension of the number of voting days beyond April 28.

The calls were made against the background of the reported lack of necessary equipment to allow voting at various polling stations throughout the country.
In a letter to Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, Major-General Holomisa said 602 polling stations in Transkei had no voting equipment.

## Statlons not manned

As a result many polling stations dealing with special votes had not been manned yesterday, said Holomisa, an ANC candidate.
"This absolutely necessitates the extension of voting days in Transkei because April 26 as a polling day has been !
completely lost."
Buthelezi asked election authorities yesterday for a three-day extension of voting, saying delays at polling stations smacked of sabotage.
But his request was rejected. He says the party had been handicapped because it entered all-race elections only a week ago.
Buthelezi in turn rejected as "meaningless" an offer to extend polling hours on each day of voting, from yesterday to Thursday.
About IEC's logistical problems in KwaZulu when balloting opened yesterday, Buthelezi said violence and lack of transport had impeded the vote. He declared:
"I'm just frustrated to find these problems.
"I find it very depressing... It savours of sabotage..."
In a separate statement, the LHR called on Kriegler to make a public announcement regarding the possibility of extending polling days.
"We believe that all voters need to be informed that voting can be extended to ensure that all those with the right to vote are given the opportunity to do so." (304)
ALHR statement said the situation at voting stations had exacerbated the tensions that were running high as a result of the bombing terror campaign.

## Tokoza chairman

The Inkatha Freedom Party's Tokoza chairman, Mr Abraham Mzizi, also called for an extension of election days.
He said this was toallow East Rand hostel residents to acquire the necessary identity documents to vote.
The ANCBorderregion also called for voting days to be extended to make up for the disorganisation that marked the first day of polling in the region. - Sapa-Reuter.
(Report by E van Wyk, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Voting in 22 African states today

STAR AFRICA SERVICE
From Maseru to Cairo, tens of thousands of voters will go to polling stations in 22 African countries today to cast ballots in the South African election.

The number of eligible voters range from an estimated 35000 in Namibia to about 200 in Cairo - and even fewer in countries such as Tunisia
or Ghana.
The voting in Africa will be part of the one day of special voting for South Africans in foreign countries, arranged by the Independent Electoral Commission and conducted by UN and other officiałs appointed by the

About 8000 South Arrican Muslims currently making the pilgrimage to Mecca will vote in Saudi Arabia. They will be the
largest bloc to vote in the
Middie East after those in Israel.

In Africa, polling will take place in Angola, Botswana, Egypt, Gabon, Ghana, Ivory Coast, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Moroceo, Mozambique, Namibia, Nigeria, Senegal, Swaziland, Tanzania, Tunisia, Uganda, Zaire, Zambia and Zimbabwe.
(47 Sauer 5t, Jhb)
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## DP's Bester rejects idea of alliance with ANC, NP <br> Political Staff <br> (30UA ARC <br> \%ovefnment since the composition of

IF the Democratic Party was to hold the balance of power in the Western Cape between the African National Congress and the National Party, it would not form an alliance with etthe of them, DP regional premier candidate Hennie Rester said today.

Clarifying a report in Weekend Argus on Saturday, Mr Bester said: "We believe that we can best serve the people of the Western Cape by upholding our policies and principles and negotiating with the other parties on an issue-by-issue basis."

Mr Bister pointed out that in a government of national unity, where no single party obtained an absolute majority, parties were not forced to enter into formal coalitions to form a
the government was prescribed by the constitution itself.
"The DP believs that if it gets sufficent support, it would be possible to create a DP-led government in the provincial parliament. The DP has the ability to break the crisis of confidence which exists between the NP and the ANC. We will negotiate in good faith with all parties concerned," he said.
He added that on the issue of the premiership of the Western Cape, the DP would act in the interests of all the people of the region, but he emphasised that the party would not form a formal coalition.
(News by HS Roberto, 122 St George's Mall, Cape (Ne mn).
'The elections must go ahead"

## Politieal Staft

THE government and the African National Congress were adamant toKwaZulu must go ahead - in spite of go ahead tion that the poll is imtion that the poll is impossible in the present political climate.
Spokesmen said the pre-
elections elections uncertainty could not be allowed to continue and people who used viocould not be permitted to could not be permitted to Hepes of a soli
Hopes of a solution now rest on Friday's crucial summit be-
tween President De Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.
The report and recommenda-
tion of a joint working committee of the Independent Electoral Commission and the South Afriran and KwaZulu govern ments - that the elections cannot be held in KwaZulu under the present circumstances - Will be one of the mans is-
sues for discussion at the meet-
ing for discussion at the mer surps were required in KwaZulu, but these fell outside its brief.
Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said tuday that he telt the poltiteal changed, not the election date Inspectars of the IEC would determine the effect of the state of emergency in the territory and report back by Friday. A decision on further action would be taken on Sat-
urday The
been calling for the postpone oeen caling for the pastpone
ment of the elections. Government spo
Chris Fismer, deputy-minister In the offlce of the president, said the report of the working committee was "an extremely important matter" and would was discussed at betore it meeting.

He said the government's atitude all along had been that the disadvantages of putting off the elections as a whole, or in part of the country.
weighed the advantages.
Even if only the regional elections were put off, a new
Senate could not be pul togeth er as the constitution provided for proportional representation based on regienal election results for the composition of this House of Parliament.

Picture Agence France Presse ON THE MARCH: Defying the state of emergency ban on carrying cultural weapons, 30000 Inkatha supporters take to the streets of Empangeni to call for the election to be delayed.

If the elections were post- ANC's top candidates, said toponed the tremendous uncervarlous and enslons between continue.
Some elements could not be given the impression that if certainty caused violence and unway.
There were high expectatons among a large part of the population and the electorate and they would find it difficult to "process" a decision to put
off the elections.
At presert
attitude remained government elections should go ahead in site of difficulties, but the report wauld be studied very nit met before Friday's surnCommunis Communist Party chairman
Jee Slovo. who is one of the
day that putting off the eleccions was "out of the question" Such a step would send out the message that people who eaused enough bloodshed and "This get their way. uthelezi wants. He will not
$\qquad$
Mr Stovo expressed the hope luat the state of emergency would help to make the democratic process possible.
The elections could go ahead at least in the rest of Natal and a result could be declared if 40 ed. 4.5 percent of the people voted. al Executive Council had discussed the report yesterday and had considered pessible so lutions.
iNews by
$\underset{\substack{\text { inters. } \\ \text { rape } \\ \text { Thum }}}{ } T$

Natal violence toll: 88 die in six days
DURBAN - At least 88 people bave been confirmed killed the past six days as violence continues to sweep the politically charged Natal-KwaZulu region in spite the declaration of a state of The toll.
The toll could climb as reports from far-flung days later. Natal u
Haas reported 16 monitor and academic Mary de northern Natal townships and rural areas which police have not yet confirmed.
Police reports put the toll at 88 since Thursday - an average of 14 dililngs a day under emergency rule.
levels with in Natal has reached unprecedented highest in several years. - Sapa.

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 was not neecssary. However, after pressure from
both the ANC and Inkatha, the IEC decided to Earlier yesterday the IEC seemed adamant that it
was not necessary. However, after pressure

 polling stations by the KwaZulu Police.
Following a rive-hour meating between IEC chair-






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 Changes have been made，but the
final Iists are said to be still not
ready．
Party officials fear that unless the
 Political party officials say that in
some towns too few polling stations
were originallyy provided for，while in



 Weekend Argus Political Correspondent
ELECTION officials are running out
of time to bring the official list of $\begin{array}{ll}\text { FRANS ESTERHUYSE } & \begin{array}{c}\text { Party officials say this situation has }\end{array} \\ \text { Weekend Argus Political Correspondent }\end{array} \quad \begin{aligned} & \text { subsequently been rectified to some } \\ & \text { extent following complaints to the }\end{aligned}$ Tuts of ofother
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 In Cape Town an earlier list made





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## IEC and SAP locked in talks

## aby helen grange

The Independent Electoral Commission and the SAP are engaged in intense discussions to address the potential shortfall of security forces policing the election.

The IEC has agreed to cut down the number of voting station venues from 9000 to just over 8000 to lessen the security burden. However, the SAP has been pressing for a further reduction of venues, saying police manpower levels would be inadequate otherwise.

Meanwhile, violence is spiralling in KwaZulu and East Rand townships as election day nears.

At least 26 more people died in KwaZulu/Natal at the weekend, bringing the death toll in
the region since the state of emergency was declared there on March 31 to at least 287.

The Joint Security Committee, comprising officers of the SADF and SAP, said three people had been appointed as special advisers in terms of the emergency regulation $(x, 2)$
They will visit detainees and ${ }^{-}$ monitor their conditions, report their conditions to the Minister of Defence, recommend their release or detention, and report any maltreatment of the detaineed 3044
ANC national chairmanThabo Mbeki said yesterday that the ANC was concerned about the apparent failure of the state of emergency to stop the killing in KwaZulu/Natal. The security forces were incapable of detecting the covert training of IFP members for
the purpose of destabilising the election, he added.

The ANC also had information that "significant quantities" of weapons were entering South Africa from Mozambique. Eastern Transvaal police had been informed of a shipment of $5000 \mathrm{AK}-47 \mathrm{~s}$ into the country, Mbeki said.

He added that the ANC was concerned about the reduction in voting stations as it would make access by voters more difficult in terms of transport and distances.
IEC sources confirmed that the question of security was a matter of concern, especially in the TBVC states where homeland defence and police forces have all but disintegrated.
(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)


## a BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA <br> and CHRIS WHITFIELD

The Pan Africanist Congress will seek a meeting with the Transitional Executive Council today with a view to joining the council so that cadres of the organisation's military wing can be part of the new defence force to be formed after the election, sources sty

This development follows yesterday's first one-on-one meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and President de Klerk.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke, who was in Makwetu's delegation, told The Star his organisation's main concerns were the granting of indemnity to cadres of its military wing, the Azanian Peo ple's Liberation Army, and Apla's inclusion in the new SA National De(ence Force (SANDF). Agreements

He said Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee was present at the meeting and agreements were reached on both issues.

Yesterday's summit followed a similarly successful meeting between the SADF and the Apla leaders last week

Seroke said yesterday's meeting addressed issues outstanding from the days of the multiparty Negotiating Council, 'but specifically the TEC".
"They (Makweta and De Klerk) discussed the finest points of their differences and the meeting was able to address these issues successfully. (We are now of the view that) the TEC can accommodate the concerns of the PAC."

De Klerk said the discussions had been held in a good spirit. The Government had sug: gested that the PAC should abandon its armed struggle - to date it has suspended it - and become part of the TEC structures.

## Deal could see IFP in election

- BY CHRIS WHITFIELD and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

The Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) could be poised for a sensational last-minute entry into next week's election nationally and at provincial level.
A summit today, which will bring together President de Klerk, ANC leader Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, could lead to a deal - in terms of which Parliament would be recalled before the election to make changes to the Interim Constitution.
Sources from all sides said the three leaders could be on the brink of finding a formula acceptable to all, and to the credit of each.
The sources said Parliament might be called on to sit on Monday, a day before the country water fhed election begins. (1, 304 A$)$
Believed to be or offer to the IFP are stronger powers for regions.
ANC sources confirmed this morning that Mandela will indeed be attending today's summit, and that he was approaching the talks with more optimism than he has had reason

to have in recent months. However, the sources cautioned that the ANC leader wanted to guard against raising the nation's hopes too high, given experiences he has had with the IFP in the past.
The sources also dispelled rumours that the IFP might register for the national election, but said what was discussed was the possibility of the party fighting the election in the two provinces where it has significant support, the PWV and KwaZuluNatal.
Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said that while it was now too late to reprint the 80 million ballot papers for the election, it would be logistically possible to stamp the IFP's name - albeit in different colours - to the ballot papers in the PWV
To Page 3

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 The city Anglican Archbishon Congress, contrasted sharply with the
 tha Freedom Party is to march" ubrough the city centre,
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THE "Big Three" settlement which has drawn the Inkatha Freedom Party into the election has brought a new surge of hope to South Africa.

The accord between the National Party, the African National Congress and the IFP has been widely welcomed.
Latest developments are:

- Parliament will meet at 10 am on Monday to amend the interim constitution to give effect to the agreement which has brought the IFP into the election.
Officials at parliament were today informing MPs by telephone of the special session, which will take place in the debating chamber of the Assembly. The debate is expected to continue until late on Monday.
- A parliamentary joint committee of the three houses will meet in Cape Town on Friday: to vet the draft legislation providing for the last-minute changes to the constitution.
The legislation will provide for the recognition and protection of the institution, status and Fole of the constitutional position of the king of the Zulus and the kingdom of KwaZuluqnomation

Further provision for this will be made in the provincial constitution of KwaZulu-Natal, to be drawn up after the election.
The Negotiating Council will meet in 'Keriptom' Park today to confirm amendments to the constitution and the Electoral Act.

- The Transitional Executive Council will theitpass amendments to the Electoral Act to provide for the late registration of the IFP and the submission of its candidates'





## Prisoners' voting rights not a Supreme Court issue <br> PRETORIA - The Supreme Court did not have the

 authority to decide on the right of prisoners to vote and the matter should be dealt with by a future Constitutional Court the pretoria Supreme Court found yesterday. $S$ LLayTransaal Judge President CF Eloff dismisset an Transvaal Juage Presiderm Pretoria prisoners, sibusiso Masuku and Oupa Mboani, for a declaratory order that the provisions of the Electoral Act prohiorder that them from voting in next week's elections constituted a violation of their fundamental rights in terms of the Constitution Act, which would come into effect on April 27, and were therefore invalid.

Both prisoners' death sentences for murder were commuted to 30 years' jail.

Judge Eloff said the applicants realised that once the Constitution Act came into force the Supreme Court would be expressly excladed from deciding on constitutional matters. The applicants had contended it would take some time before a Constitutional Court was established and, although they might have cerwain rights in the meantinae, they would have no wayof enforcing these rights. Se se

He said if he were to accede to the prisoners a demands he would, in ald, in time to come, be the jurisdiction which wonid, in Constitutional Court.

The jadge said the question of voting rights for
The jauge said the question of vical issue which prisoners was a moral and philosoppical
should be determined by a spectalised coart. - Sapa.




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## E1-5iox

Bid to ensure smooth transition Eiv TEC sets up forum to guide civil service

The TEC established a public service forum yesterday to ease civil servants into post-election "administrations.

- Members of the TEC's management committee made the sinnouncement after a day-long meeting with public servants from central Government, the :TBVC states and the self-governing territories. Public sector unions were also represented.
', The forum was formed to "en--sure that, in all matters relating -to the public service during the transition period, there will be transparency, consultation and ., employee participation". The forum would deal with issues such as promotions, pensions and salary parity, TEC management committee member Pravin Gordhan said.
_He was speaking after a plenary session which followed 11 separate meetings of public sector workers in Pretoria.
The meetings were held following continuing discontent ainong public sector workers, in

MOVE follows
bréakdown of public service provision, especially in $304 A$ homelands 5
particular in the homelands where vital sectors of public service provision have broken down as a result of striking workers demanding their pensions and job security in future administrative arrangements. *
The TEC's task force on the public service, comprising trade unionist Philip Dexter and Administration Minister Sam de Beer, was mandated to attend to a number of issues in which disputes have arisen, among them the threatened breakdown in health services and outstanding allowances.
The forum will meet for the first time tomorrow.

Speaking after the plenary session, Constitutional Develop-
ment Minister Roelf Meyer said the reorganisation of South Africa's civil service structure was going to require hard work
"The transition is going to require rationalisation of the various administrations into one central and nine provincial governments. It is going to require good management. We all have to work hard to achieve these goals," Meyer said.
He said the TEC was the one body that was in a position to give civil servants valid reassurances on their future.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said civil servants would be in the forefront of a new government.
"The new government of national unity will be able to rely on the civil service of our country serving under a new flag and a new constitution," he said.
"The election is really going to have to rely on you if it is going to succeed," Ramaphosa said. -Sapa.
(P Bułger, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)



IF THE printed programme for Roelf Meyer's visit to Lenasia this week was anything to go by, you'd have thought the National Party was expecting the worst. The schedule read: " 1 pm: Lunch. 2 pm: Flee market."
As it turned out, the Government's chief negotiator never made it to Lenasia's flea market - his involvement in failed attempts to resuscitate the international mediation effort meant that he was running two hours late and had to cut things short. Nor did Meyer . have to flee from anywhere.

The only time the Minister looked remotely fazed was when one of the women packed into the living room of a neat little Lenasia house raised her hand and asked: "Mr Meyer, why don't you have any black bodyguards?" Meyer ummmed for an instant, then said: "I don't know. Why?"' "Because I want to be your bodyguard," she replied with a laugh.
"I find him absolutely sexy," she said, as Meyer was driven off in his BMW.

## 'Viva NP!'

At every stop Meyer was met by small bands of NP supporters, who greeted his arrival and every word with 'Viva National Party!" and ''Long live Roelf Meyer, long live", clenched fists pumping up and down for emphasis. In most places there was tea to be drunk and piles of samoorisas awaiting demolition. $\cdots$ The only opposition apart from the occasional "Viva ANC!" from black people as the convoy passed - was in the Lenasia squatter camp, a dense clutter of about 7000 shacks in the southern part of the Indian township. While Meyer sat sipping a cool drink and chatting in the shack of a local National Party supporter, Ria Berra, a crowd of ANC supporters engaged in a vigorous but good-natured
'I FIND him absolutely sexy" and want to be his bodyguard,' one woman told Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN, who also heard claims the NP would get 75 percent of the area's vote. ....-


WHISTLE STOP: Roelf Meyer listens as local MP Darmalingam Sakalingum tells it like it is. PHOTOGRAPH: DEBBIE YAZBEK

## Currying favour in Lenasia

shouting match with the NP backers. The local Nats had driven everywhere with the Minister, waving flags and yelling slogans.
The shout-off continued as Meyer and his bodyguards strolled to their cars, but the Minister smiled and looked relaxed. 'We are standing for what we are standing for," said Zachariah Sithole, an ANC supporter. "But we don't mind this. They have to ${ }^{\frac{4}{n}, \text {, }}$ campaign for themselves.."
A young man, witions

declared himself Nationalist, pointed excitedly at Meyer as he passed: "I saw him on the TV last week. I can't remember what about." Back in Lenasia for lunch, Meyer joined a hall full of pensioners and NP campaign workers for a delicious biryani, then got $\mu \mathrm{p}$ to make his longest speech of the day.
"I believe we have' a good future ahead of us, he said. But all South Africanis; he said,
places like the squatter camp he had just visited. "If they are not going to improve their living conditions, you and I are not going to be peaceful."
One NP organiser sitting in the hall, whose area borders on the Vlakfontein squatter camp, knows all too well what Meyer is talking about. "We actually got a threat that on the 27th they are coming over to take over our homes," he said. "This is just a rumour. But do you take it seriously?" He talked rather grimly about what he sees as the dilemma of indian people.
"We are caught in the crossfire here," he said, and told a story to illustrate it: " 1 was retrenched after 12 years. They called it affirmative action. Now I walk the streets looking for a job.
When we can't pay our bonds and lose our houses, who is there? What political party will be there?"

## Upbeat

The rest of the Lenasia Nats, though, are upbeat and confident. Darmalingam
Sakalingum - popularly .known as "Uncle Ram"-- is
ata the sitting MP for Lenasia West, a seat he won in 1989 by polling 989 votes. He predicts Lenasia will poll 75 percent for the Nats. ${ }^{\text {'ST}}$ The debate between Pik $\therefore$ Botha and Thabo Mbeki changed a lot of people's minds," he said. "Our man answered all the questions without hesitation."
For his part Meyer seemed to be relishing a break from the negotiations swamp. "It's nice relaxation, far less tense," he said.
"Canvassing like this serves two purposes. One is to get to know the areas, see relevant problems, meet people and hear them. The other is to publicly be present and spread the message that we are communicating at




## STAFF REPORTERS

The Government has rejected pleas that all prisoners be allowed to vote in the country's first democratic election.
Prisoners who have been con-
riced of murder. rape and rob-
very with aggravating circumstances will be excluded from the polls, the Cabinet decided at a meeting in Cape Town yesterday.

Minister of Home Affairs Dance Schutte made the an-
nouncement only hours before special voting was due to start at special voting across the country.
The minister said the Governmet "was not willing to depart from the principle contained in the existing Act, which stipulate that certain categories of prisoner who have been found guilty of serious crimes should not be permitted to vote"
He added: "Such a restriction
is in accordance with interneis in accordance with in
tonally accepted norms."

The Electoral Act had been
mended, he said, to give effect amended, he said, to give effec to this decision by defining more precisely the crimes of murder rape and robbery with aggravat ing circumstances and limiting non-voting prisoners to those who had committed or attempted to commit these crimes. Schutte said the Act had been amended by the State Presiden in consultation with the Indepen dent Electoral Commission and the Transitional Executive Council.

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# Parties that have what counts 

In the battle for votes in the Cape, four parties look set to share most of the spoils of provincial power. Here, in brief, are their histories. Compiled by SHANNON NEILL and OUENTIN WILSON

## The African National <br> Congress (ANC)

Formed in 1912 as the
 Sorn ANC grew to become the most powerful force against the government's policy of apartheid.
Banned in 1960, the ANC formed its extemal mission in Zambia under the leadership of Mr Oliver Tambo. After 48 years of protesting against white minority rule peacefully, the ANC, from December 1961, opted for a more confrontational approach against apartheid

Rallying support from the international community, building secret underground structures inside the country and launching military strikes against government installations, were the key features of ANC strategy.

This together with mass action inside the country, particularly from 1976, provided the bulk of pressure to force the NP government into negotiations in 1990.
When the struggle against apartheid peaked in 1986, Nelson Mandela wrote a lefter to the government from behind prison bars, saying negotiations should begin.
In 1988, the ANC drafted the Harare Declaration which set out a process to a negotiated settlement. In November last year, that setulement was finally concluded.
After rebuilding itself as an organisation inside the country, the ANC is regarded as

South Africa's most popular party and is a runaway favourite to win this election.

## The Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) <br> In 1959 a faction led by

 Robert Sobukwe left the ANC Youth League and formed the PAC.It advocated a pelicy of "Africanism" in which Africans took control of their destiny.

It criticised the ANC's struggle through the Congress Alliance because it was multiracial. And it rejected the Freedom Chatter
While the ANC campaigned for economic upliftment, the PAC called for status equity for Africans.
In 1960 it began an anti-pass campaign and was banned the same year.
It's armed wing, Pogo, planned a revolt for April 1963 but it failed when the leadership was arrested after the PAC released details of the revolt two weeks before it was due to happen.
In 1968 the new ammed wing, Apla, was formed.
In 1985 Johnson Mlambo changed the image of the PAC, saying whites would be part of a future dispensation.
It was unbanned in 1990 and in the same year Clarence Makwetu became president

The PAC calls for redistribution of land and wealth, better education, affirmative action and quota programmes in the workplace, more power for the previously oppressed over management and state services and the socialisation and dernocratisation of business.

## Democratic Party (DP)

WHEN the Democratic Party was officially launched on Aprii 8, 1989, it brought
 together all the different white pariamentary groupings who were to the left of the government.

This was after its predecessor, the Progressive Federal Party, lost status as the
"official opposition" in the white parliament during the 1987 tricameral elections to the Conservative Party.
Traditionally the home of white, middleclass, English speaking liberals, the DP has tried to broaden its support base to make an impact in this election

When the NP stole much of its policy in 1990 , the DP was faced with an identity crisis. While many of its supporters and members have crossed to either the ANC on the left or the NP on the right, the remaining DP members, under the leadership of $\mathrm{Dr}_{\mathrm{r}}$ Zach de Beer, have decided to position thernselves as South Africa's leading liberal party. -...
They believe in an economy based on principles of private entrepreneurship and minimum state involvement.

## National Party <br> (NP)

IN 1948 the NP came to power, implemented
 apartheid and ruled South Africa until now.
It entrenched white Afrikaner power, appealing to ideals of a volk
In the early 1960s it began to soften its approach to attract English speaking whites to the party. In the early '70s it experienced an internal power struggle and a group of ministers left to form the Herstigte Nasionale Party.
$\therefore$ In 1981 it won 57 percent of the white vote. In 1983 won two-thirds of the white vote and changed the constitution to the tricameral one.
In 1949 the NP prohibited mixed marriages, in 1950 implemented Group Areas, in 1951 took the vote from coloureds, in 1952 strengthened influx control, in 1953 implemented separate amenities and in the '60s created the homeland policy.
It now admits past mistakes and promises to ${ }^{-2}$ stimulate economic growth, provide decent facilities for millions of people, encourage reconciliation and ensure political and civil rights to all.



THE Democratic Party (DP) rounded off its Western Cape election campaign with a poorly attended, but colourful rally in the City Hall last Friday.

The crowd of 800 was in high spirits and cheered loudly when the DP candidates were escorted into the hall by a minstral band.

To loud applause DP leader Mr Colin

Eglin said the rally was not only the party's last pre-election meeting, but should also be seen as a victory rally for the DP. Southeaster

Candidate for Western Cape premiership Mr Hennie Bester said the DP was about to sweep the polls in the province.
"A few months ago everybody thought we were as dead as a mossie. But we have risen to the challenge of fighting for what we believe to be right and what we believe to be in the best interests of not only the province but also the country, and we are going to win the election," Mr Buster said (Suppl- to Sente)

Party leader Mr Zach de Beer said; if people wanted peace, clean government, democracy and prosperity, they should vote for the DP. $2714-31519$
In his election message to voters candidate Mr Joe Marks said all South Africans should gear themselves for a new beginning. (304-7)
"We must all come together and make our contributions and although we diffred during the elections, we must now work together irrespective of who wins the elections," he said.

J Aranes, 76 Darling St, Cape Town

## Prisoners' right to vote not finalised

WHETHER all prisoners will be able to vote still hangs in the balance, with the fraugh

being finalised as expected yesterday. $\quad \mathrm{F} W$ de In spite of discussions between Nreson Mandela, a Klerk and ANC president Mr Nelsonter had not government spokesman said the mater had fake | been resolved, and further discussions |
| :--- |
| place. $304 A(4)$ |
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Parties originally agreed during negotiations that prisoners who had committed serious offences would not be allowed to vote, although awaiting would not prisoners and people imprisoned who
been given the option of a fine could vote.
The Transitional Executive Councriepresentathis decision after protests by prisoner represnment tives and unrest in prisons. But decision, resultrefused to comply wi
ing in the impasse.
$\xrightarrow{\square}{ }^{-}$

CAPETOWN-The last white Pariament ended yesterday with no MPs opposing constitutional amendments to secure the position of the zulu king - under the watchful eye King Goodwill_Zwelithini's tradionally clad emissaries. B LDCY
All parties bár the CP voted in favoir of amending the constitution in a special oneday session of Parliament called after parties agreed on measures ensuring the Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the elections: 214194
The enactiment of the Constitution of the Republic of SA Second Amendment Bill was witnessed by Zwelithini's emissary, Priñee Gideon Zulu, and a delegation of amákhósi dressed in leapard skins"- but without's spears. They had to hand their spears, and knobkerries to parliamentary security officers. before being allowed into the públic gallery. However, Zulu was allowed to keep a battle axe. The delegation included two KwaZulu cabinet ministers Ben Ngubane and Sipho Mzimela.:

The session marked the first parliamentary debate with Freedom Front members. Their defection from the CP dimin ished the opposition party' numbers allowing the DP to briefly regaio official opposition status. $=\frac{2}{} \nmid \infty$ ) swan song in Parliament, went off without incident, with CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg posting a token protest and warning that the flame of nationalism would burn again. He said the interim constitution would bring instability as th was on step down the path towards a, communist government. The Afrikaner would not vote in the elections as he would aiding the

## Parliament BiD In his closing address, President FW d

 Klerk took leave of Parliament with a warning that SA's new democracy would have to be carefully nurtured or it would wither and die. SA was being watched by the whole African continent, which needed an example of success, and by the world, which needed a signal that intractable diferences could be resolved peacefully.Constitutional Development Minister the provincial said parties had agreed that the provincial constitution of KwaZulu/ Natal would make provision for the king, determined by 7 such rights and power as He traced by Zulu custom and tradition. al negotiations, history of the constitutionderstand why Inkatha settled for so much less at the end of the day when, in terms of (a previous) agreement, it could have achieved so much more 30 it could have
Zulu told a news conference this was "the last kick of a dying horse".

Inkatha chief negotiator Ben Ngubane said the vote was a triumph for selfdetermination as the Zulu king's position had been protected in both the regional and national constitutions.
Ending his speech, Inkatha MP Koos van der Merwe shouted out the Zulu royal salute, which was echoed by other Ink saMPs and the king's delegation fieport oy $T$ Cohen, TML 11 delegation.

## Defiant prisoners persist with demands

SELLO MOTLHABAKWE
PRISONERS at several jails around the country embarked on hunger strikes and various forms of defiance yesterday to demand the extension of the vote to all prisoners.

An expected statement by President FW de Klerk on prisoner franchise was not forthcoming yesterday, although government sources confirmed the issue was discussed at a Cabinet meeting in Cape Town as well as between De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

A government spokesman yesterday said further talks would take place, TIM COHEN reports.

SA Prisoners' Organisation for $\mathrm{Hu}-$ man Rights spokesman Marcus Cox said protest action had been initiated by his organisation to persuade government to accede to prisoners' demands for an unlimited extension of the right to vote. Acts of defiance included go slows, refusal to work and hunger strikes.

Correctional Services Department spokesman Brig Chris Olekers confirmed that a few prisoners had embarked on deflant activities at isolated centres. $25=3=34$
Olckers said the situation at Nel spruit prison, where inmates rioted last week, had returned to normal.
Disturbances were also reported at the Pietersburg and Ermelo prisons last week. There were no incidents at Johammesburg prisons.
Three members of the prisoners' organisation, among them its leader, Golden Miles Bhudu, yesterday re-

 mained chained outside the Union Buildings in Pretoria in support of the demand to vote. swaty The prisoners' organisation had - earlier raised concerns about prisoners' voting rights following disagreement between De Klerk and the TEC over which categories of prisoner should be granted the vote. ritho is. Parties originally agreed during negotiations that prisoners who had committed serious offences would not be allowed to vote, although awaiting trial prisoners and people imprisoned who had been given the option of a fine could vote.
$\therefore$ But the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) reversed this decision after protests by prisoner representatives and unrest in prisons.

However, government refused to comply with the TEC's decision, resulting in the impasse which still existed yesterday.
Report by S Mothabakwe and T Cohen, TMML, 31 Diegonal St, Jhb.


## - BY CHRISTINA STUCKY

Deep in the lunar landscape of the Northern Cape's Richtersveld lives the 150 -year-old community of Kuboes. At the entrance to the town, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk smile from faded posters swaying in the brisk breeze. From behind a window in one of the town's several shop-cum-eateries Zach de Beer's eyes follow passersby.
This week, the town's 500 eligible voters will cast their ballots in the new church hall, far from the flashing lights of phodographers in South Africis big centres.
$\therefore$ Jakob Swartbooi will be among the Kuboes voters. On a recent IEC voter education visit to the area, Swartbooi was herding goats to the watering hole just outside Kuboes when the IEC cars arrived carrying seven white people and one black.

Swartbooi spends virtually the entire year in the veld, living in a make shift, igloo-like hut. Townspeople bring him food and every three
months he comes into town for a weekend. White people are a rare sight in his life.
The shy Nama man clearly is unaccustomed to this much attention. Yes, he says, yes he will vote but only if someone comes to fetch him. No, he says, no he doesn't know how to vote. Hts answers become monosyllabic when the SABC focuses a camera on him. He glances sideways at the microphong

## Confuse



Thabo Manyoni, national officer for IEC voter education, shows him a ballot paper and explains that he does not have to be "e-master" in order to vote. 3047
In Kuboes, residents know only the ANC, the NP and the DP.
"The other, smaller parties confuse them," Manyoni explains, adding that only these parties have come to canvass here. Everyone in Kuboes knows the town's one DP and three NP supporters by name.

Despite their isolation, geographically and politically, it would be a mis
take to call the townspeople naive or completely uninformed. One of the town's leaders, statu esque Paul de Klerk, tells of a visit by ANC reprasentatives.
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The people, he says, laughed at the canzas sers when they were tota the townspeople would not have to pay for water and electricity if they voted ANC. Besides, the community is used to casting votes, he says, Every few years they elect their "captain".
People like Swartbooil, unsure of the voting process and of what their vote will do, are not unusual. He, at least, is not afraid of intimidation, as are some voters in more troubled areas. But Manyoni is confident "the majority of the people have been briefed".
Gaps remain, particularly among the elderly and in rural areas, but, Manyoni confirms, the voter education pro-. gramme will be busy "until the last moment" to fill them.
(47 Sauer Street, Johan. nesburg).




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 It is a price he is prepared to pay
to keep the standard of liberalism
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 Zach de Beer does not deny that re-








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black." But black candidates were
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 Progress, finally, can come onlywith peace.
(Report by 5 Johnson and D Guy, 47 sauer $5 t$, jhb)
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 Zach de Beer . . . convinced he is fighting the good fight.

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## ${ }^{6}$ Bombs or no bombs; election on Star 2blyly目 BY JASPER MORTIMER Y G:

The election is going to take place - "bombs or no bombs! - the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.
The spate of bomb attacks, during the past two days was ob-: viously intended to affect the electoral atmosphere, IEC direc tor of monitoring Peter Harris : told a press conference at the ? Midrand Media Centre $304 \%$,
"These were indiscriminate" attacks on civilians and that ob:r viously instils a degree of fearf $f$ and apprehension.
", "Buit these elections are going to take place - bombs or no bombs."
The IEC would replace ${ }^{1}$ bombed polling stations and was ${ }^{2}$ trying to provide another 20 -odde polling stations in the less ac-: cessible areas of KwaZulu.

## Armed

The IEC has so far secured 9706 voting outlets. Among these it would deploy $14000^{2}$ South African monitors, who will be joined by about 2500 interna; tional observers.
The IEC estimated there were about 22 million eligible voters. in the country.
Ballot boxes will be taken under armed guard to one of the 800 counting stations.
Pôling stations will close every day oniy when everyone in the queues has had a chance to vote.
Political parties filed 2074 complaints with the IEC during the campaign. Of these, 51 cases were heard by electoral tribulnals.
They tended to concern flammatory propaganda, removal of posters and the refusal to allowithe IEC to set up polining stations.




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Cape Town - The last white parliament ended yesterday with Zulus in traditional garb witnessing the ratification of constitutional measures to affirm the position of the Zulu monarch.
All partles, except the Conservative Party, voted in favour of amendments to the Interim Constitution to ensure the IFP's participation in the election.
The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa Second Amendment Bill was witnessed by the king's uncle, Prince Gideon Zulu, and a team of amakhosi (chiefs) dressed in leopard skins.

## Spears

The men had been told to leave their spears at security, but the prince managed to sneak in his traditional axe.
The amendments recognised the institution of the Zulu monarch in Natal, its role, authority and status. ...
At the special day-long ses-

 Koos vain der Merwe, , statatcied by Arrica, which needed ort andexample of success, and by echoes through House wuthe worla, which needed a symof Assembly rit

 position after, sfx years, Follow , conctitutional Development
 the CP to other parties, Tricludyy fos agreed that the provincial

The MPs of General Constand would make suitable provision Viljoen's Freedom' Eront took , their seats next' to the IFP for juch rights and powers as deterthe first the on the last day of omined by Zulu customs and tra-
 During the debate, whinh also marked the CP's swansong In r Verwoerd wins assassinated in Parliament, CP leader Dr Ferdife 1066, echoed for the first time Hartzenberg posted a token pro- fithith the Zulu royal salute, test and warned that the name thathouted out by the IFP's Koos of nationalism would bumpagain $\frac{3}{4}$ tain der Merwe, MP for Overvaal. President de Klerk closed Parchy tht was taken up by people in the



# The Last V 

On the eve of the polls The Argus Political Staff asks lead:
 have said to our people that our greatest enemy in the to proceed as if we the NP, it is the ANC itself. Because for us dangerous than the opposition from the NP And we have many problen from the NP.
ple do not have IDs. problems. A surprising number of our peo-
I have assurans.
going to be ruthless against and the SAP and SADF that they are the elections. They have brien anybody that tries to interfere with are adopting.

That does
be difficult to (have a free there will not be areas where it will very big ... but generally speaking I ain because the country is plans I have seen that we have taken am convinced from the are necessary. The people
warned them repeatedly high expectations and though we have ing to take years, nevertheless there are their basic needs is gosomething we must warn against.

> But the dominatine thing is that.
ing period and we are approaching the are entering a very excit spirits are high. There's from fear to excitement. My impression is of a fry's mood from

There have been prophets of doom suggesting of hope. April 29, our people are going to doom suggesting that after and individuals and that there is goin riot - attacking property so. I've been warning against that going to be chaos. I don't think
People must not concentr that.
atswana. I condemned that in the what happened in Bophuthfind any member of the ANC the strongest terms. I said if we we will expel him because wo be involved in such activities, ganisation. so nisation.
So now we are taking precautions to ensure that our people are properly informed as to how to behave if we manage to be regional executive committees people have written to all the our people should be involved indicating programmes in which of looting and other forms of, so they should not think in terms f looting and other forms of lawlessness.
We attach a great deal of importance to whites. In spite of all whites have had opportunities wout apartheid, the reality is that education, they have got knowledge, skills had. They have had want that knowledge and expertise now skills and expertise. We country.
That is why I have appealed to them repeatedly not to leave the country at this particular moment, and even to ask those who have left to come back - because we are going to need them, we are going to rely on them.
We bring different approaches to a Government of National community has been dominant, specially of an Afrikaner whose the GNU the tradition of a freedom fighter 1948 . I bring into against apartheid.
I think we will
us. Especially because we will not be gap between the two of good team from the ANC and from be alone. We have a very the NP who are prepared to serve South Africa very are men in
So we must not concentrate on South Africa, very sincerely. not run by individuals, they are run by a teaple. Organisations are en. We've got highly talented peopl by a team of men and women. We've got highly talented people like Thabo Mbeki and Cyril chap like Kobie Coetsely enough, in spite of the perceptions, a their record has been in the past.
I don't think theen in the past
paralyse government.
We are committed to forming a Government of National Uni,
The leadership should not now be engaged in fighting talk but on national reconciliation. We have made the breakthrough chance of uniting the country," leaders ... will have a better country.'

"THIS election will be the real birth of the new South Africa we have been waiting on for so long. It will close the book on the past,.
The injustice and bitterness of the past are over. When the history is written it waill be said that it was the National Party who closed the book of the past.
The National Party struggled within itself about the road ahead. It said honestly past and that it would the mistakes of the past and that it would rectify this.
The party did this and I can give the assurance that there will never again be race land.
The National Party is writing a new chapter in the history of this country. It is one of peace and nation building.
The party is going to build as never be-
ore. re.
The big difference between the NP and the ANC is that the ANC does not know how to build. It only breaks down and ruins people's lives with its policies on issues such as education.

The new National Party is the only reliable party. It looks like the South African nation. It is a party which knows how to fulfil its promises. It is only the NP which can give the ANC a bloody nose.
This election will unlock the door that will usher in a period in which we will succeed in reaching new horizons.
Let's work together after the elections so that we can achieve this goal of making In that spirit better country for all.
In that spirit, South Africa and all its people can really count on us to do our best o make this a winning nation.
We have all had our campaigns and what is important now is that South Africans go nership will so that the shares in the partnership will be determined by the share-
holders. holders.
It is now time for us, as leaders, to reach out and work together in the best interests
of the country.

We country.
other have common objectives with the other parties - to create a better life for all - but we will have to work together to
make it a reality make it a reality.
The greatest challenge we will face will tion. Our and nurture our new constituthat our young and task will be to ensure that our young and vulnerable democracy
Wakes root and flourishes.
We must ensure that individuals, communities and provinces have the practical ability to approach the courts to protect We must ritional rights.
We must remain vigilant against any attempt by any level of government to erode any aspect of the constitution or of our individual rights.
Our courts must build up a sound basis of case law which will provide further guarantees for the maintenance of constitu-
tional rights. tional rights.
In particular, I will do everything in my power to defend the transitional constitu(News

# \% <br> Jord 

s of some of the major parties about their election prospects.


## MANGOSUTHU <br> BUTHELEZI of the IFP

MANGOSUTHU Buthelezi sitting in his cabinet room, SUFrounded by photographs of himself with the likes of Ronald Reagan, Pope John Paul II and Nelson Mandela, looks forward to a new dispensation.

But he kicks off angrily in response to accusations that he halted its progress and that responsibility for the deaths of hundreds of people could be laid at his door.
"As a politician I am foolishly blunt," he remarks, "if there As a politician nointing now about this it is just unreal when this violence has been going on for 10 years.
"It amazes me then that they should try to say now that those deaths are caused merely by the arguments between us and the constitution. The declaration of the state of emergency by President De Klerk was extremely reckless because in fact he was advised against it by the South African Police in Natal-KwaZulu; intelligence sources advised against it.
"But he was under such pressure from Mr Mandela, with whom he had been colluding all along, that he deployed it nevertheless. The fact that this thing has dragged on and on to this point is because of the political ineptitude of Mr De Klerk ... because he has not been a man of his word to me.
"In 1990 I explained to him that the Zulu people were not created by the homelands policy, that the Zulu people are a createreign nation and he can't treat them as he treats other people who were created when a few farms were bought by people who were
"I said to him that he must understand therefore that when the negotiations start then the king of the Zulus and the government must have a delegation. He agreed, but as soon as Mr Mandela was reluctant to do this, Mr De Klerk somersaulted.
"I am satisfied that my hands are clean. No one has ever been killed on orders from me I don't think I can say the same for the president of the ANC," he suggests.
Similarly, he decries theories that he was pressured to join he election by King Goodwill Zwelithini or that a mutiny was brewing in his government.
"I swear before God that such a thing never happened," he says emphatically.

Given this dissatisfaction with the process that led to the new constitution, it is not surprising that Chief Buthelezi is doubtful that he will take up a cabinet seat if he gets the required minimum of five percent of the national vote.
He does not feel bound by the constitution which was drawn up in his absence, he says. Hence his reluctance to have to operate within it as a cabinet member.
The Chief Minister explains his rationale for accepting the latest deal as hingeing on the new and expanded powers granted to King Goodwill.

Everyone has accepted that the king is the constitutional monarch, he points out, and this implies more than just a fig-ure-head status.

The major factor in the last-minute agreement grants the king the status of constitutional monarch over the whole of KwaZulu as well as Natal, he explains, whereas the proposal made to him at the earlier Skukuza summit did not include the area of Natal but only KwaZulu.

Will he accept a vice presidency if it is offered?
"I am not ready to talk about this because it is forcing me to talk about something which has not even happened," he says.

Chief Buthelezi has been at pains during his campaign trail to emphasise that his government has a clean track record on corruption: "My leadership is principled. I take principled stands and if you look at my career you will find f have always been principled."

Asked about working in the new government with the ANC and NP, he details occasions on which he believes the two parties conspired against him.

"TTHE National Party will cease to be the government of South Africa on April 27. Few will regret their departure. Their racism has divided the nation into mutually suspicious, hasen hostile groups, while their manipulative, even hostio groups, mic management has left interth Africa impoverished, with high unemSouth Africa impoverished, with high unemployment, low growth, minimal investment, a swollen bureaucracy and sky high government consumption expenditure.
Perceptive people will use their votes tomorrow with the aim of repairing the damage and reversing the downward trend.
'One Nation, one future' is a slogan which the DP has used since its inception as a party. South Africans do indeed share a common future. If we descend into anarchy or civil war, no one will escape unscathed. If we return to growth and prosperity, all will benefit. As John F Kennedy once said: 'A rising tide lifts all ships.'
The NP, the ANC, Inkatha, the PAC and the FF are all parties which were formed to represent the special interests of particular groups. It is only the DP - through its predecessor, the Progressive Party - which was specifically formed to offer a home to all South Africans, and whose fudamental principle is the dignity of the individual human person, regardless of race, sex or creed.

The DP's constitutional proposals - most of which have been accepted in the new constitution - place great emphasis on the protection of individual rights, and the party holds that identifiable groups of people derive their right to protection form the fundamental rights of their individual members.

In a word, while the DP respects everyone's religious, language and cultural rights, it considers that all South Africans are South Africans first and only secondly members of groups. On the basis of human rights, equality and mutual respect, we can build the united nation we want to be.
The other matter to which the DP will give priority in the new parliament is the quality of life or, if you prefer, the standard of living of our people. There is far too much poverty, far too few jobs. That the South African economy is basically strong is not open to doubt. For many years, it grew with remarkable consistency at five to six percent. Then confidence was undermined by apartheid and conflict, a government basically ignorant in economic matters interfered on a large scale with dire results, and of course the militarist regime of President $P$ W Botha wasted huge amounts of money on arms and defence expenditure, and undertook, ludicrous "fortress projects" like Mossgas.

The National Party has proved to the hilt that in economic matters it is a disaster

One cannot say that the ANC has proved itself to be an economic disaster, because it has not yet been in power. But it has the Communists in its belly, and communism destroyed the economies of many nations before it collapsed.

The DP is the party of peace - the only one that has never been accused of violence. It is the party of human rights and a united South Africa. It is the party of sound economics and future prosperity.
Who else can you trust?"
(Nows by M Morris 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

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 pavement outside the embassy The queue stretched，three deep，
for more than 300 m ，blocking the Africa House opened here to－
day－four minutes late．

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South Africans，at least 95 per－

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identification，such as a passport． most of them would be able to 07 тІчч 75 se DROIOROZ
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 S70｜IReq snoloəad
 April 27 and 28 has been successful.
"A large and adequate amount of work has been done to ensure the elections, from a voter education point of view, will be free and fair,' said Geoff Brown, head of Idasa's Police and Public Order programme.

With the completion of voter edu' cation workshops at two SADF bases - in the northern Transvaal yesterday, " the programme had succeeded in " reaching every member of the SADF :as well as the Bophuthatswana De -fence Force, he said.
$\rightarrow$ 'Idasa is one of about $\mathbf{2 0 0}$ organisa"'tions that has been engaged in feverish voter education in recent months
$w^{\circ}$ Among other elections-related ac
etivities, Idasa has conducted work-
whops at dozens of major organisa
tions, including Lonrho, Engen, the SA Post Office and the Johannesburg City Council, and taught up to 1000
community trainers.
At Matla Trust, one of the main voter education organisations in the country, last-minute preparations were under way yesterday.

An election play was being performed at the Orange Farm squatter camp near Johannesburg yesterday afternoon while education materials and pamphlets were being handed out to 6000 households in a "blitz" on the West Rand.

Two million comic books, 1-million "how to vote" booklets and thousands of videos, posters, audio tapes and Tshirts have been distributed across SA in the drive to educate voters, said Shirley Simons of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education.

Anywhere large groups of people have gathered, from soccer matches to shebeens, voter educators have been handing out materials and talk-

In the more remote areas, mobile training units have been seeking out pockets of people to pass on the voting message and teach trainers to inform their communities.

Problem areas still exist, however where there has just not been enough time or where violence or animosity have prevented educators garrying out their task $-\infty$
KwaZulu hadbeen a difficult place to conduct election education, Simons of the TBVC states and on some farms where farmers had not been sympathetic.

But Simons's overview, the day before special voting began, was that people wanted to vote and were excited about doing it.

Voter education organisations had asked the Independent Electoral Commission some weeks ago to place posters in polling stations to assist voters, Brown added. Report by A Hadiand, TML, 216 Vermaulen St، Pta

## Thousands of special voters in long queues

## Staft Reporters

THERE were long queues of elderly and infirm people at polling stations across the Western Cape early today as they turned out in their thousands to cast their special votes.

Many were voting for the first time in their lives.

The elections in the Western Cape began peacefully, although marred by several bomb threats. Bomb hoaxes on suburban trains resulted in 30 minute delays.

Taxis from Khayelitsha to central Cape Town came to a halt early today after an alleged bomb threat by two white men.

Security forces were patrolling all routes to Cape Town and a strong police presence. would be maintainéd at all voting stations, police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd said.

Voting began smoothly at most polling stations in the Cape, although there were a couple of hiccups, with no IFP stickers and seals at Robertson, and no ballot papers at all in Stutterheim in the Eastern Cape. But a spokesman for the IEC said the matter was being attended to.

Prisoners on Robben Island, where Nelson Mandela spent 18 of his 27 years in jail, were among the first black South Africans to vote.
In the Eastern Cape voting began briskly and many said they were overjoyed at being able to vote at least "once in our lifetime".

At Guguletu civic hall thousands queued as monitors and policemen manned the gates to regulate the flow.

The queue stretched about 20 m , snaking around the NY 50 shopping complex.

Several tired voters sat on chairs, and others carried um-


Pictures: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.
THIS WAY: A policeman helps Francis Ndika, 84, to the Guguletu Civic Hall polling station.
brellas to protect themselves from the scorching sun.

At St Francis in Langa hundreds waited to vote.

By 10 am there were only a few voters milling around at the Langa Community Centre; but about three kilometres away hundreds queued at the Isilimela High School on the outskirts of Langa.


WAITING: Some of the hundreds of elderly and infirm voters queueing outside Guguletu Civic Hall today.

In Claremont voting was slow at the civic centre, with frail and elderly people queueing for more than an hour.

Bev Roos said she had pleaded with officials to take particularly frail people to the head of the queue.
"There is no shelter, and we had to get what chairs we could to allow the very frail to sit," she said.

Officials were "completely swamped".
"There were only about 150 people waiting to vote when I left the voting station, but many elderly were taking ages to fill in the ballot papers.

At Groote Schuur Hospital patients, old and young, clad in pyjamas and dressing gowns, on foot and in wheelchairs, were moving into the hospital polling station in a steady stream.

For many it was the first time they had been allowed to vote, and no operation, injury or illness would stop them.

And for those who were un-
able to leave their beds, two voting teams were going from floor to floor to collect votes.
Prudence Fusa, 19, of Worcerster, who goes to school in Khayelitsha, said from her hospital bed after voting: "I wish for peace in South Africa after the election. And there must be jobs and schools."

- Otherwise voting in the Cape has been marred by several bomb threats.

There were two explosions in Steynsburg on Sunday at venues that were to be used as polling stations, but nobody was injured and votes were cast at alternative venues.

Bomb disposal experts detonated a suspicious-looking parcel outside the Receiver of Revenue's offices in Port Elizabeth, andpolice have warned people to report suspiciouslooking packages.
(News by L Peacock, C Sawyer, V Bavuma and D Yutar, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town, and Pat Candido, 19 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)
is called the Cape of Good Hope because Jan van Riebeeck "founded" it in 1652, bu to Simon the caterer, South Africa's first democratic election in his province is loaded with naked racism.
"The National Party will win the Western Cape because of the coloured vote. It is its campaign ticket here," says Simon, His first name will suffice, as he prefers.
"De Klerk has turned the coloureds against us (Africans). That's why I say this campaign will see racial tensions rise in the Western Cape, especially between those who are not white."
Simon is a regular guy who wants the best for his young family and he is not alone in his thinking. It is only a day to final election countdown.

Says ajournalist: "The African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress are running for their money in the Western Cape. The ANC will win, all right, but not with the coloured vote".
Coloureds are in the majority in the province and are crucially situated for the State President's purposes. Afrikaans as a language is, for starters, a unifying factor.
The brown Afrikaners, as coloureds are called. Cape Town is the seat of Parliament and it is where Nelson Mandela's election posters were torn down by De Klerk's supporters on Sunday.

But, as South Africa's 22 millon voters get ready for their date with destiny, centuries of white rule also draw to a close.
Campaigning parties were obliged by law to cease clectioneering on Sunday. The outcome of the historic poll will be known by the weekend.

While this is so, and the Western Cape gets set for an election photo-finish. it is the NP that is confident of victory in the region and also in the Northern Cape.
The battle royal for the Western Cape saw both the ANC and NP claiming victory was assured. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said his party had been able to "turn around our campaign in the past few weeks and 1 reverse the tide completely".

De Klerk told about 10000 supporters in Cape Town that there could "be no doubt" about an NP victory. NP Western Cape premier candidate Hernus Kriel put it this way: "The Western Cape deserves an NP victory."
It is therefore with this in mind that Simon the caterer says the election in his province will be fraught with racism. He says: "This election is between blacks and whites, it is about colour, not issues and hence the NP uses its old strategy of divide-and-rule and goes for the coloured vote."

Generally, the ANC is the party to watch in the Cape. Its support is enormous in black townships. It is confident it will get 93 percent of the African vote, according to a local survey.

The Democratic Party believes it will get some black votes and has mounted posters in Gugulethu and because it is always attacked, its

In these days of political electioneering, the Western Cape, where NP leader FW de Klerk has turned the coloureds against the blacks, is loaded with racism, writes Themba Molefe:


The NP's Hernus Kriel.
workers get into the township to put them up even at 2.30 am .

Reports here indicate that the rightwing Freedom Front, the one led by Gencral Constand Viljoen, is gaining ground in the Western Cape.
It is said the FF has been inundated with calls from English-speaking voters who are impressed by Viljoen's TV appearances.
A chilling factor behind this notion is that a volkstaat fragment in the region could include both white and coloured Afrikaners. "If we had just two more months we could really swing things," says Viljoen.
The Pan Africanist Congress, not given a chance to win anywhere, has its hopes in the townships. According to a survey, it has its core support where it matters most, the squatter camps of Crossroads and Kayelitsha.
But it is the coloured vote that matters in the Cape. The most prominent campaigners are Hernus Kriel of the NP, the PAC's Patricia de Lille and the ANC's Allan Boesak.

However, although it is anybody's guess, the NP hopes to capture this region but it is the ANC that must and will emerge the victor here. The PAC, as well as the National Councii of Trade Unions, have said they would consider a pact in order to stop an NP victory.
This should justify Simon's assertion, as the


The PAC's Patricia de Lalle.


The ANC's Allan Boesak.
mainly black parties forget their own fights to pull together to stop the former white oppressor from gaining a province in the country's first nonracial election.




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 Winnie Mandela says she still hopes to get Nelson back




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 President De Klerk and Afr stood united in their vow to crack
down hard on the anti-election terror


 The Argus tomorrow



 Mr Mandela, who had lengthy tele-
phone conversations with Mr De
Klerk on Sunday and yesterday,
 victed and punished as they deserve





## $\square$ Security dragnet as leaders vow to crack down <br> 

HISTORIC VOTE: For the first time in his life Wilson Nyamsengi, 70, of Langa, casts his vote at the
Isilimela High School polling station today. sn5ıy 241 ' $\forall M 7120390$ :sanlold



PRETORIA - An estimated 260000 overseas votes and 155000 votes by hospital patients in SA were expected to be cast tomorrow, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said at the weekend.

It was possible that as many as 600000 people would want to vote overseas, an IEC official satd.

The recent expansion of the Electoral Act's eligibility criteria, the rough nature of the estimates and the numbers of people planning to leave SA to vote could mean not enough ballot papers would be available at some polling stations, a Foreign Affairs official said.

In Australia, 22 polling stations have been established in the expectation that more than 87000 voters will cast their ballots in that country About 40000 SA expatriates are likely to vote at Perth's eight polling stations while Sydney's six stations expect in the region of 30000 . The IEC expects 25 votes will be cast in Australia's remote city of Darwin.

About 11000 votes are expected at Canada's 12 polling stations, including 8000 at Toronto's four venues.

The five polling stations established in London are expected to handle the bulk of the estimated 45000 voters in the UK.

The highest number of overseas votes is likely to be cast in the US, where 25 venues have been designated. It is estimated that 100000 people in the US possess documentation entitling them to vote. Of the 100000 , 25000 votes are expected in New York, 15000 in Chicago and 10000 in Los Angeles.
 KATHRYN STRACHAN

Other countries where significant numbers of votes are expected include Germany ( 10000 ), Namibia ( 35000 ), New Zealand ( 15000 ), Israel ( 10000 ), Saudi Arabia ( 8000 ) and Swaziland ( 8000 ).
The smallest overseas polling stations for the elections include Montevideo in Uruguary, where 10 votes are expected, St Petersburg (6), Ankara in Turkey (20), Libreville in Gabon (8), Jutland in Denmark (20) and Rabat in Morocco (50).
In SA, mobile polling stations would visit all hospitals in the country, including mental hospitals, said IEC spokesman Marti Meiring

Voting teams would go from ward to ward to allow the bedridden the opportunity of filling in their ballot forms.

She did not believe the voting teams would be able to make visits to private homes, but this would depend on the presiding election officer.
Another special category allowed to vote tomorrow will be the aged. Meiring said no strict age limit had been laid down for who would be allowed to vote tomorrow. However, as many polling stations would be set up in retirement homes and villages, where people older than 50 were entitled to live, 50 would probably be the generally accepted cut-off point.

Others who will cast special votes tomorrow will be the security forces to be deployed on the main polling days on Wednesday and Thursday certain categories of prisoners, the disabled and pregnant women.
ing over the the way voting rights for people in mental hospitals have been handled.
Those certified to be of unsound mind or mentally affected under the Mental Health Act of 1973 and patients being detained under the Prevention and Treatment of Drug Dependency Act of 1992 may not vote.
However, not all patients in mental institutions fall into these categories.
SA's only "psychiatric survivor group", called Psy-Watch, has objected to IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler about the denial of voting rights to mental patients.

Psy-Watch spokesman Robin Edwards said absolutely no effort had been made at Valkenburg Hospital in Cape Town to educate patients who were not certified under the Act and who had the right to vote, and he believed the same situation existed a most mental hospitals.
At the very Ieast, a statement regarding the right to vote should be made on TV, Edwards said, and posters should be put up in wards of mental hospitals informing patients of their right to vote.
Edwards added that none of the political parties had made a statement opposing the "iniquituous" Mental Health Act or had given any indication of improving the situation of the mentally disabled.
There were cases of massive neuroleptic overdosing at psychiatric hospitals, he said, and enabling mental patients to vote could empower them to reduce such abuse.
Report by A Hadtond and K Strochan, TML, it Diagonal St, Jhb.

## -nUP Mediators travel to Pondoland - TEC to probe IFP statement


 president Walter Sisulu, president Nelson Mandela and Jacob Zuma.

# Pondo king seeks IEC's protection ondoland's King Mpondombini Sigcau has asked Independent Electoral Commis- <br> <br> FAMILY 'UNSAFE' Queen gave 

 <br> <br> FAMILY 'UNSAFE' Queen gave} sion chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler to secure his family's safety after his wife, Princess Lombekiso, gave evidence against the African National Congress at an IEC hearing.

Two mediators from the IEC's Johannesburg head office, Stax Masongo and Donovan Nadison, travelled to Qawukeni - the traditional home of the King of the Pondos, outside Lusikisiki in the Transkei - at the weekend to mediate between the ANC, the Pan Africanist Congress, the National Party and the Democratic Party.

## Traditional gathering

This followed a traditional gathering called by King Mpondombini on April9 when he invited the four parties to speak to his headmen and people about their policies. The local ANC branch allegedly refused to allow the meeting to go ahead.

Mpondombini is the eldest brother of
former Transkei prime minister Stella Sigcau who is number 26 on the ANC's national assembly candidate list.
At the hearing, Princess Lombekiso

## evidence against ANC:

## 3044

## $\sigma_{\text {What is going to }}$ happen to the royal family?

been "dancing and swearing at me" when he told her at the king's house on April9 that the other parties, the "Boers" and the IEC, would not address the Pondo people.

Masongo got the four parties to commit themselves to free and fair elections.
PAC member Amos Ndoni told the hearing the queen's evidence made the PAC deeply concerned about the security of the Pondo royal family. The DP and NP echoed this.

The NP's Natal leader, George Bartlett, told the hearing the NP did not regard the issue as closed and would carefully watch what happened in Pondoland.

Mooi River DP MP Wessel Nel said he doubted the bona fides of the locai ANC branch and said its commitment to
free and fair political activity had not been declared satisfactorily.

King Mpondombini told the hearing he was concerned about the lack of security at Qawukeni and asked the IEC to help when he was threatened.

Masongo said he would report King Mpondombeni's fears to Mr Justice Kriegler.

The test of the ANC's commitment was "what is going to happen to the royal family and whether there is anything that suggests the casting of votes will be interfered with from today on", he said.

## Threat to life

ANC branch spokesman Veli Ntsubane said ANC members would do their best to ensure the royal family's safety. They would seek a meeting with Mpondombini to assure him they were his children and any threat to his life was a threat to themselves. - Sapa.
(Report RM Challenor, 18 Osbome Street, Durban.)


The TEC＂s seven subcouncils have
pondered，consulted and ruled on a
massive range of issues，from
foreign treaties and the status of
traditional leaders to legislation that
discriminates against women．
The fact that SA is in a position to
go the polls next week is as much a
tribute to the TEC as it is to any
single political leader，party or
mediator．Government，on its own，
could not have held the country to－
gether during the．past few turbulent
months without the multiparty sup－
port and involvement of the TEC．
＂The country could have been in a
very difficult situation，＂says gov－
ernment TEC representative Roelf
Meyer．＂The TEC was a very impor－
tant mechanism ensuring multiparty
co－operation during the period．＂ defence force and instituted a public
service forcm，to name a few．
 vis Bay，framed budgets and foreign
loan policies，began serious work on

 tswana，Ciskei and Lebowa，adopted dependent administrators in Bophutha－ Broadcasting Authority and the In－ It appointed the Independent Elec－
toral Commission，the Independent progeny
scope of its influence，one only
has to consider the council＇s
 significant impact on the lives of nance，has come to an end．Its attempt at nonracial gover－
nance，has come to an end Its


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 Not least of these was the problem



 Zulu to hostels on the East Rand
 constituted $a$ a trreat to that passage
expanded virtually daily． constituted a threat to that passage the country＇s path to the elections， eventss，as SACP delegate Joe Stovo
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 momber said Meyers＇s role provididing
the interface between government 을


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 some delegates as a major weakness． The lack of an＂mplementation
 its ade any easier to overcome due to complex political terrain but also in
 cult tear expeniencedy days，as it was seeking to ministrative and buraaucratic ciifi－ reduced five－month term．The ad－ eifectively only toward the end of its
 Negotiators initially envisaged a been some problems． agree，however，that there have also
 belief that the council has played an
 In retrospect，management com－ ministrators was further evidence of
the TEC＇s growing credibibity．

 strings have been firmy tugge．The


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## FW takes on TEC over prisoners' right to vote

By CARMEL RICKARD
THE issue of whether all prisoners may vote has escalated into a constitutional battle between the state president and the Transitional Executive Council. But it has also provoked a legal first - a case heard by the courts based on the new constitution and Bill of Rights.

The Electoral Act says only certain categories of prisoners may vote. However, it is worded in such a way that it is proving difficult to establish which prisoners are entitled to participate.

For this reason the Independent Electoral Commission has recommended that the Electoral Act be changed and that prisoners be allowed to vote. The TEC has now also given its support to the IEC recommendation.
Only State President FW de Klerk has the legal power to change the Electoral Act at this stage. He met with ANC president Nelson Mandela late last
week for talks on the issue and an announcement is expected tomorrow.
However, the constitutional conflict is clear the TEC says the state president does not have the political power to refuse its recommendation that he change the law. Speaking legally, however, the decision rests with him.

But Sapa reports ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said in Cape Town yesterday his party was confident Mr de Klerk would reconsider his position and authorise a change to the Act tomorrow.
While politicians deal with the constitutional problem, the Supreme Court has also been asked to consider the question. On Monday Lawyers for Human Rights brought an application against the state president and the Minister of Home Affairs on behalf of two former death row prisoners serving 30 years for murder.
They said Section 16 of the Electoral Act, which

## Sinatra cancels second show

SINGER Frank Sinatra, who collapsed on-stage last month, cancelled a performance at New York's Radio City Music Hall on Friday shortly before the show was due to begin.

The announcement said the 78-year-old crooner was suffering from upper respiratory congestion and had been advised by his physician not to perform. - Sapa-Reuter

## distinguishes between

 those prisoners who could vote and those who could not, contradicted several clauses of the rew constitution, and asked for this section to be declared unconstitutional. 3044However, Transvaat Judge President Eloff said he was unable to grant the application. He said that, under the old constitution, the court was not entitled to overturn an Act of Parliament (such as the Electoral Act 2
Under the new conssitution, which comes into effect on April 27, only the Constitutional Court could consider whether a law was valid, and that court had not yet been set up.
Judge Eloff also stressed that the TEC and IFC were both bound by the law as it stood and that it "did not behove" either body to assume the power to decide whether the contentious section of the Blectoral Act was unconstitutional.

- Mr DA Kuny SC, with Mr WPN Sceales, instructed by Lawyers for Human Rights, appeared for the two prisoners. Mr Jeremy Gauntlett SC, with Mr DA Preis, instructed by the state attorney, appeared for the State President.


## National Assembly elections

 The entry of the Inkatha Freedom Party into the elections will make it difficult for the ANC to get the two-thirds majority it needs to write the final constitution on its own.But ANC leaders remain confident of getting more than 60 percent of the national vote

The National Party, which saw its share of the potential vote improving from a low of 13 percent to above 20 percent by the beginning of March, now has to fend off challenges from both the Freedom Front and Inkatha.
Before the IFP entered the elections, many Inkatha supporters who planned to vote said they would back the NP.
Now President FW de Klerk is desperately trying to prevent them reverting to the IFP which explains his blistering attack on IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban this week.

He said Chief Buthelezi was fickle, intolerant, indecisive and two-faced.
Chief Buthelezi's major problem will be getting the bulk of his supporters to the polls.
Few of them have had access to voter education programmes and many do not have identity docu-
ments.

But if he is successful the IFP stands a good chance of getting
more than five percent of the vote. This will qualify it for seats in the cabinet although Chief Buthelezi says Inkatha will not accept any posts.

Any success General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front achieves at the polls will be at the expense of the NP. But the front is likely to struggle to reach General Viljoen's target of a million votes.

The DP will also struggle to get sufficient votes to qualify for cabinet posts.

## Provincial Elections:

## - WESTERN CAPE

Before the ban on public opinion polls, the National Party had pulied ahead of the ANC but was short of the 50 percent of votes needed to ensure Hernus Kriel is elected provincial premier.

The Democratic Party will need to get 10 percent of all the votes cas in the province to qualify for a cabinet seat. The Sunday Times poll conducted in March showed the DP had just over 10 percent of potential voters.
If the NP falls short of 50 percent the DP could determine the choice of the Western Cape premier.

## - PWV

The ANC looks set to win more than 50 percent of the votes in the province, ensuring that Tokyo Sexwale will be elected premier.
But the NP maintains the ANC will fall short of 50 percent. Its

Transvdal leader Pik Botha spoke this week of forming alliances with other parties to elect a nonANC member as provigctal premier ( 3041 )

A key question is whether the DP will qualify for cabinet membership as the Sunday Times poll showed it had the backing of just under 10 percent of potential voters.

## © KWAZULU/NATAL

The late entry of the IFP has thrown this contest wide open.

The ANC is still likely to get the most votes, but the IFP could run a close second if it is able to rally its supporters to the polls in the short time available.

The IFP could also benefit from the backing of those who plan to vote for the NP or DP nationally.
It is likely that no party will get more than 50 percent of the vote in the province and there will have to be horse-trading to decide on the premier.

## - NORTHERN CAPE

Little is known about voting trends in the country's least populated province.
But given the large number of coloured voters in the province and the predominant support for the NP in this community, the Nats must be regarded as favourites to win control of the province. (News by Mike Robertson, 11 Diagonal Street, Johan-
nesburg)










 The ANC is committed to redistribute 30 percent of
agricultural land within five years. It has promised to

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 This shift was reflected in the rhetor

The task of holding the country together through this














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## Taking the last step to freedom <br> - From Page 1 <br> departed from the mes sage of reconciliation and peace which he had preached at meetings dur ing the week by launching National Party. <br> "Mational Pary, division and suspicion. That is the experience the National Party has," he said. <br> He made a special appeal to coloured and Indian voters not to desert the oppressed and reas sured them of their fears about security, violen and affirmative action. <br> Addressing about 15000 <br> people at the Good Hope <br> Centre in Cape Town, Mr <br> de Klerk said: "You cannot allow Nelson Mandela and <br> his supporters, who only know how to break down houses and schools, or their communist allies, to the Western Cape. <br> "ANC supporters pave ruined the education of millions of our children. Their Communist Party allies support a policy that has not worked anywhere in the world. You cannot support a party that is ungodly and un-Christiān." <br> Earlier in the week, Mr de Klerk, aware that the IFP's entry into the election could cost the NP tens of thousands of votes, also bitterly attacked Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, calling him erratic and untrustworthy. The IFP, he said, was two-faced. <br> Chief Buthelezi told sup- <br> porters in Bloemfontein <br> that he did not aspire to any role in a new government, but hoped to be an for federalism. <br> About 30000 people attended an Inkatha rally at Curries Fountain in Durban yesterday and were addressed by IFP central committee member Dr Buthelezi's absence. <br> Inkatha's chief probiem, following its late entry into the elections, is to educate the elections supporters about voting arrangements and secure identity documents for then 304 ค Newshy hay Harkey, Norman West, Marlene Barger, 11 Diagonal Street. Johannesburg) <br> Marlene Burg Johannesburg)



## Last round in election for Big $_{17 \text { Ges }}$ Four <br> says it is confident of

## By NORMAN WEST

## Political Reporter

A FINAL thrust to win over undecided voters the "floating vote" - has dominated the campaigns of the "Big Four" parties in the Western Cape as the NP, ANC, DP and PAC wrapped up their election campaigns for the region.'
Winning over these "wndecideds" will these cial for the ANC and the NP, who are fighting it out to be the majority party in the region.
For the $\mathbf{D P}$, capturing the floating vote is even more significant: if they can capture enough of these votes the party could hold the balance of power in the Western
This would place the
DP in a position of power way beyond the number of seats it holds in th regional parliamenty
"Effectively, they would lue like a David holding the leash on a Goliath," noted one observer.
Unless the ANC or the NP wins a two-thirds majority in the regional legislature, they would have to depend on the DP for the extra leverage needed to pass or amend bills and the DP would demand an extremely high price in terms of their policies and principles in exchange for their support.

While the PAC also
winning - albeit against all odds - the DP this week unveiled a strateg aimed at catching a large aimed at catching a large slice of the "floating vote", rather than going
 Optimistic

With the first day of the three-day voting period only 48 hours away, the NP appears to be the most optimistic about winning an overall majorlty, with the party's premier-candidate Mr Hernus Kriel cladiming that his party would win a comfortable majority of seats in both the national and provincial legislatures
Yesterday's Good Hope Centre rally addressed by NP leader Mr FW de Klerk rounded off the NP's campaign in the Western Cape.
Meanwhile, the ANC has rolled out the bi guns in a last-dash bid to garner local support Garner local support. figures Cyril Ramaphosa Thabo Mbeki and Barbara Masekela are in town to help win over undecided voters.
Dr Allan Boesak, the ANC Western Cape pre-mier-designate, said the electorate was in for a surprise and "we will take the Western Cape".
The ANC wraps up its Western Cape campaign with a festival at Hout Bay harbour to be ad. dressed by Dr Boesak and a rally at Bishop Lavis with Mr Mbeki as guest speaker.
Most observers - except for the PAC leadership - predict that the PAC would be hampered by the fact that some of its members have been linked to current terrorist attack investigations, although no case has yet been proved against any of those facing charges.
The PAC's premiercandidate for the western Cape, the feisty Mrs Patricia de Lille, said she was "fairly confident" was "fairly confident"
that the PAC would "surthat the pac would "sur-
prise a lot of people" because of the general support for the PAC in the Western Cape and the personal support she enjoyed in the area.
Like the NP and the ANC, she believes the PAC could emerge with the majority of seats in the Western Cape Provincial Legislature.
(Nows by NWest 122 St Georgas Mall. $/$
Cape Town.)


Picture: LEON MÜLLER, weekend Argus. $\square$ RUBICON AT LAST! Radio personality Nigel Murphy hands President De Klerk a magnum of Meerlust Rubicon to record the view of the Cape Town Press Club that Mr De Klerk had finally crossed the Rubicon into the new South Africa. The president was addressing the Press Club.

## Free and fair <br> नRदg the ry <br> FRANS ESTERHUYSE 3CYHA <br> final democratic constitution. <br> turn, must have sufficient access to the

Weekend Argus Political Correspondent
FREE and fair elections form the basis of a democratic society. They instil popular confidence in the system of government and in the rulers themselves.

Internationally-accepted principles and guidelines to achieve this have been laid down - and South African authorities are trying to conform to them.

Appropriate rules of the game have been formulated and explained by a team of academic lawyers in a new book, Free And Fair Elections, edited by Nico Steytler, John Murphy, Pierre de Vos and Medard Rwelamira (Juta, 1994). The editors and contributors are all attached to the University of the Western Cape.

They say the successful outcome of next week's election is by no means ensured. Many obstacles lie in the way of a genuinely free and fair election.

They also note that even a successful outcome of the first nonracial elections will represent "only the crossing of another hurdle on the way to a really representative democracy".

Voters will cast their votes to elect an interim government and constitutionamaking body, which, in its turn, will draw up a final constitution. In this regard, the elections can be seen as a trial run for a future election in terms of the

What will make the elections free and fair?
The authors say the freeness and fairness of an election cannot be determined by merely assessing events on election day. Such a judgment must also pertain to the events preceding the actual voting; in other words, to the election campaign as a whole.

Public law specialist Pierre de Vos outlines some basic criteria. A free election, he says, will turn on:
The right of a party to propagate its views; and,
$\square$ The right of parties to access to the electorate.

Criteria for a fair election include:

- Freedom from intimidation;
- Freedom from bribery and undue influence; and,
- Impartiality of state organs.

For a free election, all parties must be guaranteed the right to campaign unhindered. Elections cannot be even relatively free unless civil liberties are at least relatively secure. For an election truly to reflect the will of the people, a "reasonable degree" of free political expression must be possible.

Potential voters must have sufficient access to information about the parties, their platforms and their candidates. The parties and their candidates, in
potential voters to canvass.

For a fair election, parties must be limited in what they are allowed to do during an election campaign. Voters must, ay and large, be able to make their electoral choices unhindered by pressure.

Various factors will determine whether the election results reflect the will of the electorate and whether the process is viewed with the necessary public confidence. The factors include the ability of parties to organise or hold rallies, the degree to which the media are free to report on the campaign and the extent to which violence or intimidation is directed against party activists or prospective voters.

On the question of free campaigning, it is argued that "a reasonable degree" of freedom of expression must be guaranteed to all participants in the election campaign. Candidates and voters alike must be guaranteed the right to express vigorously their opinions and ideas.

At the same time, some limits on freedom of speech always will be necessary - even in a democratic society to safeguard the rights of others and to prevent upheaval or anarchy.
(Report by F S Esterhuyse, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)


WOMAN WITH A MISSION: Federal Party leader Frances Kendall. ARCT $23 / 4 / 94$ Kendall federal to the $e^{(3,4 \pi)}$ letter

A woman with a mission is Frances Kendall who is challenging some of the heavies in the election on a cardinal issue - their claim to stand for a federal system of government or something close to it.
9.
-FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent
THE recently formed Federal Party claims to stand for a stronger and more genuine form of federalism than any of the mainstream parties in next week's election.
e And the party's national leader Frances Kendall says South Africa's new interim constitution is not federal at all.
"In fact, the new constitution provides for a highly centralised unitary system of government - basically the same as what we have had since (1910," she told Weekend Argus this week.
$\%$ The new provinces would have much the same powers as the country's provinces had since 1910 and could be overruled by the central government. -i At a public meeting in Sea Point this week, Ms KKendall tackled some of the mainstream parties that claim to stand for a federal system of govern--ment.

She said there were considerable misgivings -among members of other parties - including the ANC, the National Party, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party - at the insufficience of federal guarantees in the interim constitution.
7. The role she envisaged for the Federal Party was that of the driving force and focus for a major push towards improvements on federal lines when the final constitution is written.

She also predicted that the smaller "new" parties could form a powerful bloc in the new parliament to exert influence on the mainstream groupings.

In an interview Ms Kendall said her party had a far stronger and more devolved federal system than the Democratic Party, for example.
The Federal Party believed only a few matters such as national defence, national finance, foreign affairs including foreign trade, the upholding of the appeal court, and redistribution of wealth from sicher to poorer people according to an agreed formula, should be handled by the central government. Everything else should be controlled by the regions.

Of the ANC's plan for government, Ms Kendall said there would be control from the top by members of the SA Communist Party - "they will have complete centralisation if they can get it."

However, there were signs that ANC members in the lower ranks of the organisation were strongly in favour of community empowerment and regional interests.
"We are trying to reach these people in order to shift the debate inside the ANC," Ms Kendall said.

The Federal Party was strongly in favour of 10cal power - right down to the level of fourth-tier government.

Ms Kendall said third-tier government should include municipal and county (rural) government.

A fourth tier should include neighbourhood bodies and community councils with decision-making as well as taxing powers. In the United States such systems of local government were working well in many areas.
Ms Kendall's ideas on federalism are set out in several books she has written, including Let the people govern and Heart of the Nation (Amagi Books, 1991), which has a chapter on fiscal federalism. She is also co-author of South Africa: the solution.
She is married to Leon Louw, executive director of the Free Market Foundation.
Though fresh on the political scene, the Federal Party has some big names among its supporters including two senior Anglo-American Corporation executives, Clem Sunter and Michael O'Dowd.
The party's national chairman is attorney Gavin Weiman, a former DP parliamentary candidate. Unisa political science lecturer Kierin O'Malley is the party's electoral agent. Other members include former Stellenbosh University professor Eckar Kassier, who was commissioned to write a report on agricultural control boards, and Danie Bosman, leader of the Realist Party which has merged with the Federal Party.
The Federal Party is contesting the election nationally and regionally in the PWV area.
One of the party's more unusual ideas is that there be more "direct democracy", imcluding iobligatory referendums for constitutional changes and optional referendums if a specified number of people object to the passing of a law.
(Report by FS Esterbuyse, 122, St George's Mall, Cape Town, 8001).


## Weekend Argus Political Staff

A SERIES of remarkable developments have set South Africa on course for genuinely free and fair elections next week.

Peace appears to have settled in Kwa-Zulu-Natal since the entry of the Inkatha Freedom Party into the elections

Two people were killed and two injured in the hree days since the IFP's registration.
In comparison, 54 were killed in the previous In comparison, 54 were 110 during each of the first two weeks of the month.
More than 93000 policemen and 67 companies f SA Defence Force troops will be on duty to protect voters on election days, the Independent Electoral Commission and security force officers have announced.
IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said it would be unrealistic to expect no intimidation or attempted disruptions on voting days.

With the hours ticking away to the three days of voting, the remaining pieces in the massive and complex jigsaw that make up that settlement have begun to fall into place.

Several deals are being finalised at the highest political level to tie up the lc se ends for next political level-to epoch-making elections.

This includes an expécted blanket amnesty for the security forces which could be linked to votes for prisoners.

A three-way deal between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Front over a possible Afrikaner volkstaat is to be Front over a possible Arrikaner in Pretoria today.
signed at the Union Buildings in

The deal on amnesty could help defuse some rightwing reservations about the new dispensation. The issue was on the table yesterday during a meeting between President De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela.

Mr Mandela said afterwards: "It (the amnesty issue) is a matter of great importance because of the state of insecurity within the security forces."

He said it was vital that the security forces felf able to continue doing their duty without fearing they would be prosecuted, sacked or lose their pensions.

Sources said yesterday it was possible that a deal was being thrashed out in terms of which a blanket amnesty could be granted after the elections. They pointed out that this was provided for in a "national unity and reconciliation" clause in the interim constitution.
Unconfirmed reports have suggested an am nesty deal could be linked to granting all prisoners the right to vote - a move that has been re sisted by the government to date. Mr De Klerk expected to make an announcement after discus sions with his cabinet on Monday.

There has been considerable flux in rightwing ranks in recent days, with the pro-election Free dom Front gaining ground strongly over the boy cotters, particularly the Conservative Party
Yesterday, the FF announced fresh developments indicating a groundswell of support from the right for its decision to use the poll as a plebiscite on support for a volkstaat.

First of these was news that another five CP. Fontrolled town councils - Piet Retief Volksrust Lydenburg Pongola and Hartebeesfontein rust, Lyd thrown in their lot with General Viljoen

- hn Thursday six eastern Transvaal and PWV

On Thursday, six eastern Transvaal and PWV councils controlled by the CP made a similar move, leaving CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg a parently bound for the political wilderness.

The FF also announced that recently retired police public relations boss Leon Mellet had joined the FF and would be on its candidates' list. This follows the decision by more than 40 retired police generals - including former police commissioner General Mike Geldenhuys - to back the FF.
In a third potential boost to the FF , it is expected today to sign an accord with the ANC and the government fleshing out and strengthening the role of the Volkstaat Council that will be created by the new parliament.

Campaigning is due to cease by 7am on Monday leaving just 24 hours for South Africans to catch their breath before a day of special voting is held on Tuesday for people needing special facilities or assistance. They range from the heavily pregnant to the blind and disabled.

On Wednesday, millions are expected to start On Wednesday, milis for two days of normal voting at 9514 polling stations.

鹵 More reports inside.
(News by C Whitfield and E Waugh of 47 Sauer Street, Johaunesbur
and K Swart, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)



Naming of journalists slammed
The International Press Institute? yesterday expressed concern about the electoral law requiring journalists to affix their names to all election stories.
In a statement to the Transitional Executive Council, the Independent Media Commission and the Speaker of Parliament, the IPI urged South African authorities to scrap the law.

## Intimidate

Section 141 of the Electoral Act rules that the full name and address be given of anyone who reports anything that might afrect an election. The law could intimidate and endanger journaliss, the IPI said)
"Attacks on Journalists' homes have been reported in past alec-
 tins. Most newspapers publish only their office address. Some ignore the law. Others list home addresses of freelance contributors," said the IPL ( m )

There was no equivalent pro vision in any Western election laws, it added. - Sapa. (K Swart. 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)

## Alliances make no sense - source No NP-IFP

 poll pacts, say NatsDBY SHAUN JOHNSON and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Senior NP members have moved to dampen speculation about possible NP-IFP election pacts.

This follows comments by Transvaal NP leader Pik Botha and his Natal counterpart George Bartiett on the possible forging of alliances to keep the ANC out of power in the PWV and KwaZulu/Natal regions.

Speculation on possible pacts intensified in the aftermath of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's surprise climb-down on Tuesday which led to the IFP's participation in the election.

## Block

But a senior NP source said yesterday that it did not make sense to forge alliances because the national and provincial governments would, in terms of the Interim Constitution, all be enforced coalitions.

Parties would naturally group together on issues where there was common ground and, if they had sufficient support, could block decisions.

In Stellenbosch yesterday, top Government negotiator Roelf Meyer launched a strong attack on the IFP for "playing with the lives of the people of South Africa" by threatening the transition process and then entering the election race at the last moment.
He made his criticism of the IFP "sadly" because of the cost of the aborted boycott tactic, "not oniy in terms of things like having to cail Parliament together again, but much more importantly in terms of violence...
"A number of questions re-

THE new constitution, and not Inkatha's participation in the election, is the real South African miracle, says Roelf Meyer

main about this sudden change of mind. People ask us: what have you given them, what have you promised them? The answer is, nothing new.
"So why has Chief Buthelezi now conceded so suddenly? The reality that the election would not be postponed is what brought Inkatha in. Mediation, which the IFP thougit it could use to secure a postponement, did not do so.

## Participate

"One bold fact remained: if you don't participate in the election you are not on the playing field. You are in the cold for five years. They decided to participate, and the so-called demands they have been insisting on for months went out of the window."
Meyer said the constitutional amendments regarding the Zulu king, which will come before a special sitting of Parliament on Monday, were less extensive than those offered on April 11.
South Africans, he said, needed to understand that "the miracle wasn't achieved two days ago when the IFP decided to join the election. It was achieved when we agreed on a new constituion ... something that was once almost unthinkable". (47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

[^5]> De la Cruz leaves 'manipulating' Political Staff bIow in the Westerty yesterday sufferedammajor Crux the MP for and accused the NP of using coloured voters to get white MPs elected. $\$$ coloured voters to iMr De la Cruz
> sition in the House of Repr Leader of the OppoNP was blatantiy manipupresentatives, said the to achieve this. manipulating golqured people

> Many coloured MPs in $23 / 4 / 94$
> positions on not hope on the party list in which they could been placed $38 t h$ on the He, for instance, had on the provincial list
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The DP then proposed that an amendment to the Electoral Act should be made to allow persōns not able to reach voting stations on April $27-28$ to cast a special vote prior to their departure. This was opposed by the ANC.
DP Western Cape lëader Mr Hennie Bester urged the IEC, "even at this late stage", to hire additional presiding officers to obtain special votes at voters' homes.

ANC election administrator.Mr Garth Strachan said the IEC decision that aged and infirm voters had to be brought to pre-arranged venues on April 26 to cast their ballots "goes against the letter and the spirit of an election which offers all the opportunity to vote".

He said black and coloured voters, especially those in rural areas, would bear the brunt of the ruling.

IEC officials Ms Niki Moore and Mr Peter Cronje said that if the superintendent of hospitals or old age homes contacted them "one of our mobile units will pay them a visit".
"We will be able to deal with the special votes," Mr Cronje said, "we have over 8000 fixed stations (throughout South Africa) and 200000 people working on the election.
"We are prepared to cope with 150000 special votes from hospitals and old age homes alone."

In reply to complaints that airline crews would be unable to vote, Ms Moore said: "If the pilots feel so strongly about it why don't they refuse to fly so they can vote? No employer can force anyone to work to prevent them from voting."

DEMOCRATIC Party Western
Cape leader Hennie Bester says he will demand to be made premier of the province if the DP wins the balance of power in next week's elections.

Mr Bester said he had decided to "up the stakes" because the DP's figures showed it was gaining ground against the Na tional Party and the African National Congress.

A few weeks ago, Mr Bester told Weekend Argus that if the DP won enough votes to hold the balance of power between Hernus Kriel of the NP and Allan Boesak of the ANC, he would "horsetrade" to get the best deal for the DP. At that time, he was talking of a couple of seats on the provincial executive council.
Late this week, however, Mr "Bester said he had decided to "go for broke" because the DP support was increasing so rapidly that it would be a major player in the province.
If the DP held the balance of power in the province, Mr Bester said he would push for a DP-led provincial Exco with himself as premier as a compromise candidate between Mr Kriel and Dr Boesak.
But, Dr Boesak said Mr Bester's suggestion of himself as a compromise choice for premier was "totally out of the question" and "really ridiculous".
"The DP support is such that no such option can be realistically considered and Hennie Bester knows that," said Dr Boesak.

Mr Bester was putting himself forward as premier "because it offers him a way out of answering the question of who he will support. It's a form of escapism".

NP Western Cape spokesman Hennie Smit said Mr Bester was "living in an illusion". He said Mr Bester's demand was "very far-fetched" because the NP would win an overall majority in the province.

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## Law changes give vote to millions ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA - Several changes to the Electoral Act with implications for millions of potential voters were approved by the TEC yesterday. P/RSy

The amendments, including provisions for the inclusion of the Inkatha Freedom Party in the poll and the expansion of the franchise to include migrant workers and TBVC residents holding "travel, docu ments", were likely to be promulgated immediately by President FW: De Klerk.

The TEC agreed that travel documents issued to TBVC residents would be includ ed in the Electoral Act's definition of papers required as proof of voters' eligibility.

This amendment was likely to affect about 1,3 -million people, TEC joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said

After an appeal to the TEC by the National . Union of Mineworkers last month, the Electoral Act will also be changed soithat people who entered SA on or before June 13 1986 and who had remained "ordinarily resident" would be entitled to temporary voter cardss The Act originally cited December 311978 ns the qualifying date. $\left.3</ f)^{\prime}\right)$

ERICA JANKOWITZ reports that: NUM president James Motlatsi had protested against the Act precluding mintant workers from voting unless they could prove employment in SA from or before 1978.
He-said" most employers did not keep work records dating back that far in an

$\qquad$

## Electoral Act <br>  <br> - <br> easily accessible form, meaning that many <br> The NUM said migrant workers had


migrants would be excluded.

There were no figures available on how many potential voters would be affected by the TEC's decision, but it was believed that it would give the vote to several thousand - possibly hundreds of thousands sand possibyy hundreds of thousands
migrant labourers.
been denied the opportunity of obtaining permanent residence by virtue of the migrant labour system. ( $3<x \subset \sim 4$ ) The Chamber of Mines said it did not ofject to the proposed amendment.

 Roelf Meyer said government was not pre－port for a volkstaat that mattered． Constitutional Development Minister
 mand thátselff－determination include poli－
 Gberg to take part in the elections and pur－

 ithreshold as the number of votes needed to
ensure an Afrikaner homeland．




















 after the elections．He urgedthe CP to join
Vilijoen＇s party．品




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 Mulder said：＂The fact is that the






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 Mulder said the details of future yolk－：



The Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the Conservative Party (CP) are out of the election, barring highly unlikely concessions by the Government and the ANC within the next few days.

This development, announced by AVF leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday following the IFP's decision this week to contest next week's election, has coincided with news that six CP-controlled town councils had thrown their weight behind General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front (FE) for the historic poll.
${ }^{2}$ This will significantly weaken'Haitzenberg's hitherto rigid opposition to participation in the élection unless his organisation's highly ambitious set of preconditions have been met.

Listed by Hartzenberg at a press conference in Pretoria yesterdays, the demands which probably amount to a di-
rect challenge to the FF - are almost certain to be rejected:
Hartzenberg said the demands had already been rejected by the Government and ANC, but he later told The Star that the CP would be raising them in a parliamentary standing committee meeting today
The six CP-controlled town councils which have thrown their weight behind the FF - -c ETnelô, Míddélburg, Secuñda, Stánderton, Witbank and Meyerton - are among a handful of right-wing towns which had so far fiercely resisted integrating with their neighbouring townships as prescribed by the:Interim Constitution $304+\infty)$
Their move is likely to deal Hartzenberg and the AVF a severe blow, and confirms widely held beliefs that many rightwingers will be voting in next week's election.
0.5

Former CP MP and FF candidate Dr Pieter Mulder today

- To Page 3
s blse nimes


## AVF, CP gut of election?

## 4From Page 1 ?

said now that the IFP was in the election; there was no rea son why anybody - including the AVF - would want to boycott the election.

The FF also got a vote of confidence from another impor tant quarter yesterday when former SAP commissioner General Mike Geldenhuys and more than 40 other retired police generals announced they would support the FF next week.

More retired generals were also expected to join the FF , GeIdenhuys said.

Hartzenberg's surprise move came on the eve of the anticipated signing by the ANC, the FF and the Government of an accord in Cape Town which is ex pected to strengthen the position of volkstaters'in parliament.
The ácore has been regarded as a breakthrough for the

FF as it prepares for the election, which it wishes to treat as a plebiscite for the support of 4 :the volkstaat idea.

The accord will in effect flesh out the role and powers of the 20 -member Volkstaat Council to be formed of MPs in the new parliament who favour the creation of a volkstaat.
Hartzenberg said yesterday that the accord should be broadened to meet the AVF's demands. If this did not happen the FF should withdraw from the election. 3 © 44 )
The AKK demanded-that the Government and ANC agree that a volkstaat would be formed if 800000 people vote in the election in favour of parties supporting such a sovereign homeland.
Hartzenberg said his organisation would contest the election on provincial level if its demands were met.
(47 Sauer St, Johanneshurg)
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## CP and $A W B$ reject accord on volkstaat  PRETORIA. - Conservative PaTty council CT 251494 <br> leader Dr

AWB have rejected the kaner self-determination, saying it furthered only the interests of the ANC and SA Communist Party.
The accord was signed on Saturday.
Dr Hartzenberg said the signatories were negotiators of the Freedom Front, the government and the ANC. He said ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela had already made it clear he was not interested in the creation of a volkstaat.,
In its reaction, the AWB's executive
north-eastern Transvaal yesterday: "The AWB rejects the pathetic little sham masquerading as 'a historic agreement' signed between the Freedom Front, ANC and the National Party."

The accord on Afrikaner self-determination signed in Pretoria on Saturday makes provision for a 20 -member Volkstaat Council to constitutionally pursue the establishment of a white homeland.

The council will be elected by MPs who support a volkstaat. - Sapa

Hartzenberg said the accord on Afrikaner selfdetermination signed on Saturday furthered only the interests of the ANC and the SA Communist Party.
The-accord was signed by negotiators of the ${ }^{t}$ Freedom Front, the Government and the ANC.,

Haitzenberg said in a statement ANC leader Mr'Nelson Mandela had already made it clear that he was not interested in the creation of a volkstat.

## (3047)

Self-determination
"It is very clear that the ANC and the SACP will win the election, and this will place them in a ${ }^{\circ}$ stronger position, since they have given no real undertakings in regard to a volkstaat in terms of the definition as set out by the Afrikaner Volksfront and the CP," he said.
"In these circumstances, even this accordoffers no possibility of the Boere Afrikanervolk to: obtain their full self-dctermination and independence."

Hartzenberg said the "accord, taking paart in the election and being part of the new Parliament, will not enable the Freedom Front to achieve the freedom of the Afrikaner volk". Sapa.
(Report by R Banda, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)
he African National Congress was confident President EW: de Klerk would reconsider his position that prisoners not be allowed to vote, ANC secretary general - Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said at the weekend. :! 's. : : is: Speaking in Cape Town, he told reporters De Klerk could authorise the Electoral Act to be amended today to allow prisoners to take part in this week's national elections.

Ramaphosa, who had addressed two ANC election rallies near Cape Town earlier on Saturday, said De Klerk would be holding a special Cabinet meeting today when the matter would be discussed.

He said he based his belief that input on the prisons' vote issue by ANC president MrNelson Mandela to De Klerk would make the State President "reconsider" his position.
'yis If so, the Electoral Act would "automatically" be amended, with prisoners being informed of the decision.

Ramaphosa added he did not have information that the prisons vote question had been linked to that of indemnity for security force members. (
This, he said, was a very complex and sensitive matter and the ANC would have to continue its discussions on the issue with the government. "I do not hold out much hope there will be settlement right now."
$\therefore$ "He said the ANC acknowledged, and wanted to allay, the fears of security force members on the issue of indemnity. In the ANC's opinion, a balance had to be sought between specific atrocities and security personnel "who just acted under orders". - Sapa.
(Report by CC de Villiers, Press Gallery, Parliament).

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## 'Your ,

 vote is secret ${ }^{\text {sow }}$LEADERS of some of the key political
parties contesting the elections have come together in a dramatic sign of unity and support for the contest
The leaders made a personal pledge - confirming the secrecy of the ballot $\rightarrow$ in response to a request from the Business Election Fund. They are ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela, PAC presi-" dent Mr Clarence Makwetu, NP leader MrFW de Klerk, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer, IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen.
All of them endorsed the statement: I pledge my honiour, and on behalf of my party; that your vote in the coming election will be secret. You need have no fear that anyone will know for whom you have voted."
Buthelezi, whose party joined the election with just a few days to go, added: "Your vote is the symbol of your freedom. It-is your right to vote without anybody kno ng your choice."
Mande $\quad$ bed the election as the most impoin. pision in the lives of most South Africans, as they would be entrusting those they vote for with governing their lives. "It must be their independent choice;" he said, "and it must be secret."

Makwetu said: You have a basic right to vote without anyone interfering or even knowing how you voted we

De Klerk appealed to all politiciansto work towards "eliminating intimidation, suspicion and fear at the polling booths".

De Beer said. WPhere is no meaningfuldemocracy unlessevery individualis free to vote exactly as he or she wishes, without reprisals by anyone."

Viljoen said: "Secrecy is essential, and you can be assured that you have fuill support from my party and me on this issue.
GT August, 61\%Commando Road, Indústria, Johannesburg.) - . At Ans

## By Sizakele Kooma

THE new National Party spells bad news for women. It is not interested in affirmative action, it scoffs at prostitutes and still clings to outdated views on abortion.
State President FW de Klerk told a women's breakfast meeting in Sandton yesterday in clear and very strong terms that his government was not ready to "level the playing fields". on the above contentious issues that feature high on the agenda of South African women.

In a nutshell, an NP government will continue to act against abortion and prostitution, both legally and socially. It will also not redress the imbalances between men and women by applying a quota system.
"Women's rights are not less or more important than those of men and children. The NP stands for equality and equality to us means the rights of all must be balanced," De Klerk said.

Despite this statement, the State President admitted that women had in the past been discriminated against and still were. The discrimination, he said had largely come through both formal and customary laws.

To cheers and clapping from a sprinkling of women fans in the audience, he also lashed out at women's parties as demeaning to the role of women in public life and politics.

The NP, said De Klerk, found quotas offensive: "We believe the quota system is offensive and it ends up humiliating the very people who are supposed to benefit fromit.
"Merit alone should determine if a person gets a job."

## Merit alone should determine if a person gets a job <br> He said democracy was not about

 forcing people into positions. People should be free to do what they want. Women did not want their lives disrupted by shutling up and down to Cape Town.- "We cannot force women to be in parliament. We believe they should be elected and not organised into positions."

The removal of discriminatory laws and the introduction of development programmes that will be supportive to women was the NProute to encouraging women's participation in politics.

The final constitution would also make accommodations for a commission for gender equality that would recommend to parliament the laws that should be amended to uplift the status of women.

Hopes of women being freed from the burden of unwanted babies were dampened when the State President said his government would not change the present abortion laws. He said the 200000 deaths a year as a result of unsafe abortions, in the country could be curbed by education programmes for women.
"The right to choose cannot be left to the mother. She is not the only one involved in the matter, The decision also affects the community and the unborn child. A child has a right to legal protection before and after it is born," he said.

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Conservative Party are out of JOHANNESBURG. - The Af-
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## $\square$ Move is indication of discontent - Front

## Political Staff

A FORMER South African Police commissioner, Mike Geldenhuys, and more than 40 retired police generals will back Freedom Front leader Constand Viljoen in the elections.

General Geldenhuys made the announcement in Pretoria yesterday.

Welcoming the move, Freedom Front spokesman Stephan Maninger said: "We view this as an indication of the levels of discontent in the security forces (that) have been subject to unjustified purges since the start of the De Klerk era, while the African National Congress/South African Communist Party has been allowed to destablise the country."

General Geldenhuys's explanation for backing the Front proved the party's contention that the National Party and the ANC were in a de facto alliance at the expense of law and order in the country, Mr Maninger said.

More retired generals were expected to join, he added.

In a letter to the Front, General Geldenhuys alluded to the withdrawal from service of deputy police commissioner Basie Smit and generals Krappies Engelbrecht and Johan le Roux because of alleged "third force" activities.

Senior respected generals were being accused on the basis of "false, untested" information, he said.

However, nothing was being said about the atrocities committed by the ANC and it was

not being subjected to similar investigations.

- The Afrikaner Volksfront has put forward an ambitious set of pre-conditions to it taking part in next week's筧lection.
The demands, listed by AVF and Conservative Party leader Ferdi Hartzenberg yesterday, are unlikely to meet with any success and probably amount to more of a challenge to his rightwing counterparts in the Freedom Front.
Dr Hartzenberg's move comes on the eve of the anticipated signing by the ANC, the FF and the government of an accord in Cape Town which is expected to strengthen the position of volkstaaters in the new parliament.
The accord has been regarded as a breakthrough for the FF as it prepares for the election, which it wishes to treat as a plebiscite for the support of the volkstaat idea.
- CP MP Kobus Beyers says actions will be launched from this weekend to disrupt the election.

Addressing a public meetiñg yesterday at Virginia in the Or-
ange Free State, he said soft targets would be avoided; but that it might be dangerous to vote in certain parts of the country.

Mr Beyers gave no details of what type of action was being planned.

- An early morning bomber boobed with three out of four explosive devices placed in and around the northwestern Free State town of Hoopstad yesterday.

The first and only bomb that worked blew out the windows and destroyed furniture and a fax machine in the offices of the Independent Electoral Commission - 150 m from the Hoopstad police station.

Free State police spokesman Andre van Deventer said last night three charges of commercial explosive did not detonate after they were placed at a beerhall, a house said to be that of an ANC member and at a farm school in the nearby township of Tikwane.

- In Umtata, the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation, the PAC's student wing, said yesterday it would boycott the elections because they would not "deliver the goods to the masses of oppressed Azanians".
"The government of national unity was not what we struggled for all these years," Paso's central Transkei chairman Justice Quvane said.

PAC national media spokesman Siphiwe Sithole was doubtful of the statement's authenticity saving there were people who we wout cause trouble for the'PAC.
(Compiled by H S Roberton, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town). *
Green Party dagga call: Candidatas, quit
TwO of the Green Party's candidates in the
manifesto whe left the party in outrage Westmanifesto which calls party in outrage over a mass production of dagga as a legalisation and logically sound alternative resource purportedly ecoThe GP's manifesto - resource. of Choice" printed in an with the words "Freedom also calls for "freedom of arc over a dagga leaf sumption of alcohol, tobacco, mater private conCandidates Ian Williams and marijuana etc". no idea these were central tenets of Thomson had and were horrified when this came of Green policy Mr Thomson said: "The initial came to light. I agreed with when I accepted constitution which significantly from the accepted candidature differs Green Party is contesting the election which the "This is not what I expected " (News by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Mr Williams said.位 George's Mall. Cape Town


# Freedom Front 

JOHANNESBURG. - The Conservative Party was in disarray yesterday as Freedom Front leader General Constand Viljoen rejected a pact with it and CP-controlled councils deserted the party and urged whites to vote for the Front.
The Freedom Front is to sign an accord, which does not meet any of the CP's demands for a right-wing electoral pact, with the ANC and the government.

The accord makes provision for voters' second ballots to be used to determine how much support the volkstaat commands.
Pressure on the CP leadership mounted yesterday when at least six CP-controlled councils called on whites "to ignore the boycott call and vote for the Freedom Front", Front candidate Dr Corne Mulder said.

The councils include Witbank, Ermelo, Middelburg, Secunda, Standerton and Meyerton.

However, Virginia's CP MP Mr Kobus Beyers warned yesterday they would disrupt the election. Soft targets would be avoided, he said, but it might be dangerous to vote in certain parts of the country.
Meanwhile, former SAP commissioner Gen Mike Geldenhuys and more than 40 retired police generals announced they would back Gen Viljoen in the election
CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg was yes
teday locked in discussions with his caucus on participation in the election. Afterwards he announced neither the CP nor the Afrikaner Volksfront would take part.

Earlier yesterday Dr Hartzenberg suggested that the CP and Freedom Front negotiate with the government and the ANC to agree to an 800000 -vote threshold as sufficient to ensure an Afrikaner homeland.
However Dr Mulder, rejecting Dr Hartzen berg's votes proposal, said it was not so much the number as the locality of support for a volkstaat that mattered.

What if 780000 people vote for a volkstaat?" Dr Mulder asked

The CP leader had demanded that the Freedom Front agree to withdraw from the election if the CP's conditions for a-mgit wing electoral pact were not agreed'to by the government and the ANC.

The Front rejected this, saying thousands of voters were depending on them

## AWB strategy

In another development the AWB said it had initiated a strategy to secure the Transyaal and Free State as a base against a future communist government.

The AWB's general staff said "thousands of members of the AWB are already busy moving into the area", Sapa reports.
ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday described Freedom Front leader Gen Constand Viljoen as one of the countrys greatest politicians.
However, they had their differences. "I will never accept a volkstaat," he said. Own Correspondent, Sapa


Own Correspondent
RRETORIA:- SA's new flag will be hoisted at special ceremonies across the country at mid night on April 27, the TEC agreed yesterday.

The lowering of the present flag at one minute before midnight and the raising of the new flag at one minute after midnight would symbolise the coming into operation of the 1994 Constitution

The ceremonies would take place at the nine planned meeting places of the provincial legislatures in Johannesburg Pietersburg, Nelspruit Pietermaritzburg,'Bloemfontein, Bisho/King Wil liams Town, Mmabatho, Cape Town and Kimberley:
No speeches, political or otherwise, will be allowed before, during or after the ceremonies which will be presided over by the provisional provincial secretaries apointed by the TEC ear lier'this year.
Representatives of all major role-players in the provinces, includins candidates for provincial premierships, will be invited to attend.
The TEC also agreed that Die Stem would be played as the current flag was lowered while both official anthems would be played at the hoisting of the new flag.
OThe Nátional linauguration Committee'will issue only 150000 tickets to members of the public wishing to attend the inauguration of the new Stateresident at the Union Buildings on May 10 In a ${ }^{\text {aftempt to }}$ control the expected crowds



Dr Allan Boesak, who heads the
 a fresh "Patriotic Front" approach PAC camps have begun thinking of pue JNV чоя uoxy sistioteris -



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Both liberation movements have

 BOTH the ANC and the PAC
have indicated a willingness to work © ONV 2 Y HLOA

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## READY, SET, VOTE: Independent Electoral Commission Western Cape chief electoral officer Mrs Mary Burton, front, with some of her team members

the voting stations ensuring that there is no intimidation and trouble on the election days."
Mrs Burton said reports coming in from her staff working in the field were that everybody was excited about the election, but there was some unfounded hysteria and many people were buying candles and stocking up on food.
"Although $I$ can understand their uncertainty and fears about the future, we have no information
which lead us to believe it is necessary to stockpile.
"We are working very hard and have a dedicated workforce which will do its best to ensure all voters are safe during the elections."

- Mrs Burton came to South Africa from Brazil in 1960 and has since worked tirelessly to end apartheid.
In 1986 she became the national president of the Black Sash
JAranes, 76 Darling St Cape Town

THE first job given to London-based attorney Michael Richman when he was chosen as the European director of election monitors was to ensure that the ballot papers arrived safely in the appropriate South African hands.
A simple task, it seemed, until he was informed that three aeroplanes were required to send the 80 -million forms from the British printers to their South African destinations.
But the essence of his diverse and complcated role has to do with the massive wad of ballot papers remaining behind, to be distributed at more than 200 polling stations in more than 60 countrics, catering for anything up to half a million voters.
The April 26 "international vote" is rapidly becoming something of a logistical nightmare for the Independent Electoral Commission and the monitors it deploys
For a start, no one has much of a clue how big it will be, though if the tentative guesstimates of the IEC and embassy personnel are anything close to correct. it will certainly be larger than the vote in the entire Northern Cape region
What some of the partics are now calculat ing is that it has the potential for considerable influence over the course of the election particularly at regional level.

# 'International vote’ a logistical nightmare 

Organising polling stations and ballot forms for the expected 500000 voters in more than 60 countries has created all sorts of problems, reports Gavin Evans

Unlike voters in the country, the expatriates and travellers are allowed to choose the region where they place their second vote. regardless of their origins.
If, for instance, an inflated proportion choose to cast their votes for the National Party in the Western Cape, this could thp the balance in Hernus Kriel's favour
And with more than 90 percent of the "foreign" vote coming from one-time white South Africans, it is beginning to worry the ANC.
Richman, who heads the London office of the Cape-based legal firm Mallinicks, was the
first international director of monitors to appointed, and he was given his brief only a fortnight ago.
In short, he's been given authority to assess whether the European election proccedings are free and fair and to assist with the process are free and Eair and - 26 countries, 45 polling in Eastern Europe- 26 countries, 45 pol.
stations and about 100000 voters in all. stations and about 100000 voters in all.
"We really don't know what to expect in "We really don't know
termins of tumout," he said.
"Already there seems to be a lot of confu sion among potential voters about the international election date being April 26 rather than April 27, and we have no precise idea about how many people still have valid passports or other identity documents."
The result is that embassies are constantly revising their estimates of the expected turnout.
In Britain, for instance, the initial estimate was 20000 , but it has since been doubled
and South Africa House representatives now say it could be as high as 70000 .
The IEC has divided the world into 10 electoral regions, each with its independent director of monitors.
In some cities the vote is likely to be in single figures. St Petersburg, in Russia, for example, expects a grand total of six voters to urn up.
Most, however, are putting their estimates in the hundreds - Moscow 150. Brussels 300. Oslo 250.

And several, such as London, New York, Sydney. Perth. Tel Aviv are catering for thousands.
In addition to the United Kingdom, the largest international contingents are likely to be the United States and Australia, each with around 30 polling stations and voter estimates of 100000
Others with estimates of 10000 or more include Israel, Canada, New Zealand and Germany.
Where the IEC is unable to fulfil its mandatc of appointing independent monitors for each of the international polling stations, the task will fall into the lap of the efficient bui not universally trusted hands of embassy officials - an outcome that no one, not even the Department of Forcign Affairs, would consider desirable

## FAculty OF LAW

Applications for the following posts, starting on 1 July 1994 or as soon as possible thereafter, are invited from suitably qualified persons who share the University's commitment to the establishment of a non-racial, non-sexist, democratic society.

## Dept Of Mercantile Law

While the minimum qualification for these two posts is an LLB, an LLD, PhD or other postgraduate legal qualifications will serve as strong recommendations.

Professor (one post)
You should also possess proven expertise, as well as extensive research and teaching experience. in the field of Corporate law and Tax law
To be considered for the post of Professor or Senior lour (ons poct) research record and teaching experience in the fiecturer, you should have a proven research and/or teaching experience in the fields firld of Mercantile law. Expertise, and/or Labour law will prove advantageous felds of Insolvency. Negotiable Instruments For further information on the above post 959-2169.

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While the minimum qualification for these two posts is an LLB, a postgraduate legal qualification will serve as a strong recommendation

## Snr Lecturer/Lecturer (one post)

For the post of Senior Lecturer, you should have a proven research record and teaching experience in the field of Constitutional law and Administrative law.

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For further information on the above posts, please telephone Prof MRK Rwelamira on (021) 959-3298.

## Dept Of Private Law <br> Lecturer (one post)

While the minimum qualification is an LLB, a postgraduate legal qualification will serve as a recommendation. On applying, kindly indicate your area of specialisation or prefer ence.
For further information on this post, pleasc telephone Prof LF van Huyssteen on (021) 959-2419

## Legal Aid Cuinic <br> Director

This is a Senior Lecturer level, two-year contract post running from I July 1994 to 31 May 1996. Your tasks will, inter alia, include taking responsibility for the clinical legal education of law students and for the general administration of the Clinic, litigating on behalf of indigent clients and engaging in limited research projects.
While the minimum qualification is an LLB, a postgraduate legal qualification will serve as a recommendation. Additionally, you should be a qualified Attorney of the Supreme Court of South Africa with at least 3 years' practical experience.
For further information on the above post, please telephone Ms B.A Franks on (021) 959.2414.

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Please ensure you state clearly for which post and at what level you are applying. Closing date for all applications: 16 May 1994

## IEC-SAP wrangle over

 polling station numbersT
HE Independent Electoral Commission and the South African Police have been at loggerheads over the number of voting stations which can be adequately secured during next week's election.
Verbal wrestling and bargaining over numbers continucd late into the week, with the situation further complicated extra voting stations in kwaZulu following Inkatha's decision to participate in the poll.
Inttial IEC planning envisaged 10000 voting stations, each capable of handling a maximum of 3000 voters over two full days of polling. Assuming a constant flow, each voter would have had up to six minutes to make crosses for up to six minutes to ma al assemblies.
The IEC figure was revised downwards to 9000 stations before discussions with the police began. But the SAP wasn't buying even the lower figure. Pointing to their other sccurity duties within the country and arguing that each voting station should be guarded by at least five policemen on a 24-hour basis throughout the polling period, they told IEC commissioners Charles Nupen, Ben van der Ross, and Johan Heyns they didn't have the staff for the job.
A compromise figure of 8900 stations, including the 700 in kwaZulu , seems likely to emerge, to be manned by the SAP and various homelands police forces. IEC calculations indicate this number will give voters an average of two minutes to make their marks, well above the 69 seconds their research shows is required.
The situation has been complicated by the SAP leadership's reluctance to divulge available manpower levels over the election period. Said one IEC spokesman: "Obviously these are two cultures. The IEC has a policy of transparency, while the SAP believes in secrecy, theirs is not a transparent culture."
As late as Monday afternoon, police and SADF officers on the Natal Joint Security Committee which is co-ordinating implementation of the emer gency satd negotations were continuing on the number of polling stations in the province. Simflar discussions contin-
ued on the Witwaterstand and in othe areas in which police and IEC plans differed substantially.
The IEC had asked for 1600 stations in Natal/kwaZulu, said SAP Brigadier Jeff Barbour, later allowing themselves to be bargained down to 1009 stations. But assuming they would need up to 35 policemen per shift in hot spots, the police believed they could effectively man only 750 voting stations in the province.
The SAP had asked the IEC for substantial reductions in areas like Por Shepstone and the Greytown area; where the IEC said it wanted 82 sta tions and the police said they could man 20. "We need to be able to keep reserve forces ready." said Barbour.

Speaking at a security briefing in Durban on Monday, Natal SAP Com (4) General Steyn said the SADF could not be used for direct voting station duties because the Electoral Act demanded sol diers stay beyond the 1100 m outer perimeter. The kwaZulu police would be involved in elections security in areas which fall under the force's jurisdiction such as those Durban townships which belong to the homeland, he said.
"If their actions prove questionable," Steyn said before Inkatha's decision to enter the election, "we will move them aside and take over ourselves."
Wrangling has been a feature of IECSAP talks on the Witwatersrand too, with Soweto a particular bone of contention.

The IEC had initially planned for 250 voting stations. The Solomonic solution has been an agreement on 130 socalled double polling stations, capable of handling twice the normal flow of voters.
The IEC says a minimum of five policemen guarding each voting statión could be overkill in some tranquil areas, and has persuaded the police that a single officer will suffice in places like the Johannesburg northem suburbs.
Areas in which the IEC belteves voters will be able to get to voting stations eastly by virtue of their access to transport have had the numbers of polling places cut drastically. For example, the vast restdential town of Sandton. north of Johannesburg, has a total of two voting stations. Betty everybody. explained. ers said so on the radio but I'm not sure which ones."

## Election fever hits Lebowa <br> And so Masango and her fellow vil- .parcel of their task.

Despite voter Tegistration problems, Lebowa residents are eager to go to the polls. reports Paul Stober

But in a typical snarl-up, a lack of co-ordination hetween the IEC team and the Department of Homc Affair - responsible for issuing TVCs meant no one in the voter education team was aware of the exact where abouts of the department's mobile voter registration units they'd heard were in the region

Anrs were instead given a voter ducation session
But despite logistical foul-ups voter education teams have been remarkably successful in reaching a great many people in the region in a very short time.
At least 36000 people will have been reached by the end of this week.
For the voter education teams sobering people up from the effects of the heady brew created by a rich mix of wild rumour, mindless optimism, hard fact and local politics is part and

Election rever has hit Lebowa in a big way: people's perception that it will change their lives and improve their living conditions has fuelled an enormous hunger for information.
Voter education sessions are short, sharp and effective. In a batch of 70 sample ballots collected during the mock election Masango and her fellow villagers took part in, there were no spoilt votes.

While one vote went to the Keep It Straight and Simple party of Heidel berg housewlfe, Claire Emery, the ANC expects to get at least 95 per-
cent of the vote in the regton. "People are really happy they are voting," said Aletta Masinga, of Jane Furse, a former mission station "They are voting for a man who is going to do something for them, not a white man."
IEC trainers and ANC activists say there are unlikely to be any major disasters on the polling days although they have little hope tha things will run entirely smoothly.
Most residents are undeterred by the prospect of a long walk from their homes to the nearest voting station where they will probably have to stand in a long queue.

Our people are used to waiting in lines for everything. Maybe this will be the last time," said a voter trainer.

Terre'Blanche led AWB members into the homeland on a shooting spree. resulting in the death of three of his men.
"We suspect the AWB wanted to take revenge, because all the bombs were placed around the soldier's funeral place" said Sephanyane.
"According to AWB statements, they are going to burn the polling stations (two schools in the township) befope the elections.'

Sephandony said a "bus-load of Zulus" were being trained on Terre' Blanche's nearby farm. "Blanche's nearby farm. township," he said.

When the Mail \& Guardian visited the farm, Terre'Blanche engaged in cleaning his dilapidated farm house with a number of young blacks - chased us away. WM $22-2849$ AWB offices in town, the movement's secretary "General" Nico Prinsloo, was more forthcoming He said he could no comment on the bombs as the matter was "sub judice". If AWB members were found to be respon sible, they would not be suspended, he said.
He refused to confirm Zulus were being trained on Terre'Blanche's farm but said the AWB was preparing for war. "A olkstat we will definite ly get, whether by neegoti ations or violenct
Prinsloo clamed 85 percent of white Venters dorp residetnts were fightwing sempathusers which the Natmenal Part hotly dispules.
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Intimidation "irom the right and left made No organising in biack town ships diflicult, while the town council refuse d to allow the NP to use the town hall.
Election posters could not be posted on lamp posts.
In the hotel bar. a right wing sympathiser sum med up the moord: "Here comes big shit. The boere are not going to accept."


# SO FAR WE'VE PUT MORE THAN R1,9 BILLION INTO 47000 HANDSHAKES. 




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essarily an accurate one, and in this everybody blames everybody else fo
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cism. a day spent wandering important task ... managing South Africa's election, reports Gavin Evans and clashes occur. But the IEC is fulfilling its immense and very 41 Kruis Street - a cross-cultural mishmash where a myriad cock-ups $304 \sqrt{6}$


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# THE ELECTION <br> For whom you should vote 

At the end of last year we argued that the Democratic Party deserved maximum support in the approach to the election (Leaders December 10). Now that the most important election in our history is only a few days away, $F M$ readers must finally decide where to place their crosses.

Much has changed over the past four months. Most dramatically, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi came in from the cold to take part in the election, after even the most inveterate optimists had given him up. It is impossible to say how this will affect the electoral equation in Natal or whether the sensation of Tuesday's announcement can compensate for the lost months of campaigning. But Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party now being aboard ensures that the overall result will enjoy a legitimacy that few had expected. Reaction on the floor of the JSE on Tuesday confirms this.

Another important change since December is the decision, prompted partly by pressure from Buthelezi, to allow separate national and provincial voting, instead of only a single ballot paper. This was an important blow for the democratic process because it allows voters to distinguish between national and provincial interests, thereby making parties accountable at more than one level.

But nothing has happened in the past four months to persuade us that the ANC deserves the support of voters. We accept that Nelson Mandela is a remarkable man and a major force for reconciliation. But his party still espouses policies over which the odour of socialist hegemony hangs heavy. It contains too many sullen communists who believe the State knows best and that individual endeavours should be subjected to collectivist approval.

Future stability and prosperity depend on growth. The ANC acknowledges this, yet too many of its spokespeople still pretend that growth can result from a command economy, the likes of which have failed everywhere else permanently to enhance living standards. It is the politics of envy rather than reason.

President F W de Klerk, too, is a remarkable man. His vision and courage in unbanning the ANC , abandoning apartheid and embracing universal suffrage certainly deserves the gratitude of the nation and the admiration of democrats. But the fact remains that it was the National Party that spent 40 years presiding arrogantly over apartheid, bringing misery to millions against whom the law discriminated and the entire country to the edge of economic ruin and social disintegration. How can such a party ask for a second chance and expect to be taken seriously?

To be realistic, however, De Klerk, with more than 15 years of Cabinet re-

sponsibility behind him, would bring invaluable experience to a new government of national unity if he is returned as a deputy president to Mandela.

That government could benefit, too, from the talents and enlightening experiences of Ministers like Derek Keys, Pik Botha, Dawie de Villiers and Rina Venter. But it seems pointless to waste votes on returning all those other obscure Nat time-servers to the green benches - let alone to executive roles and, ultimately, even higher pensions.

The Freedom Front will perform the valuable dual function of undermining the extremists of the white Right and giving an outlet to the aspirations of conservative whites. But essentially it is a negative presence, without a workable policy; its stance is to be respected rather than admired.

Inkatha's free market economic policies and sensible objections to the interim constitution may make it an attractive option for some readers, especially in Natal, but we question Buthelezi's judgment in pushing SA so close to the brink of widespread civil disorder. There is a point where shrewd bargaining deteriorates into a dangerous recklessness.

Moreover, even though it will contest the election nationally, Inkatha is essentially a provincial party, driven by parochial concerns. If this is an unfair perception, Inkatha has left itself no time to bring about a new one.

That leaves the Democratic Party. Nothing has happened to change our view that the DP should be supported in voting for both the national and provincial assemblies.

The DP espouses sensible federalism but has displayed a pragmatic ability to accept compromise, trusting in persuasive democracy. It is the one party which has consistently supported liberal democratic principles, while coming the closest to unqualified support of free market economic policy. As its campaign posters point out - with implicit reference to the other major parties - it has no murderers, torturers and kidnappers in its ranks. Its leading members have impressive experience in parliament and in their constant opposition and electioneering against formidable odds have shown energy and intelligence.

It has proved itself as a tenacious and voluble watchdog - and is increasingly gaining a reputation for uncompromising toughness on law and order.

There may be a case for voting Nat on the national ballot to strengthen De Klerk's hand and to get as many nonANC aspirants into the Cabinet as possible. But in our view it is not a compelling one and in any event does not apply to the provinces, where the best opposition to the expected ANC majorities will undoubtedly be provided by the DP.
(9)

## Rightwingers could still go to the polls

Jan Taljaard

FACED with being Ieft stranded on the platform whille the elections train chugs out of the station, indications this week were that the far-rightwing could yet climb aboard.

With the Freedom Front hoping for a million or more votes in support of a volkistacat, there are still those who insist they will not "condone a totally unacceptable constitution and capitulation to the ANC communists ${ }^{n \prime}$ :

But while the Conservative Party earlier this week called on its supporters not to vote, on Werlnesilay it emerged CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg had held talks with the FF's Gen eral Constand Viljoen.
Viljoen told a meeting in Lichtenburg the outcome of the discussions "might well result in all people in South Africa going to the polls next week".
But the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging was still preparing for a last stand in the Western Transvaal and the long-dormant, once banned Blanké Berrydingsbeweging - White Liberation Movement - declared its "returin to the freedom struggle".
$\mathrm{In}^{3}$ Pretoria, a group of diehard Nazi's' this week celebrated Adolf Hitler's birthday.

Nevertheless, signals were strong that thousands of potential spoilers could reconsider their position after Monday (April 25) - the cut-ofi date set by hatidimers inside the CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) by
them with a viable altermative to voting. If a volkstaat cannot be attained by this date (impossible) or if a workable plan for a volkstaat after the elections cannot be tabled (well nigh impossible), these hardliners may end up in polling booths.
The IFP's decision to join the elections has come as a devastating blow to the rightwingers who until the beginning of this week had not jet succumbed to the lure of the ballot box.

At a rightwing meeting in Belfast in the Eastern Transvaal on Tuesdáy addressed by the CP, Herstigte Nasionale Party, AWB, Boerekommando and Mineworkers Union "- the despondency was almost palpable.
As small groups of disconsolate rightwingers huddled outside discussing Inkatha's surprise turnabout, inside an audience of only 150 people heard CP MP Cas Uys advocate an election stayaway - but at the same time caution against driving a wedge between boycotters and those who had decided to vote.
"They are also Afrikaners and they also want a volicstaat, even if, they believe it to be possible by other means. Let us watch our words now because we are all going toneed each


In stark contrast to the Belfast meeting, those addressed by FF's Constand Viljoen saw halls filled to capacity. $\qquad$为

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## Buthelezi's entry is most welcome <br> There has been little

 time to reflect on the motives and tactics of Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in deciding, with only a week remaining, to take part in the general eection. Whether he was justified in cutting it so fine, only he knows. The important thing is that he is, in the nick of time, part of the process. This means that all the major political groupings, from the PAC on the radical Left to Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front on the white Right, have accepted the transiion to democracy.
By taking part, all the parties are binding themselves to the process, which in turn means that they will be morally obliged to accept the verdict of the voters. As a result, the new government of national unity should enjoy a level of legitimacy that we all thought impossible only a few days ago. This should have a profoundly beneficial effect on that government's capacity to restore stability, crack down on violence and foster investor confidence. Things have not looked so bright since the first dawn of optimism in the early days of the Codes negotiations.
Paradoxically, while Buthelezi's late entry is a great boost to the process, it also serves to cloud it. For some months all the analysis of the election has been predicated on Inkatha's absence; suddenly there are new questions and no time to find answers to them.

How well can Buthelezi do in the election when he has only a week in which to campaign? Not very well, presumably (see Current Affairs) - and in any case his negotiating style has alienated many people who might have voted for him if he had been part of the campaign all along. On the other hand, Inkatha will be judged only on its performance in the Natal and PWV provinces; its support must be assumed to be fairly loyal; and Bathelezi's profile has remained high despite his boycott stance.
But let us assume, for purely practical reasons, that Inkatha will do relatively badly at the polls - in other words, that it will perform below its potential.
This will not necessarily be bad for Buthelezi. In fact, he could turn it neatly to his advantage. "After all," he can say, "I only had a week's campaigning. What else could I expect?" We will then have the rare phe-


Buthelezi
nomenon of an electoral loser with an excellent excuse. In addition, Buthelezi has exacted a price from the ANC and government for his participation, via the agreement on postelection mediation made on Tuesday with the ANC and government. In effect, he may have ensured his political survival, at least for a time, independently of what happens in the election.
Inkatha's entry is a triumph for ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk, who showed resolution and considerable nerve in not giving in to Bathelezi's brinkmanship over the date of the electon.
Despite this dramatic breakthrough, the transition to majority rule next week will not be easy. We are entering uncharted waters. Not since President De Klerk unbanned all political organisations and released ANC leader Nelson Mandela just over four years ago have we faced such uncertainty. The political climate in many parts of the country is not tolerant and there is still a state of emergency in KwaZulu/Natal. Buthelezi's entry to the election does not mean that the violence of a decade can be switched off overnight; the fighting is more complicated than that.
And in other respects the election will not be free and fair. Some parties are not being allowed to campaign freely in townships and on university campuses dominated by ANC supporters. This raises serious questions about how free the choice of many voters will really be.
there has simply not been enough time to make the practical arrangements.

Nevertheless, the election must go ahead. The alternative would be certain disaster. The country has been ripping itself apart and only a new government with an acceptable degree of legitimacy can hope to restore stability. This means we have to succeed next week in electing a new government: the consequences of the IEC's declaring that the poll was not free and fair are horrific. As we have argued before, it is politically unthinkable for the IEC to do this - and even more unlikely now that no major party is advocating a boycott.

There will probably be violent attempts to disrupt voting in some areas, but the security forces will undoubtedly take tough action to prevent them.
An ANC victory will inevitably result in celebrations, which may lead to triumphal violence and some damage to property. But ANC leaders are confident that their supporters will behave within acceptable norms. If they do not, security forces will again be on hand to ensure the maintenance of law and order.
While it is only natural to be worried about the events of next week and the weeks beyond, it is worth reflecting on how much has been achieved since 1990 .

That we are able to have an election at all is in itself remarkable. Our journey to this point has been like a ride on a rickety roller coaster. There have been many breakdowns, some of them serious, but fortunately no permanent derailment.

The process has survived mass action, escalating volance, economic recession. the withdrawal of major parties, terrorism from extremeisth, resistance from homeland governments and the death of Chris Mani. It is quite obviously inherently strong.
The much-heralded TV debate last week between Mandela and De Klerk captoured much of the symbolism of what has been

The overall level of political tolerance is dangerously low and ignorance of the democratic process is widespread, in spite of eqforts by the Independent Electoral Commassion to educate people.

There must now also be serious doubts about the ability of the IEC and the civil servants to perform the necessary logistics, particularly in KwaZulu/Natal. Thousands of people may not be able to vote in suitable conditions - or to vote at all - because

mined to work together to make it better than the present."

It didn't matter who "won" the debate or what either man said: the overwhelmingly warm spirit of the confrontation is what counted. It was what many voters wanted to see. Considering the level to which the encounter could have sunk, it was remarkably tame and, in a way, comforting. Though there is no suggestion that the two collaborated beforchand, it was almost as if they had an unspoken understanding that voters wanted to see a display of unity rather than animosity.

De Klerk's presentation was better because he is more experienced. Mandela was more statesmanilike because he is perceived as a patriarch. Together they came across as our best hope for national unity.

And we are certainly in need of such salvation, considering that only a few short years ago the country still floundered in the mire of Verwoerdian apartheid.

In April 1979, for example, government was wrestling with the problem of Crossroads, the mushrooming squatter settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town that so graphically illustrated the failure of influx control. A decision, pioneered by Plural Relations \& Development Minister Piet Koornhof, to allow the squatters to stay was one of the first major cracks in hardline apartheid policy.
At the same time, just north of us in what was Rhodesia, an internal constitutional settlement that excluded the main black political parties had failed to hoodwink the world. But British-brokered democratic elections were still 12 months away. In the erstwhile South West Africa 15 years ago, the Democratic Turnhalle Alliance also opted for a doomed "internal solution" rather than a UN-sponsored settlement.

Ten years ago, in April 1984, President PW Botha's aggressive regional domination policy effectively forced Mozambique President Samora Machel into signing the Nkomati Accord. But the move failed in its primary aim to normalise SA's political and economic relations with other states in the region. A year later, Botha ushered in our darkest period with his Rubicon address.

Five years ago, in April 1989, Namibia was on the eve of UN-organised elections that would herald independence and the end to nearly two decades of bush war.

Though we were still isolated, De Klerk's reform process was taking shape. He consolidated the palace revolution launched with such speed and precision three months previously, following PW Botha's stroke and resignation as Nationalist leader. Botha was ousted as president ahead of the crucial last apartheid election in September 1989.

That poll was decisive for SA. It laid the groundwork for unprecedented political reform, but also increased the parliamentary strength of the Right. However, it is doubtful that even conservative whites who rejected De Klerk in the election knew what really lay ahead. The FM noted at the time that NP supporters had taken a giant leap forward:

## In 221494

"They chose to abandon the cosy cocoon of racial privilege in favour of seeking political accommodation with the black majority." (Leaders September 15 1989) ( 1 倝

Many may not have known what they were doing, but there was no turning back. Four months later, in one of the most dramatic speeches parliament is ever likely to hear, De Klerk announced the unbanning of all political organisations and the release of ANC leader Neison Mandele. 304

The initial euphoria over ourshift towards a normal society dulled any hint of discomfort. The repeai of apartheid legislation

made virtually no difference to anyone's life. Loosening clamps on political activity exposed sheltered whites to street demonstrations for the first time and there was a feeling of unease. But people became accustomed to mass action and it petered out.

Meanwhile, with Foreign Minister Pik Botha as pathfinder, De Klerk launched himself into international orbit and forged. more foreign diplomatic and economic ties in two years than any previous SA leader had done in a lifetime. Back home, Mandela set about transforming the ANC from a resistance movement into a political organisation.

Pre-negotiation talks between government and the ANC began almost immediately and dragged on for months while political violence escalated, particularly in Natal where supporters of the IFP and ANC clashed regularly. In September 1991 the main political leaders signed an historic peace accord at a special summit at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, but it had little effect and the death toll continued to rise.

Political violence is the one issue that neither politicians nor the security forces have been able to deal with effectively and it is now by far the biggest threat to the country's future.

Throughout the past four years the overriding view has been that a constitutional settlement will bring peace. This was the basis on which full scale multiparty talks began early in 1992. However, they were soon in trouble. The white Right accused De Klerk of crumbling in the face of ANC pressure and he lost a series of crucial byelections. But in a move of political genius, De Klerk won Mandela's backing to hold a whites-only referendum on political reform. He was supported by nearly $70 \%$ of the white electorate and the Right was silenced.

The talks resumed and negotiators headed rapidly - perhaps too rapidly - towards announcing a timetable for transition. The process collapsed, ostensibly as a result of the massacre of squatters by hostel dwellers at Boipatong. But the underlying reasons were fundamental differences of approach on key issues and a massive degree of mistrust between ANC and NP negotiators.

Euphoria at the pace with which we were moving towards democracy turned to gloom as the ANC launched a campaign of rolling mass action. Violence and killings continued and the reform process seemed to have

ground to a halt. However, the balance of mutual need between the ANC and the NP forced the two parties back to the negotiating table and talks resumed in March last year.
But SA's worst nightmare lay ahead. On April 15 last year Chris Hani, the SACP leader and a contender for future presidency of the ANC, was gunned down by a rightwing fanatic at his home in Boksburg. For two weeks the country peered into the abyss of total chaos as ANC leaders battled to maintain some degree of discipline over supporters. Spontaneous anger could so easily have turned into uncontrollable rage.

It remains amazing that the country not only survived the tragedy of those days, but that political leaders were back at the negotiating table within weeks and had set an election date. It was as if they had been given a glimpse of the hellish future that awaits us if anarchy is allowed to take hold, and decided that time for talks was running out rapidly. That was a year ago almost to the day.

Purists argue that the interim constitution was cobbled with indecent haste. They are correct. Ideally the negotiators should have continued to compromise until all parties were reasonably satisfied. The horrific violence in KwaZulu and on the Reef is the direct result of the failure to do so.

But as the aftermath of Hani's death showed so clearly, the consequences of not moving quickly could have been far worse. In spite of the criticism, the interim constitution is arguably a better document than could have been expected under the circumstances in which we found ourselves a year ago.

It is far from perfect, but it provides a sound framework for further negotiation. It also contains unprecedented safeguards against government abuse while a permanent constitution is prepared by the constitu-


## LEADING ARTICLES

tional assembly.
There is little doubt that the ANC got the best of the negotiations on an interim constitution. An almost cynical impression has arisen that the Nats simply caved in on several issues, having neither the will nor the intellectual resources for the fight. There is an element of truth in this.

But it also has to be remembered that the NP has been working from a steadily weak-
ening position ever since De Klerk's radical speech of February 1990. That speech undermined the National Party's legitimacy, because it was an explicit admission that whites did not have the right to rule the majority of voteless blacks.

In short, the NP's writ is exhausted - a fact that is disguised only by De Klerk's shrewdness and personal integrity. The country longs for government; we have for-
gotten what it is like.
Difficult times lie ahead, next week and after. But whatever happens, we have the certain knowledge that the alternative would have been worse - and the suspicion that, given this country's tortured history, we have got off quite lightly.

When the counting is done and the new government sworn in, the sun will still rise in the east and we will go about our business.

THE ANC AND ITS UNIONS FM

## $2214 / 94$

 Coming to the end of the line?
## Maybe, but it's the unions that have more to lose from a split

Will the advent of an ANC government rup-
ture its strategic alliance with the ture its strategic alliance with the trade union movement, represented by Cosatu?
The question is prompted by the postBophuthatswana escalation of public service strikes, which have been met with appeals by leading ANC figures such as Cyril Ramaphosa and Joe Slovo, from their government-in-waiting perch in the TEC, for a two-week moratorium on strikes until the elections are out of the way.

This has been rejected by Cosatu. Sticking to its precious, hard-won right to strike, it says pointedly and no doubt correctly that "two weeks could become five years."

Cosatu's response brings to mind the stance articulated by then general secretary Jay Naidoo, who said soon after the ANC's unbanning in 1990 that unions and other organisations of civil society should not become merely "a transmission belt" for the party in power, allies though they may be.

This was not long after the Soviet Union had collapsed and the Left here was analysing why. The talk was of ensuring separate identities and leaderships, even as similar goals were being pursued.

With the goal of national liberation achieved, the question of union autonomy appears to have resurfaced, with clear tension between trade unionists on the one hand and the ANC leadership on the other. It
follows the inclusion of the top echelon of about 20 Cosatu leaders on the ANC's list of parliamentary candidates.

There is also the experience of unions elsewhere in Africa to consider. The uhuru

Nyati suggests that there will in the short term be great pressure from the ANC on Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa to keep the alliance intact - despite his having to make radical-sounding union pronounce-
 ments. It is hard to see Shilowa, a solid ANC/SACP man, defying the ANC, more so once it has the legitimacy of being the elected government.
Shilowa, who was part of the SACP negotiating team at the World Trade Centre, certainly does not believe there is a need for a separate workers' party at this stage - though it could be an option if the new government is seen not to be delivering. It may be significant that it was not Shilowa but Cosatu's press spokeman who issued the statement rejecting the strike moratorium call. This fits in with Nyati's point about the union having to sound radical.
Furthermore, if the ANC govern-
government in Zimbabwe, for example, moved quickly to crush striking unions, in the face of what were perceived to be more pressing national priorities. In Namibia, union leader Ben Ulenga became a member of the Cabinet after independence and is now said to be impatient with any talk of strikes.

Ever-rising wage demands will not fit in with the ANC's overall plan for ambitious reconstruction and development, which is based on significant capital investment. Should the unions refuse to moderate their demands, there is a danger that either the ANC's budget will be blown apart as investors decline to deliver or there'll be a showdown with the unions.

According to political consultant Eugene Nyati, the ANC-union alliance was always going to be more difficult to manage after the common enemy was dispatched.

He believes, however, that the relationship can be managed, since both sides realise they have more to gain by sticking together.
ment plays its cards right, it will be able, through a combination of patronage and economic growth, to contain union militancy, partly by bringing union leaders into government.

Labour consultant Pat Stone believes unions will never again have the dominant position they had in the Eighties, when they came to be seen as "gladiators for a political cause." Then, the movement was better organised and more motivated in its pursuit of worker rights and a new legal framework, better conditions of service, and its "living wage" campaign. This was helped by a degree of employer guilt: the absence of black political rights made employers more sympathetic to worker demands.
$\bar{Y}$ et, with an estimated $50 \%$ of the workforce unable to find jobs in the formal sector, the ANC government will have a broader constituency than organised labour to satisfy. The unions, it should be remembered, speak for a relatively well-off labour aristocracy of about $1,5 \mathrm{~m}$, in an eligible workforce - of about 7 m . So there will have to be a reordering of priorities.

Whether this is accepted by the unions,
 can get off the ground.

Such a contract sounds conceivable, given the close historical and emotional ties between the ANC and Cosatu. For this reason a dramatic severing of the link any time soon after the election should not be expected, says Stone. There is simply too much history and a fraternal bond in the alliance.

After all, certain key figures in the ANC who are likely to be in government will be very sensitive to the unions' role.

They include the former leader of the National Union of Mineworkers and now ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, who could be a national deputy president in two weeks' time. He led the miners' general strike seven years ago. Then there's ex-Cosatu chief Jay Naidoo, sixth on the ANC candidate list for parliament and therefore likely to be in the Cabinet.

Others in the top 50 on the election list include Naidoo's former assistant at Cosatu, Sydney Mufamadi; Moses Mayekiso (former head of the National Union of Metalworkers of SA and the SA National Civic Organisation); Chris Dlamini (Food \& Allied Workers' Union); veteran unionist Billy Nair; Philip Dexter (former leading light in the National Health, Education \& Allied Workers' Union); Alec Erwin (ex-Numsa); and Marcel Golding (former number two at the NUM).

Certain trail-blazing labour lawyers, such as Halton Cheadle and Charles Nupen, could well be appointed to senior office.

All this suggests an ANC-led government will be sensitive to labour demands and issues - and, conversely, that the new political establishment figures will be as sensitive to government plans and won't wish to rock the boat with strikes and rolling mass action - whose time, according to ANC leader Nelson Mandela, is over with the onset of democracy.

The question is: will the coopted former union leaders come to be seen as sell-outs by unreconstructed socialists in the unions, civic organisations and ANC Youth League? Some members of these organisations
 changing.

This is seen in:

2214194 openly booed Mandela at a Soweto rally some time ago when he tried to urge restraint.

Awareness of potential disaffection of this kind will produce some subtle manoeuvres from the new government, which will not want to seem intolerant or suppressive towards the unions.

If it does come to be perceived as such, the ANC-may face a split in the union - and its own - ranks, with hardline. syndicalists either hiving off to form a pure workers' party or perhaps finding a home with the Workers' List Party or the even more obscure Workers Interna-: tional to Rebuild the, Eourth International, both of which are contesting the election. \&

But, if things should reach that point, it's. more likely that the SACP would be the chosen vehicle, given its age-old commitment (now evidently jettisoned or in abeyance) to pursue what it called the "second phase" of the struggle, namely socialism, once national liberation had been achieved. :

For now at least the SACP, to the extent that it can be distinguished from the ANC leader: ship, undoubtedly needs the ANC more than the other way round. The same may be said of those in Cosatu who still dream of a socialist State. Yet it is this. group, together with the squatter camp underclass of 7 m , that might rally behind. Winnie Mandela in any bid for the leadership should the ANC fail to mect expectations or should Neison leave the scene.

But it's also worth noting that the unions' bargaining position has already changed or is

lic-sector strikes 304 which are seen as partiy a case of staking your claim before the new order takes over - it is pointed out that public-sector unions, for which the right to strike is relatively new, are just cutting their teeth.
Internationally, a high incidence of strike activity in this sector is coupled with newfound muscle and a period of political instability such as SA is experiencing.

* In the end, if the ANC can't come to a modus vivendi with unions, which essentially means the unions reining in themselves, it is hard to see the alliance surviving.
EFTrue, the ANC has weathered a number of tests since being unbanned - for example, in reconciling its former exile wing with the internal United Democratic Front.
z But it remains a broad church in which there are still many interpretations of the theology. The test of transforming itself from a broad liberation movement into a govern-多 to spell out policy, has yet to be broached. And it may well find that reconciling unreconstructed communists with pragmatists, essential in a government of national unity, simply cannot be done.
The union movement worldwide, like communism, is effectively dead as a major political force.
, Having staked out its terrain, Cosatu would be wise to con,centrate on aspects of unionism - shopfloor issues - on which it has so far made great headbery si Mayckise jryonger way, while continuing to conTy: questions as but one interest group among many. Whatever happens, it will have to reconcile itself to a diminution of power and influence; any other outcome would threaten the efficacy of the newly elected government. and both camps should know this by now.
$\square$ Their working towards greater participa tion in decision-making at macro-economicpolicy level in the National Economic Forum and other bodies such as the National Manpower Commission on labour law;
$\square$ The union search in recent years for longterm wage agreements: $\square$ Involvement in industry strategies, as in the motor vehicle and mining sectors; $\square$ The pursuit of statutory shop steward committees and requirements on information disclosure; and
$\square$ Even a new preparedness to examine productivity (a dirty word in the Eighties), though with equal emphasis on management productivity.

In short, says Stone, there is growing realisation by unions that they'll have to play inside the system to survive.
Turning to the wave of pub-

his organisation is not threatening voters with the potential çonsequences of the NP winning in the western Cápe, but merey pointing out what could happen when ANC supporters realise that they arestill governed by a party perceived as an oppressor The psychological impact could be considerable.

In particular, Boesak believes NP regional leader Hernus Kriel reflects the worst aspects of the party's "vile and cormupt" his-: tory.
The election campaign in the western Cape began as a close and fairly free contest between the NP and ANC, but has degenerated into a racially based wrangle that could leave a bitter legacy for years to come. The focus of the dispute is the region's. $1,3 \mathrm{~m}$ strong coloured electorate, which makes up $54 \%$ of the total number of voters. The ANC hoped that most would reject the NP and identify with the ANC as the liberator of disadvantaged communities.

But there are indications coloureds will back NP, that many coloureds will back the NP, because they fear the black majority in the ANC and they identify culturally and politically with the Nats - in spite of being treated for 40 years as second-class citizens.

The NP campaign in the western Cape has concentrated on highlighting the "threat" posed by the ANC to coloureds. It reached a low point last week when the Independent Electoral Commission ordered the withdrawal of a blatantly racist Nat propaganda pamphlet that was apparently aimed at stirring anti-black sentiments among coloureds.

The ANC's response to the Nat campaign

WWhere is also reported to be widespread Gconcern that an ANC affirmative action vprogramme could be a threat to jobs held by colloureds.
V4x NP workers believe they have succeeded Tin convincing voters that the party has really Changed its policies and that President FW de Klerk can be trusted to introduce rational political and economic policies.
㯖The DP appears to have failed to shake off its image as a white, English-speaking, up-per-class party. The party has been unable to campaign freely in black areas or at the University of the Western Cape. However, it may have gained valuable "victim" publicity -as a result.
Nat officials believe their party is backed by at least $80 \%$ of the region's 664000 white voters, who live mainly in greater Cape Town's suburbs. But growing support for the Freedom Front could reduce NP backing to about $70 \%$ of white voters.
 500000 undecided voters, mainly in the "coloured community, who will sway the province either to the NP or the ANC.

It is possible that no party will win an absolute majority. Some analysts predict around $40 \%$ each for the ANC and NP with the balance split between the Democratic Party, the Freedom Front and the PAC.

The provincial premier would have to be elected by a majority of the legislative asisembly members, which could lead to the formation of a coalition - possibly to keep Kriel out of the top spot of regional premier.


## 95\% will vote <br> Meyer <br> BLOEMFONTEIN - At least $95 \%$ of South Africans

 would vote in elections next week after Tuesday's deal which brought the Inkatha' Freedom Party into thie process, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer sald yesterday: B ILCey"We can now look forward to participation by all and then start the government of national unity and bring stability to SA" he sadd after adressing aboiout 200 university students in Bloemfontein. 211494 "K waZula Chief Minister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthiu Buthelezi had agreed to contest the elections once he realised hè had failed in his key aim of having the elections postponed, Meyer said.
${ }^{2}$ It was a pity likatha had not made thiss ${ }^{\text {fingo }}$ ecrilier às proposals it accepted on Tuesday ban been Tw the table for months.
Meyer also said that rumours that he might joint 3 ANC fafter the elections' were :untrue. FNapatm A.

BY SHANNON NELL Southeaster C supp here and take them to Home Affairs."
HUNDREDS of people gathered on the Grand Parade in Cape Town last week to take part in a mock election to see if they would know how to cast their votes on April 27 and 28.
"We are basically teaching poople how to vote," said the head of the ANC voter education task team, Ms Rashieda Abdullah.
"We explain to them what to expect on the day. We explain that it's a secret ballot.
"We find out whether they have an identity document and if they don't we help them fill in the form

People at the mock election said it was useful to get a chance to practise voting.
"Many people don't understand how to vote. In the Western Cape many people are illiterate. I never went to school so I didn't understand voting - now I do," said Mr Frederick Bloom.

Mr Shepard Kama said he brought his elderly mother to the mock election because she was afraid of voting.
"Now she understands it so she says she will vote," he said.

- As election day draws closer the Department of Home Affairs is
being swamped with applications for identity documents, according to acting regional representative, Mr Pierre de Villiers.
A Home Affairs report shows that 104089 identity document applications were received in January, 103076 in February and 100963 in March.
A further 168005 applications have been received at the mobile units which go into different areas each week. ( $x^{2 x}$
Mr De Villiers says everyone who applies for an identity documont now is issued with a temporare voter's card so that they can still vote even though they won't have identity documents.



## Union chiefs back off over call to vote-ANC <br> SHARON SOROUR <br> gise for his position, and he defended his decision saying he had

Labour Reporter fRL 4211494 TRADE union federation Nactu and some regional affiliates have distanced themselves from a call by the movement's acting regional secretary for workers to vote for the African National Congress to keep the National Party out.

Union leader Brian Williams, of the Nactu affiliate Mewusa (Metal and Electical Workers Union of SA), in his personal capacity, recently called on all Western Cape workers to unite and support the ANC.

Nactu general secretary Cunningham Ngcukana said they dissociated themselves from Mr Williams' statement "in the strongest terms as it runs against the political policy of Nactu on elections".

Mr Ngcukana said Nactu was independent and did not support a particular liberation movement as members belonged to. "the broad spectrum of the liberation movement".

Nactu advocated that members voted for parties which had fought against racism and oppression, and had called on its members not to vote for the NP, the Democratic Party, parties which had served apartheid and "emerged from nowhere".

At a heated Press conference yesterday, an unrepentant Mr Williams said he would not apolo-
the right to ask anyone to vote for the ANC.
"The Western Cape is different to the other regions because the oppressor party stands a good chance of winning the election, and it is still my view that we must support the party able to defeat the NP - if the PAC were the strongest party, I would call for workers to support it."

Peter Roman of the SA Chemical Workers' Union - who is a candidate on the Pan Africanist Congress regional list - said the statement by Mr Williams was "out of line" and not policy.

Other Nactu affiliates which opposed the call by $\mathrm{Mr}^{\prime}$. Williams to call for a united ANC vote were the Building, Construction and Allied Workers' Union, the Transport and Omnibus Workers' Union and the Hotel, Liquor, Catering and Commercial Workers' Union, said Mr Roman.

Mr Williams said it was "unfortunate" that Mr Roman and others had called the Press conference "to attack my democratic right as an individual to call on all people in the Western Cape to support the ANC.
"I spoke on behalf of myself, and I did not say that Nactu as a trade union federation supports
the ANC or any other party", said Mr Williams.
(News by S Sorour, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)



## Posters torn down as battle for Manenberg votes hots up

 THE National Party says African National Congress supporters in Manenberg are "vulgar". The ANC counters that NP members are racist and keep tearing down its election posters. Elbe Street, Manenberg, has seen its fair share of pre-election drama, a microcosm of the bitter battle being fought all over the Cape Flats. Staff Reporter ROGER FRIEDMAN interviews the neighbours.$66{ }^{6}$ HIS is the warzone," ANC supporter Mohamed Benting says as the car rounds the corner into Elbe Street.

The war-zone he refers to nearly became just that on Sunday when unknown gunmen sowed fear in the street But he's not talking gangsterism now, he's talking Election '94.

And pre-election fever is peaking in Manenberg. To the extent that the police arranged a meeting of the Community Forum this week to "try to encourage a little tol. erance". Chairing the forum, Gaynor Wasser only had time to say community in-fighting was becoming "unbearable" before the meeting was called off due to the absence oi some of the players.

Not quite unbearable, most residents say, but Elbe Street has had a few politically-inspired ructions recently.
Matters turned ugly last Friday when the ANC laid a complaint against the NP with the Independent Electoral Commission over the abuse of posters. Later, an ANC member laid a criminal charge under the Electoral Code of Conduct Act against an Elbe Street neighbour.

Alleged "villain" of the piece, "Oupa" Cloete of No. 5 - "sixtysomething" with a twinkle in his eye - says he saw a group of people, none
of whom he recognised, tearing down the ANC posters. But ANC supporters say they caught Mr Cloete in the act.

In any case, "this is an NP street", he says.

On the face of it, Elbe Street looks like any other... council houses, children outdoors, little greenery and a few election posters ... a microcosm of the sprawling Cape Flats. And the scene of a bitter struggle between the ANC and NP for that most precious commodity, the elusive "coloured vote".
"Only about five houses in this road are ANC. The rest are NP supporters," Mr Benting concedes as he gets out of the car.

Over the way, at No. 19, the Morgan family put themselves firmly in the FW De Klerk camp. Louise Morgan says: "All the years we have lived under them (the NP). And we still stay here, living happily together. I'm voting for the NP but it's my secret why."
Husband Philip Morgan was more to the point: "I grew up under the boere. I'm full-on NP. Who planted the apples, tomatoes and potatoes? The boere did."

Although the new National Party claims to be non-racial and the ANC likewise, it seems race is never far from the surface when it comes to electioneering on the Cape Flats.
"Stay a Hottentot, vote NP," is the scene-setting graffiti welcoming you on the main road into Manenberg.
The ANC complains bitterly about a song with the refrain "Mandela moet suffer want hy is ' $\mathrm{k} .$. ."
Her leader Nelson Mandela is called a "jailbird with steelwool hair for scouring pots," complains indignant Desiree Kearns.

ANC supporter Esther January says: "Those songs are wrong. I say give the Bantu a chance in life. Let's see what he will achieve for us. The whites have had their turn."

Maria Julisen has lived in Elbe Street since falling victim to the Group Areas Act 26 years ago. Politicking has reduced her street to "a mess", she complains.
She would not say which party she supported, but did say the ANC seemed over-eager to run and lay complaints over a few posters.

Her daughter Alicia was more expressive: "They only support the ANC because they are criminals and they say the ANC will help them. But these houses were built by the NP. The ANC never gave us anything."

Approached for comment, NP Manenberg spokesman Anne Du Plessis said the ANC had the support of only "five or six" Manenberg residents, while the NP had no fewer than seven registered and
three unregistered subbranches up and running at the last count.
"The whole of Manenberg is NP. The ANC keeps laying charges against us, but we are not as vulgar as them. Do you know how many of our posters have been pulled down?
"No, the ANC is just looking for points ... it's not the NP's fault ... the residents don't want the ANC in."

On allegations that NP supporters sung racist songs, Mrs Du Plessis said residents were acting in their individual capacities because they wanted the ANC out.

Manenberg ANC secretary Maqbool Moos said that while his party adhered to the code of conduct spelled out by the IEC, "the NP is clearly employing dirty tricks including racist songs" encouraging NP supporters to kick Nelson Mandela and his supporters out of Manenberg.
"Every day we put up posters and every day they get torn down. The (ANC) regional office wants to know whether we are eating them."

Mr Moos condemned the "underhanded actions" of the NP and called on the police to take steps against them.
"The NP is becoming desperate in Manenberg. They realise they have no real support here," Mr Moos said.
(News by R Friedman, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)


Pictures: DOUG Pithey, The Argus.
NOT GUILTY: "Oupa" Cloete of Number Five has been charged for aliegedly pulling down ANC posters in Elbe Street. Although he admits to favouring the National Party, he insists he is far too old to pull down posters.


DIEHARD NP: Philipo Morgan of No. 19 says he grew up under the "boere" and could see no reason to desert them now.


THE COLOURS: No prizes for guessing where Lynette Matthews's sympathies lie.





IIUweves, it mas iot cieat tw day exactly how the CP envisaged entering the process.
President De Klerk appeared to rule out the CP enjoying a similar concession granted to the IFP earlier this week. A sticker bearing the IFP's name will be attached to the bottom of the existing ballot paper
Mr' De Klerk said the -IFP's late entry had been made possible because it had registered before the March-end deadline $\because$ the CP had not.
There were indications, however, that the CP might throw its lot in with General Constand Viljoen's Freedom Front.
'(News' by-C-Whitfield, 47. Sauer' Street, Johannesburg).

## IEC points to mistakes in its supplement

THE Independent Electoral Commission - responsible for the contents of today's special 24 page voter education supple ment inside The Argus - has drawn attention to errors in the publication and has apologised.

- Due to a typographical error, the name of the African Christian Democratic Party is presented as the Democratic Party.
- At first glance the supplement appears to omit the candidates of the National Party, but in fact these are listed regionally at the NP's request:
- Several parties asked if they could postpone the hánding in of their lists of candi dates and were late in provid ing accurate information to the IEC but every effort was made to publish comprehensive and accurate lists.
provincial parliament and 21 seats in the National Assembly. Half of the 400 seats in the Na tional Assembly have beenel located to regions and votes on a national level will qualify for the remaining seats.
INP Western Capelleader Hernus Kriel predicted today that his party would win comfortably. ANC election committee member Willie Hófmeyer was more cautious, saying merely that he was happy with the organisation's campaign.
Western Cape DP leader Hennie Bester said support for his party was picking up fast and predicted that it could obtain more than 20 percent of the vote in the region, while PAC regional leader Patricia de Lille said her party remained confident of doing well.

Tonight three top regional leaders, Mr Kriel, Mr Bester and the ANC's Allan Boesak, will clash in a debate at Stellenbosch University.
The NP is to wind up its campaign with two meetings to be addressed by President De Klerk, who will speak in the Scotsche Kloof civic centre at 4 pm tomorrow and at the Good Hope Centre on Saturday :
The ANC will hold a festival in Hout :Bay harbour on Sunday, where Dr Boésak will speak, and in Bishop Lavis Dr Boesàk and Thabo Mbeki will be the speakers
The DP plans a rally; in the Cape Town City Hall at lunchtime tomorrow; while the PAC's last election meeting will be in Guguletu stadium on Saturday afternoon.
© Neiws by T Wentzel, i22 St George's Mall, ape Town) $\mathrm{m}^{3}$ :
More reports pages 2 and 3


# They're not sorry for staying out of the polls <br> By Tyrone August R KEY PLAYER Azapo in particular is convinced it 

Political Reporter

THE chorus of voices outbide the elections became a lot moresubdued when the IFP decided to go to the poils next weck.
Among those voices who remain. ourside are the Azanian Peopie's Organisation and the Conservative: Party.
Both organisations, however, cemain contident about their deciston tio boycott next week's election. 't: Azapo, in particular, is convinced de still has a crucial role to play in the years ahead.
"We see ournelves as an extra-parhamentary organisation which will act in the same way as any other extraparliamentary organisation through pan the world to Strini Moodley.
"That is tobring pressurcto bear on pemments to eliminate laws that are most inimical to the great majority of the people."

Moodley, Aznpo's secretary to the presidential office, identified several key tasks for the organisation.
"Azapo will continue to advocate greater democracy," he said.
"We intend to continue our efforts at ensuring that black people will be diven the opportunity to exercise democracy to the fullest."

Azapo is also determined to campaign for a greater economic restructuring of the socicty, and for a greater redistribution of resources and land.
Programmes of development and construction will feature prominently in these plans.
lo addition, it will try to ensure that he independence of trade unions and he iehts of workers are entrenched. "Aupo will also advocate the imAzapo will also advacy which replementation of a policy which reduces taxes amongst the working class, and increases toxes in the business sectors," said Moodley.
Another major target for Azapo is what it regards as 'the huge bureaucracjes" which will follow the election. It plans to advocate the reduction of the number of regions that will exist after the election.
"The existence of several regions, however they may be described, allows greater bureaucracy," Moodley said.
"And bureaucracies always have a tendency to eliminate the concerns and priorities of the pcople at the grass roots,"

Azapo plans to keep a careful eye on the security forces of the new government as well.
"We plan to keep a close watch on the security forces of tue military establishment to ensure that they do not interfere with the freedoms of the people," said Moodley.
"Above all, we plan to advocate for the establishment of peace structures at community level.

Azapo was not surprised by the IfP's decision to join the election.
"We never doubted for a moment that the IFP would participate," said Moodley. "It was just a question of time.
"Bulit's a tragedy that the political leadership of the ANC, NP and IFP engaged in this game of political Grinkmanship, which resulted in the. loss of so many innocent lives.
. "The agreement reached (this week) could have been reached
still has a crucial role to play in the years ahead: ,


CAzapo calls upon black people to remember that, in the end, the responsibility for their liberation will rest in their own hands 9

cancel our claims to a volkstaat
"By not participating, we are demonstrating to the whole world that we are not happy with the new constitution."
The CP faces the future with grim determination.
"We will continue with ourefforts to devclop our structures such as burgerrade (civic councils)," the official said.
"The support we get from local people willdemonstrate tous whichareas to include in the volkstaat."
He dismissed arguments that an amendment to the constitutional principles may allow self-determination.
${ }^{c}$ Up to now, there is no recognition that any valk cas get its own state," he said.
*Their land now only tecomes provinces of regions within a unitary state.
"But we insist on full soveregn seldetermination in our own area.

- "We want to promote full independence for the Afrikanerwolk. And we can
do that best by not taking part in the clection."
The CP does not seem overly con cemed about its fulure atter the elec tion.
"We remain a political party that aspires to the political freedom of our aspires tors," the official said.
membe

He added that there are also a significant number of people from other language groups who support the CP's position.
Tlie CP stoically accepts the IFP's decision to take part in the election.

However, it feets that the IFp "lost a little" because it will be part of a unitary state.
"But that is the choice they have made." he said fatalistically.
For the CP, however, taking part remains out of the question.
"We stand by our decision," the official said."The majority of our supporters agree with that decision.
"If you take part in a game, you have to accept the rules of that game."
And, for the CP, that would have And, for the CP , Nelson Mandela as president with an ANC Cabinet.
"If we don't participate, we support our demand for freedom," said the official.
"By not voting, we remain part of a positive, constructive process outside the rew ANC parliament.
"And that is tobuild the unity of the volk across political party borders for an independent people's republic (volksrepubliek)."
(Report by T Aggus, 61 Comimando Roudi Industia West Johannestrarg.)

focus on Hew accord

nFemruary II 1990 Nelsun Mandela was released from 27 years' jail and among those waiting for the great leader's embrace was Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi
This did not happen. Instead the African National Congress leader read aprepared speech on the steps of the cily hall at Cape Town's Grand Parade in which he attacked Buthelezi and referred to him as a puppet of the National Party Government.
It was during a lime when expectations ran hieh - for peace and an end to violence. In fact the expression black-wi-black violence leapt off news pages as preople died by the dozen in the townships.
Contrary to expectations, the blood-leting did not stop - in spite of Mandela's relcase and the unbanning of political organisations.
While the accord signed by Mandela and Butheleri with De Klerk puts the focus on its constitutiontal impact, the teal emphasis should be on the players

Butherezi sdemands have nhviunsly resulted in vickry hecause text week Parliament will amend the Interim Constitution and recognise the hingdom of the Zulus.
But is dris really what Buthelezi wanted?
In lia valement at ine Inion Buildinges in Prewria on Monday, Mandeta called Buthelezi tis brother und ackitowletged his pursomal relit lismship with thon. which he said spanmed 40 years.

It was perhaps for the first time situce his release that Mandela kanded Buberleza in public for campaignizg for this relcase and refosing so Degoliate with Pretaria helore all motitical pris anees were toed and thase in exile remened.

## Contribution to the struggle

Then what Mandela puhticly articulated in Pre toria an Monday is whol Bulhelezi had alway wanted to hear - acknowledgement of his coniribution to the struggle.
Meanwlate, it is sigmificant to note wha Butheteri said in 1976, Hisee momilas hefore the Sowelo pupils' uprising

He told about 16000 people at the Jibutan Amphitheatre that "whites shoukd read the writ ing on the wall and realise that the country must move 10 majority rule."
He said: "I challenge anyone to prove to me that the majority of blacks do in fact want the socalled independence which is offered to ou reserves, now called homelands.
Ite was being critical of the aceeptance of that independence" by Transkei and Bophuthatswana.

Buthelezi said on that dity: "We must therefore act unilaterally in sefining South Africal policics. It is these policies we blacks define the will be heard and heeded by our brothers in Africa, as well as other quatters in the wortd."

That was in 1976 and this was understood to mean the unity of all black South Africans as opposed to what Buthelezi demands today. Or is

Sowetan 2114194
The accord signed by Mandela and Buthelezi with De Klerk earlier this week puts the focus on its constitutional impact, but the emphasis should rather be on the players, writes Themba

he perhaps being misunderstood?
Tothis end, especially when Mandela's $N$ atal supponters physically prevented hims from holding facc-lo-face talks soon after his release. Buthelezi tad embarked on a campaign which would make him a winner on both sides of the field.
"There will be no lasting solution without my participation. I am an important player," is the Buthelezi tradentark

Indeed he was vindicated on Monday, but a what cost?
Human Rights Commission statistics of death in troubled KwaZulu-Natal show that 311 people were killed in political violence in March alone, the highest monthly figure since the HRC.'s inception in 1986.

Said the HRC. "The phennmenal inerease in deaths from the 153 recorded in February and the 172 recorded in January can be largely attributed to the conflict between those who support the impending April 27 election and those who are defiantly resisting them."
This simple but chilling report is about just a single threc-noonth period since 1990 in which people lost lives.

Argument here is not whether Buthelezi started the war because the wanted to mantain



## power - it is about power itself.

Mandela is regarded as a national hero by millions of his followers. Intemationally he is seen as atrue symbol of resictance and liberation.
For participating in banlustan politics. and for whatever reason he has advanced, Buthelezi has for decades been al loggerheads with anti-apart heid groups, even when the ANC was under ground and Mandela a mere rallying figure.

But Mandefa always maintains he is part of a larger whole and as such. of the collective ANC movement.
In 1990, shouldn't the collective that is the ANC have let Mandela embrace Buthelezi and saved lives?

A MEMORANDUM bluntly stating that free elections in KwaZulu/Natal were impossible without direct political intervention was the primary catalyst for the eventual declaration of this week's state of mergency 30 there conludential tiree-page memoramum with 15
The conifdential turee-page memon, was presented pages of supporlectoral Commission chairman Judge by Independent Electorai Comisw W de Klerk and ANC Johann Kriegler
An edited version was released to the media the same day. The state of emergency was declared on March ${ }^{\text {B1 }}$

Appended to the original document - a copy of which has been seen by WeekendStar - was a nine-point memorandum from the ECC to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, setting out the guarantees the IEC wanted from Ulundi regarding co-operation in: allowing the election to take place in KwaZulu/NataI.
It wạa the reaction to this memorandum by Buthe-
lezi, King Goodwill Zwelithini, several KwaZulu Mina istejs and members of the KwaZulu Legislative Assentily that led the IEC to give its own ultimatum to De Klerk the following day.

据: "; " List of demands
gry
ta the memorandum to Buther to "executè its manthe ECC proposed that election within the territory of Fwanulu", it requested that Buthelezi "cause instruc tions to be given forthwith that":
The KwaZulu Department of Education make schools available for use as polling stations.

Principals give telephone technicians access to their schools.
K KwaZulu government buildings, including tribal authority and magistrates' offices, be made evvailable for election purposes.
TThe KwaZulu Department of the Interior cooperate with the IEC on matters including the lssuing ope identity documents and seconding stafi. :
of identily documen Department of Justice make facilities available for the IEC Adjudication Secretariat.
Aes arbosi and other KwaZulu officials and authorities assist the IEC-and observer groups.
The KwaZulu departments of Health and of Penons and Welfare co-operate with the IEC. in facilitating special votes.
The KwaZulu Police provide security for IEC staff and secure the election process, as well as parande fully with other groups in security planning

## ! 'Operation Access'

The IEC memorandum to Buthelezi also proposed the establishment of a working committee, and informed the KwaZulu authorities that the IEC intended to launch "Operation Access" in the region soon.

The response of the KwaZulu authorities to the IEC delegation was subsequently described in the IEC's document to De Klerk and Mandela as "stagemanaged to humiliate the IEC".
Describing the atmosphere as "confrontational and
Describin" the IEC concluded that the requisite as aggressive", the lEC concluded halulu authorities had not been given.
In the final paragraph of the confidential memorandum presented to De Klerk and Mandela, the IEC stated: "In order for the IEC to conduct free and fair elections in KwaZulu/Natal, the requisite degree of stability and co-operation has to
the provite as to be achieved is not for the IEC to
How that is wor will be in a position to advise determine. Nor will tree and fair elections can be wheher subin KwaZulu/Natal unless and until such conducted in Kwazua,
stability and co-operation have been attained (47 Sawer St, Johannesburg)


## SA grabs 1 <br> LONDON. - South Africa's watershed

11th-hour agreement grabbed the headlines in the British press, and all the serious morning newspapers devoted editorial space to the welcome development.
The Daily Telegraph's editorial said the world "can rejoice in a deal which appears to have drawn the country back from the precipice".

The Independent hailed the realism of

South Africa's political leaders and their supporters saying: "Each time South Africa's astonishing negotiated revolution has seemed about to be engulfed by violence realism has broken through. ${ }^{\circ}$ at
"In the four years since Nelson Mandela was released from prison, South Africa has moved from the deep antagonisms of apartheid to the threshhold of multi-racial democracy. It is an achievement of historic proportions that should inspire every

## in London

other country in which racial divisions seem insurmountable."

The Financial Times said the fundamental constitutional issue at the heart of the crisis - the demand for greater devolution of power - could not be brushed aside. It would continue to be a critical factor in South African politics. Soulf)
"It will be for the National Assembly elected next week to find a more satisfactory way of squaring this circle when it draws up the final constitution."



## Inkatha tipped to <br> win Cabinet seat <br> BLAAY 304 TH 2014194 COHEN

THE Inkatha Freedom Party's participation in the elections could tip the balance of power, with Inkatha likely to win a Cabinet seat at the Freedom Front's expense, political analysts said yesterday
Inkatha's inclusion also throws open the race in Natal where the ANC, which polls show enjoys $50 \%$ support, could be challenged by a combined Inkatha-NP force.
While welcoming Inkatha's participation, analysts said the party's late entry did increase the danger that the fairness of the election result could be challenged "ts $r$
British historian RW Johnson said Inkatha's prospects were not good. The party was making the best of a bad position and its supporters'were the most intimidated, most scared and, on average, the poorest of all voters. Many also did not have proper identification: This would result in a low percentage of Inkatha supporters voting. Recent polls showed a drop in support
from about $32 \%$ of the Natal vote in No-

I. A researcher from the Centre for Policy Studies disagreed, saying the eñormous amount of newspaper coverage devpted to Inkatha during the past few weeks' should be taken into áceount. Botif' agreed there was a good chance that Inketha would gain more than $5 \%$ of the total vote, entitling it to a seat in the new Cabinet 基 : Report by T Cohern. 7 ML . II Diagonsi $\mathrm{St}_{2}$, Jhb .


## Move-might not end violence, sảy leaderis

But








PRETORIA - A dramatic last-minute deal between SA's three major political leaders yesterday drew the Inkatha Freedom Party into next week's elections, paving the way for a peaceful transition and boosting business and investor confidence.
However, the leaders said the deal would not necessarily end the violence. President FW de Klerk said the state of emergency would remain in place until stability returned to Natal.
Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi announced his decision at a joint news conference with De Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela at the Union Buildings after a compromise constitutional deal was struck, securing the role of a Zulu monarch and a Zulu kingdom.
"This agreement removes one of the last main causes of tension and violence in SA," De Klerk said. The president hoped that "all South Africans, whatever party they support, will now take hands, exercise their free and democratic right to vote for the party of their choice, so that we can bring our country to the great moment for which all of us have been working for so long - that of having a government of national unity.
"It is my sincere hope that our supporters will follow the lead of their leaders, and ensure that this election will be free and fair - a triumph for the SA nation."
Mandela said it was important to $\dot{\text { rebuild }}$ investor confidence -- local and international - in SA. The historic "memorandum of agreement for reconciliation and peace"
should be seen as an invitation to those who had left SA to return, and those planping to leave to stay. "They have nothing to ear in the future."
In terms of yesterdays agreement $\mathrm{In}^{\mathrm{r} 2}$ katha will take part in the elections; provision will be made for its inclusion po balligts forms; and the constitution in we changed before the elections The constitutional changes will provide for the Zulit tidg in

-The multiparty iégotiating counciltwils meet today to frame the amendments to


These will be discussed again by a par:liamentary joint committee on Fridaybe fore being tabled in Parliament next Mon day.
 Th. The Electoral Act-will also have to he amended, on the Transitional Executive Council's recommendation, "to allow Tr katha to re-register for the elections and submit a candidates list, as well as author:ise the sticking of idathesive string onto ballot papers to inciude Inkatha's'detailis.
Hailing the depelopment as as being of ggreat and historic significancide fordit people and future of SA" sentative Cyril'Ramaphosa sain Suthele zi's experience in politics and go wrrance would prove useful in SA's new, poitich

"Buthelezi came face to face ${ }^{3}$ th the realities of the postectection simathon which his own instititionat when $\mathrm{hin}^{2}$ own

## PO/A/GAA DREMEngen

afforded it unfair advantage and the PAC would have been prejudiced. The NP objected to the bottom position as it had invested considerable money and effort in marketing "the bottom line".

De Klerk conceded the bottom line on condition the NP was refunded the money. spent marketing the spot.

Kriegler said the arrangement was not perfect as the list of parties on the ballot would no longer be in alphabetical order, but he welcomed Inkatha's participation.
The stickers will be stuck on at the polling stations before the ballot papers are handed to voters.
An additional 700 polling stations would be set up in Natal, bringing the total number of stations to about 9000 .
Kriegler said Inkatha would have until this afternoon to produce its election lists, which would be vetted on Friday and published at the weekend.
Roport by D Greybe, A Hediand and 7 Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St:
Jhb. Jhb.

knuckles New defence force discussed


Now PAC joins TEC

THE Pan Africanist Congress yesterday joined the Transitional Executive Conncit - only a few days before the interim governing body's brief is concluded.
Effectively, this means the PAC will now be able to take part in all TEC structures, including the sub-council on defence which is currently looking into the establishment of a National Defence

Sourétem

Force. Its participation in the TEC follows talks earlier this week between a Government delegation led by President FW de Kirk and a PAC delegation led by president Mr Clarence Makwetu.
TEC spokesman Mr Dries van Heerden said the PAC had been granted observer status in the TEC since these talks. 304 a $)$

He said the general principle was that the PAC would "most certainly be wetcome" in the council.

The PAC's participation in the TEC would also pave the way for the integraion of the cadres of its military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.
(L Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria, Johannesburg)

# R 700 <br> 700 <br> $\qquad$ <br> <br> By Tyrone August <br> <br> By Tyrone August Political Staff <br> <br> GOOD SHAPE Preparations are 

 <br> <br> GOOD SHAPE Preparations are}
 he election wagon has been creaking along pain－ fully for almost a year now．At times，it seemed that it would be derailed by ongoing negotiations， violence and intimidation．

But now，at last，it will be trundling into town next week：the election starts next Wednesday，and most of the prac－ tical arrangements are in place．
That is the verdict of the Independent Electoral Commission，which has been entrusted with the task of preparing for these historic elections．
＂Things are well under way，＂said Mr Ron Gould，an international commis－ sioner from Canada．
The election，which will take place at about 9000 voting stations throughout the country，will cost almost R700 mil－ lion．Administrative costs alone will absorb half this budget．
Gould said that all the voting stations have already been identified，but that some locations would only be finalised closer to the election．

## Moblle polling stations

He said this was a result of security considerations．This would especially affect the identification of mobile poll－ ing stations．
＂We have security consultations on a daily basis，＂Gould said，＂and we will take every action that is possible to make the elections safe and secure．
＂Wherever there is a problem，we are looking at it closer，and taking the ap－ propriate action．＂
The IEC is confident that the election will go ahead in KwaZulu－Natal－al though perhaps not necessarily in all the locations it would like to．
＂If people are conccrned about in－ timidation in one area，they can vote in another area，＂said Gould．
The IEC recognises that travelling to voting stations is a＂very difficult prob－


## GWe want <br> to resolve problems immediately

being assembled in kits，＂Gould said． ＂Deliveries are under way．＂
He described the election as＂a very high logistical operation＂．But，the IEC believes，it is coping with this task com－ petently and efficiently．
＂Now things are starting to heat up，＂ said Gould．＂Now it＇s a matter of getting the hard exercises in place．＂

The IEC is sending＂crisis teams＂ throughout the country to identify prob－ lems．＂We want to resolve problems immediately，＂said Gould．The SAP has also worked out detailed security plans for the election period．Liaison officer Captain Evan Johnson said the SAP is ＂quite confident＂it would cope．

## Security officers

＂The police will become security offic－ ers for the IEC on election days，＂said Johnson．They will be under the com－ mand of the electoral officer at the vot－ ing station．
On April 25 ，the SAP will make sure all the voting stations are secure before handing them over to voting officials． ＂We will be sweeping all the voting stations，and cleaning them for any cx－ plosive devices，＂said Johnson．The po－ lice will then guard all stations 24 hours a day during the elections．

They will prevent the carrying of weapons within a 1100 metre radius of a voting station，and everyone will be searched before they are allowed into a station to vote．

But．Johnson stressed，＂the main aim would be to make it easy for as many people as possible to vote＂．
The last word goes to the IEC．＂The elections won＇t be perfect．＂said Gould． ＂They will be flawed．But，given the impossible time－frames and deadlines， and all the last－minute changes so close to the election period，the IEC is in amazingly good shape．＂


## By Lulama Luti

Political Staff
Ews of the Inkatha Freedom Party's decision to contest the national and provincial assembly elections was yesterday greeted with excitement by most political parties in the country.
The president of the Pan Africanist Congress. Mr Clarence Makwetu, said his party was excited over the development because they had always demanded that the process be all inclusive.
"We are very glad over the IFP's decision and we only hope that this development will lead to the lifting of the state of emergency in the KwaZuluNatal region.
"We do not believe people would be able to take part in the elections freely (in the presence of the security forces)," he said.

Democratic Party PWV premier candidate Mr Tony Leon said the decision to participate was an excellent and wise one.
"We are delighted that sanity has prevailed at the last minute and now we

## Sowetan 2016194

## SANITY PREVAILS Emergency

## in KwaZulu-Natal should be lifted:

have the prospect of an election process that will include everyone and a new Parliament in which all opinions and viewpoints will be represented," said Leon.
\% $\%$ is
He added, however, that the IFP's decision was rather belated and that its delays would cost it a lot of votes.
The PRO for the African Christian Democratic Party, Mr Dan Maluleke, said his party was very excited about the


## Peace and reconcillation

"Finally common sense has prevailed. We can only hope and pray that in the name of peace and reconciliation that we forget all our past difference and have peaceful, historic elections for the benefit of all," he said.
The vice-president of the Azanian People's Organisation, Mr Phandelani Nefholovhodwe, said: "I don't believe that (the IFP's decision) warrants any comment at the moment from Azapo."

Meanwhile, shares on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange were sharply up yesterday afternoon as builish traders moved ahead of the official announcement.
A dealer said the JSE would soon see heavy renewed interest from foreigners, who in the past had deserted the local stock market during politically turbulent periods.
. "It appears now that most political hurdles are out of the way," he said, "and the market's going to celebrate. There's going to be some steam on the floor." The country's barometer of foreign investment confidence, the financial rand, was starting to strengthen early yesterday afternoon, after improving to R5,2700 to the US dollar compared with Monday's close of R5,3350.

The commercial rand was also buoyed by the strong bullishness as it gained against the dollar to trade at around $\mathrm{R} 3,60$ level from the previous day's finish of R3,6558. - Sapa.

# Prisoners' plea to vote dismissed 

The Supreme Court does not have the authority to decide on the right of prisoners to vote and the matter should be dealt with by a future constitutional court. the Pretoria Supreme Court found yesterday.

Transvaal Judge President Mr Justice C F Eloff dismissed an application by two longterm Pretoria prisoners, Sibusiso Masuku and Oupa Mboani, for a declaratory order that the provisions of the Electoral Act prohibiting them from voting in next week's election constituted a violation of their fundamental rights in terms of the Constitution Act.
Both prisoners' death sentences for murder were commuted to 30 years' jail.
Mr Justice Eloff found the court did not have jurisdiction to decide on the constitutionality of an Act of Parliament.

The judge said the question of voting rights for prisoners was a moral and philosophical issue which should be determined by a specialised court - Sapa.
(E Oelofse, 141 Commssioner St, Ihb)

## Parties urged to campaign behind bars



Women learn how to cast ballotion jail

## EBY JOHN PERLMAN

The women gathered in the bare, barred room may not have been able to recognise themselves in the brightly coloured posters on the wall in front of them. :
Scenes of smiling people in brightyy coloured clothes, walking down grassy lanes towards a polling booth, must seem a world away from the women's section of Pretoria Central Prison.

But if yesterday's voter education workshop at Pretoria Central was anything to go by, the prisoners seem to think this is as much their election as anybody else's.
"They feel that they are entitled to vote," says Bridgette Mashaba, a University of Pretoria law student from Soshanguve who has taught voter education at both Pretoria Central and Leeurwkop.
The deadlock between the

Government and the TECTover- until they are three - become prisoners' voting rights hass not impossible to ignore.
yet been resolved - the De One of the prisoners asks Klerk administration believes about intimidation - it's a people convicted of serious . common question, Mtuli says. crimes should not vote.
But the Pretoria Central audience listen attentively and there's no shortage of volunteers for a trial-rm ballot at the end.
The voter education message, Mashaba says, is getting through "There hasn't been a single spoilt bailot so far," she says.
Upstairs from the large celllike hall where Mashaba has been working with a group of about 55 women, Zodwa Mtuli - also a Tuks law student is explaining the ballot to a similar sized group.

Once again, the mixed group of white and black women listen intently, except when the antics of a couple of the little children there - mothers may keep them with them in jail
"Just make your mark, nobody is going to see it," she answers. Mtuli outlines the Electoral Act and its penalties for intimidation. "I told them that the IEC will take care of them," she says.
But the women downstairs are not so sure. "They say they have to inform the TEC if the election is free and fair but they are only allowed to use the phone once a week," says Mashaba. 'Yet they have to inform the TEC within 48 hours."

Mashaba says the prisoners seem to be very well informed. "But they say newspapers are not enough. They want the political parties to campaign inside the jails," she says.
(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)


focus

EOPLE cautiously approached the Independent Electoral Commission voter education tent at Johannesburg's Carlton Centre during lunch last Friday to have a go at mock voting.

IEC voter education director Mr Albert Mokoena said the stand at the shopping centre, which would be open until the evening of April 25 , was there to inform people of voting procedure and to dispel myths.

When asked why the tent was relatively empty during a busy Carlton Centre lunch time, Mokoena said: "I think the tent is empty now because of the media (presence). People don't want to be seen by, for example, a neighbour who may support another party, in case there is danger."

A consistent trickle of people entering the tent had to pass at least three television crews and several Press photographers.
Mokoena - an accountant with an MBA who was involved in Sowetan newspaper's Nation Building campaign last year - was confident the voter education programme was achieving its goal and had reached more people than was publicised.
"People (the IEC) appointed in different provinces were motivated. They put everything into it," he said.

When the programme started, the IEC had hoped to rely more on non-governmental organisations, but there were some problems of bias with programmes not accredited by the IEC, he said.

The IEC was a non-partisan organisation which had put out the election message successfully. "People are tired of hearing the "this is an important message...'; people are aware," he said.

At least one heated debate about intimidation took place on Friday after a group of about 10 men was guided through the voting procedure.

Mr Themba Piliso asked about intimidation on the way to polling stations, saying some people might wear political T-shirts.

An IEC voter education official said voters were not supposed to wear political T-shirts. "But that is a political right," Piliso argued. The IEC official admitted that it might be, but said this "regulation" was necessary to avoid intimidation

He tried to reassure the group that intimidation would not be allowed and would be punshed with fines. "If you are intimidated, tell an electoral officer about it," he said.

But IEC officials had explained the situation and to some extent reassured him. "I will hopefully vote," he said.

MrEmmanuel Boot also said he would like to vote, but did not have an identification document as he had lost his Vend ID earlier this year.

Boom said he came to the tent "to find out about voter cards... I do not have time to go down there (Vanda). I work". Sowetan 19/4/94 The voter education tent at Johannesburg's Carlton Centre isn't exactly a hive of activity, and the media is blamed. "I think the tent is empty now because of the media (presence)," said an official:



Voter education director Albert Mokoena.

IEC voter education official Ms Ria Bel said people had filed steadily through the tent since Ram.

Most questions dealt with the difference between national and provincial ballot papers, where to vote and special votes, she said.

A woman - who did not want to be identified although she said she was not afraid of intimidation -- said she would definitely vote, but was uncertain about the procedure. "I know I must make a mark here," she said, pointing to the boxes on the ballot paper.

Mr Tobias Shabangu (67) said he was no afraid to vote and understood where he needed to make a mark. But Shabangu also thought he had to use the example ballot paper he was given at the Carlton Centre.

An IEC voter education official said he should look for notices of polling stations in newspa-

$\mathbf{G A}_{\mathrm{A}}$ cheerful Mr Tony Lekomanyane said: "I am so pleased I can vote. Where do you cast the vote?" Looking at the national ballot paper, he said: "Where's my man, (former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederik) Van Zyl Slabbert? I think I will put him on the ballot
pers, on television or radio.
A cheerful Mr Tony Lekomanyane said: "I'm so pleased $I$ can vote. Where do you cast the vote?" Looking at the national ballot paper, he said: "Where's my man, (former Progressive Federal Party leader Frederick) Van Zyl Slabbert? I think I will put him on the ballot."
Lekomanyane said he had the new Parliament all worked out. It would be full of "dynamic men".
IEC voter education official Ms Athina Copters said: "We had to bring in two other people. The stand is doing better than at the Rand Easter Show".
She said people were enthusiastic about voter education, which was done on the basis of "tell a friend, tell a neighbour". - Sapa.
(Report by M Merten, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg.)

Tuesday April-19 1994 sowniant
Prisoners' vote in NP's court
smexem

## By Glenn McKenzie

$=$ or peace in prisons had 194 cace in prisons had decreased
It's a sad case. There's a possibility

THE prisoners' vote issue has been put in the lap of the National Party after the Pretoria Supreme Court rejected an application by Lawyers for Human Rights to change the Electoral Act to Rights prisoners to vote
Yesterday the Supreme Court decided it did not have the jurisdiction to deal with the prisoners' voting issue. The question should instead be turned to a constitutional court, something which would not exist until after the election
Both the Transitional Executive Council and the Independent Electoral Commission have recommended that the Government allow prisoners to vote in the country's first all-race election next week. But the Government has steadfastly refused to support the recommendation.
LHR spokesman Mr Jody Collapen said the organisation now had no other recourse but to appeal to President FW de Klerk to change his mind on the is sue.
The National Party has repeatedly said it would never agree to allow prisoners to vote. Yesterday NP spokesman Mr Danie du Plessis said that stance had not changed.
Meanwhile, the South African Prisoners' Organisation for Human Rights said yesterday the chances
that prisoners could take action on their own, but we don't know," said Sapohr spokesman Mr Golden Miles Bhudu. anc: LHR would continue conducting voter education programmes in prisong for the time being LHR spokespeople said.
'Yy It doesn'tlookgood Butit's not fair to the risoners to stop yet, said LHR spokeswoman Ms Cecille yan Riet. y \& Report $G$ McKenzic, 61 Conimando Road,


THE SA Police would moye quickly，to ＂sideline＂KwaZulu Police officers man－ ning voting stations if there was any indi－ cation they were not performing their jobs properly，SAP Natal regional commission？ er Lt Gen Colin Steyn said yesterday．

The SA security forces had also asked for a sizeable reduction in the planied number of voting stations within Natal and KwaZulu government controlled areas due to a shortage of policing manpower．

The KwaZulu Police would be on duty at a number of voting stations in the Kwazulu area，Steyn told a news briefing in Durban yesterday $=x_{2}^{2}$

Although the Inkatha Freedom Party was campaigning for an election boytott， party leader and KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi had issued a direc－ tive to the KwaZulu Police to co－operate in the election process，he said．

Asked what would happen in communi－ ties where there had already been objec－ tions to the presence of the KwaZulu Po－ lice，Steyn said these situations were being

## K waNdebele govt fined for misusing publicatoon <br> IN ITS first ruling，the In－

dependent Media Commis－ sion yesterday found the KwaNdebele government guilty of misusing state publications（2）2it）

The KwaNdebele infor－ mation department was fined R3 500 plus costs for an article in its In Progress publication，which quoted Chief Minister James Mah－ langu praising the ANC for its support during riots over homeland indepent dence in 1986．Mahlangu urged followers to vote for the ANC in the elections．
The Independent Media Commission Act prohibits the use of state publications and resources to the advan tage of any political party during the election period．
Sapa reports from Port Elizabeth that the Indepen－ dent Electoral Commission tribunal was told yesterday that the Steyn commission report on＂dirty tricks＂ proved the truth of Trans－ kei ruler Maj－Gen Bantu Holomisa＇s charge of vote－ rigging by the NP．

MARK ASHURST
Molgmisa＇s legal counse
 eral coupt not profuce that report hecause it was th President FW de Klerk＇s hands．He also had to pro tect his sources，jdentify． Holomisa lost an applica tion which asked the tribit． nal to compel the NP to produce the Steyn report． Presiding officer Lex Mpati ruled that he wio ＂not convinceq＂the NP the power to directo goyert ment to make the repori


The If lodiged azem． plaint with the EEC aftinst Holomisa attermandibic meeting on Maref ${ }^{2} 2{ }^{2}$ 准 which he said the NP planned to rig the ballot and would offer black yot－ ers＂pap，en＂yes＂tainfed with nor－prisporio in NP counsel：Ben Niehaus rejected the call to release the report，saying it did not deal with the elections
 sionier St，Jhb． SELO MOTLHABAKWE THE；PAC yesterday an－ nounced a major elections思edia campąign starting OM Thursday．
Speaking from pe offices if central Johannes－ burg，publicity officer Si－ phiwe Sithole said the cam－ paign had been made possible by a R1，7m grant from the Independent Elec－ toral Compission．
She said it would focus on extensive regional radio boogeasts in all 11 bfficial Hen part of a low－profile＂be Igw－therline＂approáth
－Whe PACS PWV ${ }^{4}$ egion had already placed several 4d in freesheets available
 Seyeral thousand glossy posters featuring PPAC leader Clarence Mapwetu had been sent to retional offaces．
 line apprgach suitef the PAC＇s aim of appeafing to voters who were not wrban－ based of yery literase




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 (122 St George's Mall, Cape Town) IFP and CP could be included in
the poll.

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MICHAEL MORRIS Political Correspondent
THE Inkatha Freedom Party will contest next week's election, following a dramatic breakthrough today.

Hours of intensive discussions ended at lunchtime with the ground-breaking announcement by President de Klerk, IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi and African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.
The far-reaching agreement includes amendments to the constitution and parliament is expected to meet on Monday to consider changes.

The agreement also entailed a mediation process which would continue after the election.

A clearly relieved and upbeat Mr De Klerk said at the joint press conference today: "This agreement, I believe, removes one of the last main causes for tension and violence and it is my deepest hope that this agreement will bring an end to violence.
"I thank God that we have reached agreement at this late stage.
"I hope that all South Africans, whatever party they support, will join hands and exercise their free and democratic
right to vote for the party of their choice, to bring the country to the great moment for which we have all worked so long - having a government of national unity."
Mr de Klerk expressed his thanks for all the people involved over the weeks and months in generating the agreement.

Chief Buthelezi said amendments would be made to the 1994 interim constitution to make King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhekuzuluthe constitutional monarch of KwaZulu Natal.
Chief Buthelezi said that South Africa "may well have been saved from disastrous consequences of unimaginable proportions and has been put on a course which I hope will lead to longlasting peace, democracy and meangingful federalism".

He said that in the past three days of meetings, "final agreement was reached securing the Kingdom of KwaZulu".
"I therefore am pleased to announce that the IFP will contest elections at the National and Provincial levels.'
$\therefore$ Chief Buthelezi said the IFP had decided to compromises "to avoid a great deal more bloodshed and carnage which we have been witness to in recent months".
CNews by M Morris, 122 St George's Mall. Cape Town and RM, Challenor, 18 Osborne
Street. Durband

# THE SKUKUZA SUMMIT An exercise in futility? 

## Maybe not, but the immediate consequences have done more harm than good



Over the past week the four "democratic" leaders portrayed on our cover have contrived to do more harm to the economy and SA's democratic and peaceful aspirations than did the last "apartheid" president, P W Botha, on that fateful evening of the Rubicon speech in Natal nine years ago when he balked at the implications of his own political innovation.

The outcome of the summit put us in a worse position than the Rubicon reversal did all those years ago. Indeed, the four leaders gathered with what can only be seen to have been uncompromising aspirations.

The tide of optimism that preceded Friday's meeting of the top four political leaders at a private bush camp near Skukuza in the Kruger National Park was short-lived.

Confrontation rather than compromise dominated the day and the first gathering of the four may well have been their last. Let us pray for the sake of SA that it isn't. Panic in the financial markets (see Economy) in reaction to the failed talks illustrates how much our future is in their hands.

Hopes for a breakthrough now rest with international mediators headed by Henry Kissinger and Lord Carrington. Their efforts are probably our last chance of a settlement in the short term, but the outlook is not good.
The summit may well have hardened positions instead of opened the way for compromise. The faint hope that President FW de Klerk, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and ANC president Nelson Mandela would somehow find one another in the tranquillity
of the Kruger Park and pave the way for relatively peaceful elections in KwaZulu in less than a fortnight was wishful thinking.

Failure was signalled more than four hours before the talks ended. The 80-strong media contingent flown in by the SA Air Force to await the outcome was given a scathing 12 -page memorandum presented by Zwelithini to Mandela: a chronological account of months of perceived insults by the ANC against the Zulu monarchy and people, and a new demand for restoration of the kingdom.
Though the meeting between the king and Mandela - their first ever - was initially scheduled as one-on-one, the king, relying on protocol, insisted on being accompanied by his entire delegation. ANC aides regarded this as a ploy by Buthelezi, the king's chief adviser, to ensure Mandela couldn't persuade the king to change his anti-election attitude in return for a high-profile constitutional position.

Though upset by Zwelithini's attitude, Mandela nevertheless made a proposal to accommodate him in the regional constitution. The ANC had apparently been so confident that the plan would be accepted that it headed the document: Agreement between the ANC and the Royal House of KwaZulu.

But later, when a copy was circulated to journalists, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the plan had "unfortunately" not been accepted and should therefore be regarded as a proposal, not an agreement.
The full extent of the summit's failure became apparent only at the late-right press conference. It was announced jointly by the


Four on the floor ... De Klerk, Mandela, Zwelithini, Buthelezi
four that the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu royal house was to be referred to a joint working group that had to report back within six days and that unresolved constitutional issues would be referred to international mediation. In other words, there had been no progress towards a settlement.


Buthelezi remained insistent that the election should be postponed and that registration of parties participating in the poll be reopened. This was emphatically rejected by Mandela: "There should be no doubt whatsoever about the election on April 27. We cannot postpone our freedom. We are determined to set up a government of our choice on that day."

Ever the optimist, De Klerk insisted that "important progress" had been made on "major issues" such as the constitutional accommodation of the Zulu monarchy. "I'm confident that the task group will come up with good results. There is already consensus. It is a question of putting it together."

Buthelezi disagreed: "Unfortunately, progress could not be made on fundamental issues," he said. Then, as if to emphasise his point, Buthelezi read a separate statement in which he and Zwelithini raised issues not addressed in the joint communiqué.

Angered by not having been warned of Buthelezi's intention to issue a separate statement, Mandela responded with a bitter attack on Inkatha. All pretence of progress crumbled under the glare of the world's TV lights.

Mandela said the ANC had gone out of its way to address the king's concerns and would press ahead with the accommodation of the monarchy in the regional constitution. He cautioned repeatedly against expecting miracles from the working group. He clearly believes time has run out for constitutional tinkering before April 27 and now wants the political crisis in KwaZulu to be resolved by

[^8]the new parliament after the election.
It was not quite one minute to midnight, but close enough to be dramatically symbolic, when De Klerk intervened to prevent the press conference from degenerating into a destructive verbal duel between Mandela and Buthelezi. He rescued some unity of purpose by shifting the focus back to the summit's achievements and emphasised the "broad foundation" that had been laid.

Mandela took the cue and agreed, belatedly, that "tremendous progress" had been made. Buthelezi followed, acknowledging that it had not been "an exercise in futility."
But, when the press conference ended and the delegations gathered in tight, isolated knots to await executive jets to wing them back home, it was obvious to journalists, who were regaled with unflattering accounts of how rival delegates had behaved, that the situation remains dangerously grave.
As things stand, the election will go ahead without Inkatha in 12 days' time. Even if international mediation begins right away, there is scant hope of progress by April 27.

What, then, is the immediate outlook for the region and the country? As we noted (Leaders April 8), the unrest in many parts of the province is not conducive to a free and fair election. Even if the security forces succeed in bringing down the death rate, the climate of intimidation and fear will probably take years to ease.

Nevertheless, the election will be held in KwaZulu but on a smaller scale than initially planned. The IEC has reduced the number of polling stations in the region to allow greater concentrations of security forces at the stations and along access routes from nearby residential areas.

Unless no voting is possible anywhere in the province, which is most unlikely, the IEC will, in all probability, declare the poll there to be substantially free and fair, based on the votes that could be counted.

The IEC could justify this on a poll as low as $30 \%$ if it is assumed that there would have been a poll of at least $70 \%$ had Inkatha participated and that Inkatha has $50 \%$ of voter support in the region. A $30 \%-35 \%$ poll could therefore be regarded as a fair reflection of the views of voters other than Inkatha supporters. This means only $1,3 \mathrm{~m}-1,5 \mathrm{~m}$ of the province's $4,5 \mathrm{~m}$ voters will need to vote for the poll to be considered legitimate.

According to Department of Home Affairs figures, more than $60 \%$ of voters are concentrated in 16 of the region's 66 magisterial districts, including 360000 in Durban, 200000 in Umlazi, 189000 in Inanda,


Zwelithini


De Klerk

M 151494 161000 in Marltzburg, 121000 in Chatsworth and 133000 in Pinetown, all of which are relatively easy to police for three days of polling if security forces are deployed in sufficient numbers.

Central Statistical Service in Pretoria says there are 445000 white and 500000 Indian voters in KwaZulu/Natal, so a $70 \%$ poll among whites and $60 \%$ among Indians would alone provide more than 600000 votes. Only about $20 \%$ of the $3,57 \mathrm{~m}$ black voters would then have to vote to give a poll of around $30 \%$. Chances are that substantially morè will.

The outcome of the election in these conditions raises interesting possibilities, including an outside chance of an NP victory in the province if a significant number of Inkatha supporters defy Buthelezi to back the NP and a substantial number of ANC supporters stay away because of intimidation.
An ANC-dominated provincial government is more likely but with a strong NP component. The effect of a low poll in KwaZulu/Natal will be felt at national level but not sufficiently to undermine overall credibility.
A $70 \%$ poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and $30 \%$ in the region will give an average poll of $62 \%$. An $80 \%$ poll outside KwaZulu/Natal and $35 \%$ there will give an average of $71 \%$.

The NP will probably gain most nationally by a low poll in Natal, which will almost certainly destroy what little chance the ANC has of gaining a twothirds majority in the national assembly.
But Buthelezi and Inkatha will be far worse off. Speaking to journalists after the summit, ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa made it clear that the KwaZulu government will cease to exist after the election. If necessary, Buthelezi, his Ministers and other elected and appointed political representatives will be forcibly removed from office.
As PM to his nephew, King Goodwill Zwelithini, Buthelezi will keep an important ceremonial role, but political power and control of the purse strings - will rest, in all probability, with ANC regional leader Jacob Zuma and his national unity administration in Maritzburg.


Mandela


Buthelezi
(18) purge of nikatha loyatists from the KwaZulu civil service and police is also likely, but most officials, not wishing to lose their jobs, are expected to have no difficulty switching allegiance.

Inkatha's future is difficult to determine. Though party workers continue to put up election posters in parts of Natal urging a vote for Inkatha "when the time comes," it certainly won't be on April 27.

The continued support of traditional leaders will be an important factor. Without patronage to dispense, Buthelezi may find that much of it evaporates, particularly if the ANC succeeds in portraying itself as a defender of the monarchy.

Lacking a constitutional platform from which to further their cause, Inkatha militants may consider some form of insurrection. But an armed struggle without substantial foreign backing in terms of bases and logistical and diplomatic support will be short-lived. Limited sabotage and other violent acts are a possibility, especially in concert with rightwing fanatics, and could cause considerable disruption for a while.

Peaceful resistance such as strikes and boycotts may have limited success, but most Inkatha supporters tend either to be migrant workers anxious to keep their jobs or rural dwellers not employed in the formal sector and lacking the financial muscle to sustain long-term consumer boycotts. Disruptive mass action will probably not be tolerated for long by the new government, particularly if it leads to violence.

The spectre of full-scale civil war and military action such as the air strikes now being mounted against Bosnian Serbs by UN forces in central Europe are mostly the product of overzealous reporters eager to squeeze the last iota of sensation from a story that needs no dramatic embellishment.
The SA Defence Force and SA Police are infinitely superior to any militia Inkatha may be able to muster and the new government is expected to use the security forces far more ruthlessly to stamp out the unrest than is currently the case. Some ANC leaders are already pointing to the effectiveness of previous states of emergency when thousands of dissidents where arrested within days of the security measures becoming effective and asking why the same is not happening now.

This potential within the ANC for a vicious backlash against Inkatha must not be underestimated. An important task of minority parties in the national assembly and of the international community will be to guard against it.
They must insist that

## LEADIHG ARTICLES

outstanding constitutional issues be resolved as soon as possible by engaging Buthelezi in continuing dialogue. The prospect of reaching agreement in a calmer atmosphere after the election and without the pressure of cut-off dates and election campaigns is probably good.

Buthelezi must be given an opportunity to fight for election in KwaZulu/Natal as soon as possible. The dispute between Inkatha and the ANC must not be allowed to fester or it could infect the whole country.

Though postponing the election is no longer a serious option, it merits consideration if only to gauge the consequences. A number of issues arise.

The first is one of principle. The ANC believes its credibility will be severely undermined if it backs down on a date described by


PW Botha


In addition, ANC officials argue that Buthelezi has made no concession to justify a delay. He still insists on virtual autonomy for the provinces and there is no guarantee that postponing the poll will bring him on board. They believe it may simply be a ploy to buy more time to bolster Inkatha's flagging fortunes and let it regroup for further attacks on the interim constitution.
Secondly, and of critical importance, the KwaZulu problem is overshadowing dozens of potentially explosive crises in other areas. Homeland administrations have collapsed; policemen are threatening to strike unless service conditions are improved; thousands of nurses are already on strike in rural areas where untended patients are dying; prisons remain dangerously volatile; serious crime is rampant; hostel dwellers are threatening to

T Tan mirtiato defend their turf in Transvaal townships; public morale is in tatters; and mass hysteria has sparked panic buying to stockpile for a vague threat of civil chaos in the wake of the election.

Postponing the poll will only worsen these crises and they could collectively become a far more serious threat to SA than the containable security threat in KwaZulu and on parts of the Reef.
Thirdly, these problems are a result of an increasingly ineffectual Nat administration and half-baked Transitional Executive Council. Neither knows who is in charge or how best to handle the worsening crises.
SA needs a credible, energetic government with a determination to solve problems and stop what could become an imperceptible slide towards anarchy. Civil servants and soldiers need a new focus for their loyalty, investors a climate of certainty and ordinary folk a sense of personal security.

None of these is beyond the attainment of sensible leadership.

## Volkstaat for

 'Kapenaars'By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent
AFRIKANER self-determina tion in the Western Cape could embrace both whites and coloureds, Freedom Front leader General Con stand Viljoen said yesterday
"White and coloured people here have the right to claim selfdetermination in their own area,'
he said in Cape Town yesterday.
said in Cape Town yesterday,
And addressing a rally of more
than 1500 enthusiastic support
ers in Kraaifontein last night
Gen Viljoen called on all parties except the ANC and the NP to participate in the formulation of
a joint demand for the postponement of this month's elections.
He said such a postponement would be aimed at rectifying the security situation in South Africa and ensuring that Inkatha and the Conservative Party could be included in the poll.

Gen Viljoen said such a meet ing of non-ANC/NP parties could soon be held in Pretoria under the front's auspices and a joint case could be put to the Independent Electoral Commission
Western Cape Front leader Ms Eleanor Lombard said that those opting for self-determination in the Cape need not call them-
selves, Afrikaners but 'Kapenaars". However, it was necessary to show "proven support" from the community for self-determination to be promoted.
Gen Viljoen said it was the right of Afrikaners in the Cape "to determine for themselves" the type of self-determination they wanted.
However, he envisaged the core of the Afrikaner volkstaat as be ing in the Transvaal and the Free State. He said he did not believe the Western Cape would form part of the consolidated volkstaat, but "it could lay claim to self-determination"
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comer to electioneering, upstaged his more experienced counterpart.
Perthaps it was thanks to two United States consultants, Stanley Greenberg and Frank Greer, who were media advisers of the Bill Clinton presidential campaign.
They coached Mandela for his debut and at 2 pm yesterday took him to the Civic Theatre in Braamfontein, Johannesburg, the venue, for a final rehearsal.

If issues were expected to be at the heart of the debate, it was in fact the personalities of the two men that came to the fore.
In his opening remarks, De Klerk raised the fact that it was he who released Mandela in 1990 after 27 years in prison. This was in keeping with a promise he had made after coming to power wher he had also guaranteed constitutional reforms.
De: Klerk, to emphasise the "new" National Party's commitment to nonracialism, greeted the viewers in Zulu, Sotho, English and Afrikaans.

The ANC president acknowledged that it was indeed after his release that the course of change was affirmed.
"On the eve of this historic election, when South Africans will reclaim their homes, I am humbled to represent peo-


BEFORE THE STORM ... African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela shakes hands with State President FW De Klerk during a photo session prior to their bIg TV debata last nlght. PIC: SELLO MOTSEPE

ple whodid the good work through their struggle during those 27 years of my imprisonment (Zロ4ヶ) (t)
"There is much at stake about this" election... there is aneed to end the very differences between ourselves as majot players," said Mandela.
dechdet whe Klerksaid: Your vote will decide, beginning. Tie people have a choice $\therefore$ The interviewing panel, Tim Modisé Lester Venter and Ferial Haffajee, all of the SABC, and John Simpson of the British Broadcasting Corporation, drove the debate and concentrated on issues äs they successfully steered the two men away from personally attack:ing each other:
Venter went for the jugular when the asked De Klerk whether he (De Klerk) would be content with "taking a subser:" vient role of "former State President in" just two weeks".
$x^{2}$
De Klerk replied diplomatically: "The NP is the mostrepresentative nonracial party. If the ANC comes to power I will be executive deputy president and will be proud to represent South Afri-
caus. That is *hat a govemment of Tnational unity is all about. I will be happy with the outcome ... of a negoti-
ated settlement. Thave confidence in the fuiture ${ }^{3}$
SVenter continued by probing further. 4 fe akiked whether the two leaders were Fawre that Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi' $\quad$ oy coti of the process Whout lead to a struggle for secession Whad fromitwaZulu:
WDe Kierk said he was optimistic a Solutiorwas possible. Mandela said he Wivould continuc talking to Buthelezi and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. TYMolefe 61 Comimando Road, Industria West: Johannesburg) - Mo

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 K $4(011) 474-0128$ atrid Jóe Thlolió, Newsblils, subediting and heodinèstyy Wike Tissong and Sy Makaringe. All of. 61 Commando Road, Industria West, lohannesbiriz: The reproctuction or broadcast without pernisston of articles published in thls newspaper on any current economic. political or religious toplc, is fortididen and expressly feserved to Argus Newspapers Limited under Sectlon 12 (7) of the Copyright Act 1978.


# Ex-enemies are buddies in working for fair polls <br> SOUTH Africa's first 

 democratic election in the Western Cape is being organised by former sworn enemies who now work cheek by jowl at the Independent Electoral Commission's offices to ensure that voting in the region is free and fair.Workers manning the IEC office on Cape Town's Foreshore include civil servants, former political activists, businessmen, students and a hodge-podge of ordinary folk drawn from almost every walk of life. A graphic illustration of the wide background from which the IEC staff is drawn is found at the security desk at the entrance to their offices, which is manned by policemen and former MK soldiers who have found common interests and now work together like "old buddies"

Inside the office, set up less than a month ago, walls are adorned with posters which give a countdown to elections, serving as a constant reminder to all staffers that this is one deadline that cannot be postponed.
Overtime and getting on with the job at hand, despite the conditions under which they work, are accepted without question.
"There is no such thing as nine-to-five hours here," said Western Cape Provincial Electoral officer Mary Burton, a former Black Sash leader.
Nobody knows exactly how many people are employed at the office. Even a week-old telephone list is out of date because "people are coming on board so fast", Ms Burton said.

Some people, motivated by a wide variety of reasons, have taken leave from their normal jobs to work for the IEC. "They told their bosses they had to let them go for the duration because this was the


ELECTION EXPERTS . . . Frenetic activity is visible in every corner of the IEC's Cape Town office Picture: AMBROSE PETERS
first and last time they can do something for their country," Ms Burton said.

Everyone in the office, with the help of knowledge acquired from former local and foreign electoral officers, is learning as they go along, Ms Burton explains.
"This knowledge we mould together with the enthusiasm of our staff, people who have one desire ... to claim this election as their own.
"I believe we have got it right and it's fantastic."
In this environment, a tea-maker whose job the IEC decided was redundant became an administration worker because she had the capability.

Of course, there have
been tensions with people bringing their own prejudices and a hunger for power, she says. "But the wonderful commitment to the elections and knowledge that we all need each other to make this work, has defused most - $f$ f them: $-304 \rightarrow 1$ In just one month, the IEC in the Western Cape has appointed 42 district electoral officers who are now being trained; they have identified and begun setting up 600 potential voting stations and are looking for the right people to man these stations.
A communications system is being set up, using state-of-the-art cellular phones and radios, so that the IEC can bypass Telkom during the elec-
tions.
Monitors, electoral officers, telecommunications workers and voting educators are continually being trained.
The voter educators are stretched as far as possible in the region to explain to the public what the elections are about, how they will work and, importantly, to allay fears and convince people of the secrecy of their vote.

Trained and accredited monitors are observing every political gathering and relaying details of problems encountered back to the office. By April 26 there will be 1100 IEC monitors in the Western Cape.

Mediators are doing their best to diffuse situ-
ations that could contravene the Electoral Act or code of ethics.

Legal investigators are dealing with contraventions that mediators are not able to resolve outside normal legal channels.
Others are glued to telephones taking calls on queries and complaints, which are then passed on to people best able to give answers or solve problems.

There are those who are monitoring the IEC to make sure it is indeed doing everything to make the elections free and fair and ensuring there are no contraventions within the organisation.
News by P Krost, 122 St Gearges Mall, Nape Town)

## Christian party not too biblic <br> 4.4

By JACOB DLAMINI
cHiRISILANS wanting to join the African Chisistian Democratic Party may be disapChristian Democratic Party may ion of the pointed - there was in their manifesto unveiled this week. Bible in their manifesto unvelled the WandLannched at a low-key function in wand ton, the 17-page docume the Holy Book one direct quote from tation, but sin is a "Righteousness exalts a naton, But even that reproach to any people. but.
comes on the powever, the ACDP says it is committed
However, the ACDP says it is com viston to providing a biblically directed foundion of and wants to make sure the fourid.
the new South Africa will be solid.
We want a foundation that Will acknowledge and not dindermine the $R$ Kev KenGod," said A

As election manifestos go, the document Iandible and deals with every aspect of s laudible life and society, from a Bill of
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Rights which advocates religions freedom

- except for traditional African wirship
- to a federal constitution, a free market.
economy and sport. Women are seen as equal before the law, but abortion is a no-no.
but abortion ACDP spokesman Ban Maialeke fix but document was not and economic change. to facilitate social and cconons from look. "We want to discourage citizens from loosing to the state for handoutg. Liberation ing to the state for iang star with the individugl. National ciairman Dr-Johan van ter Nesthunzen, dogged by claimg that he is an agent for Military Tntelligence, said the ACDP had grown in membershipitis party was the only one"that not onily had a solution to the country's problems but knew how to finance reconstruction.
Mr Maluleke said Soweto's economic woes could be solved by tariing the township into a tourist attraction. ship into a tourist a Diagonal Street, Johanneabarg)


# Bumpy ride for voters' transport 

SOUTH Africa's volatile transport industry, plagued by rifts and violence, is gearing up for a bumpy ride to the election as the movement of voters to the polls is left to political parties.
"The transport industry will never be able to cope with the demand during the elections." the Committee of Concerned Roleplayers in the Transport Industry (CCRITTI) said in a memorandum submitted to the Independent Electoral Commission.
The memorandum warns: "It is imperative that transport be seen as being for everybody and not for specific parties."

An estimated four million people are transported daily by rail. bus and taxi, but this figure is expected to treble to 12 million at the climax of the election on April 27 when 22 million people are expected to go to the polls.
The CCRITTI. representing unions, bus companies. taxi owners and rail authorities, has been trying since Janu-

ary to organise election transport under the aus pices of the IEC, while requesting that a subsidy system be funded by the Transitional Executive Council.
'"The management committee dealt with it and decided to refer it to the IEC, but more importantly, to the national party liaison committee (NPLC)," said Dr Theuns Eloff, TEC spokesman in Johannesburd $B<\neq A$
"Mancom felt the issue should be dealt with by the parties themselves."

The IEC, reliable sources said, had indicated that transport involved moving political party supporters and for this reason, it was a party political matter.
NPLC chairman Dr Essop Pahad could not be reached for comment on Friday, but Professor Jackie Walters of CCRITTI said: "Time has run out. It is too big a task to undertake before the election.
Preparations to trans-
port the voters has been left to the last minute.

IEC spokesman in the
Western Cape Mr Phillip Schroeder said:"We could be leaving it a bit late. Apparently the NPLC has come up with a suggestion, but we haven'rheard anything yet." ( heard anyt
He said the region was waiting for notification and guidelines before acting, but pointed out that political parties had not made any transpor inquiries.
"This means transport will be hired by the political parties and identified by logos and slogans," said Prof Walters.
"In my opinion, this could pose a safety hazard. We didn't want this type of situation."

Prof Walters said South Africa had seen enough of taxi wars and ambushed buses and trains.
"There's enough tension in the country already. Party political ready. Party political
tensions and lead to a disaster. Can you imagine an ANC bus riding through Natal?'
In a further develop ment, the Transport and General Workers' Union (TGWU), fearing for the lives of passengers and drivers, has called for a meeting with the TEC.
"The TEC must acti vate its sub-council on law and order to priori tise transport safety," he said.
"If they don't respond by tomorrow, we will approach Mr Nelson Mandela," TGWU general secretary Randall How ard said
"The TEC, as the responsible transitional authority, must take steps to curb violence and intimidation in the passenger industry," he said.

The TGWU identified flashpoints as Khayelitsha in Cape Town, where six bus drivers have been killed and Golden Arrow buses have ceased operations since September last year, and the Baragwanath-Natal route.
"At the end of the day, no company is going to send a driver into a flashpoint area," said Prof Walters.

He estimated bus companies, which are subsidised by the state per ticket sold, could lose R20 m during election week wih the anticipat ed closure of some busi nesses and factories.

Spoornet spokes man Yvette Olwage said in Cape Town that no political parties had requested special election trains.
Golden Arrow spokesman Jeanne Welsh said the bus company had been approached by political parties.
(Naws by M Muller, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town)

By NORMAN WEST Polltical Reporter

THE PAC - whose presi dent, Mr Clarence Makwetu, recently admitted the party was "broke" has had its telephones and faxes reconnected thanks to a R1,7-million donation from the IEC.SITiveo i. The donation was made to flevel the financial playing fields". 1014194
PAC Western Cape premier candidate Patricia de Lille admitted this week that her party, the third largest bidder for the black vote in the Western Cape after the ANC and NP, was "still only limping financially, but doing okay, thank you" (f)
"Our infrastructure has been recommissioned, albeit to a limited degree." she said. ( 304 H ) "We have, for instance, our Cape Town office, which makes it difficult for the media to get hold of us or for us to communicate with the outside world. It is difficult to run a campaign like this," she said.

Mr Makwetu admitted recently that the PAC had no money even to print posters and had to use crude signs made by hand in the townships.

Miss de Lille said that soon after its unbanning, the PAC had received generous donations from countries such as Libya.

These funds had dried up and the PAC's understaffed and sparsely furnished regional offices had been left to fend for themselves.

Since the IEC donation, the PAC has stepped up its election campaign, distributing glossy posters in two or three colours.


By Clatre robertson
THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has drawn up detailed plans to allow Kwazulu's three million voters to cast ballots despite the violent climate and a lack of co-operation from Ulundi.
"We have no option but to run an election in Kwazulu - and we have the capability to do so," IEC member Gay McDougall said yesterday.

She and IEC vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke spent two days touring four of the province's five subprovincial regions this

## ANC guard held

 after shootingweek. Anticipating security problems and resigned to little, if any, official cooperation from Kwazulu officials, the commissioners outlined plans that would ensure even those in the "no-go" areas in the north could yote if they wished to do so.

This included shiftin polling stations to borders with South Africa, increasing the size of voting stations in predominantly white, relatively safe areas and bringing in mobile and temporary yoting stations:

Only about 800 polling stations are now expected
to be set up fn Kwazulu Natal's 51 voting districts, although 1000 to 1200 were originally planned.
SThe IEC is to liaise closely with the security forces, who will concentrate on keeping the main roads to these voting stations openfas-
It "may have to factor $\mathrm{in}^{\prime \prime}$ transporting yoters to polling stations, said Mr Moseneke.
The exact sting of Kwazulu Natal's polling stations will be made known on Wednesday.
Tif violence decreases as a result of the imposition of the State of Emergency, the polling stations may be moved closer to where they are needed.
Already the IEC belieyes it will be possible to set up polling stations in parts of notoriously unstable. Kwamashu and Umlagi, near Durban.
$\because$ The IEC aims to provide polling stations not more than 10 km from voters throughout the country.
This was not possible in the Żulu heartland around Empangeni, where Mr Moseneke Tdentified several "problem children", including Nongoma - where the royal kraal is situated - and Mahlaba tini, the district surrounding the Kwazulu capital of Ulundi.
Stewe by Crame riobertion 11 Diagonal Strect tobamesburt)


hold back a large crowd. A man working at a cafe nearby said he had been told by police that the shot had been fired "by accident".

Mr Bradley Clark, head of security at the Summit Club, said ANC guards had claimed the shot came from the top of the building.
"But it definitely came from inside the red vehicle," he added.

While there were unconfirmed reports: of other shots being fired after the incident, no other injuries were reported.

Sunday Times Reporters
IT WAS almost a case of the ANC shooting itself in the foot - unfortunately, it was a passer-by who took the bullet
The ANC had feared Third Force agents would disrupt events commemo rating the death of Chris Hani, but yesterday one of its own men was held by police after a shooting outside a service in Hillbrow, Johannesburg.
The ANC security guard had been standing at the entrance of the Summit Club, a residential hotel Where the memorial ser-
















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## rive, guvernment Iose patience

# Natal faces crackdown 

 as talks failEMERGENCY security measures are expected to be stepped up in KwaZulu/Natal in the next few days to secure the holding of the elections, after political leaders were unable to agree on free political activity at their summit meeting on Friday.
ANC and government negotiators said yesterday they had reached the end of their patience with KwaZulu Chief Minister and Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, although they would continue trying to pacify King Goodwill Zwelithini.
Sources in both delegations said they were not hopeful that negotiations on the future of the Zulu king, or international mediation, would be completed before the elections in 15 days' time.
The Transitional Executive Council (TEC) management committee is expected at its meeting today to urge President FW de Klerk to tighten the screws on Buthelezi's KwaZulu administration.
A task group set up to deal with the demands of Zwelithini - a group reprei senting government, the ANC, Inkatha Freedom Party and KwaZulu government - will meet today, while mediation is scheduled to begin on Wednesday.
President FW de Klerk signalled after the summit meeting that government had dropped its initial opposition to international mediation, which he said could play a "constructive role".
However, the task group's job was made more difficult when Inkatha's central committee at the weekend rejected the ANC's proposals submitted to Zwelithini and his advisers at the summit meeting.


Meanwhile, senior ANC negotiators said they did not think international mediation would be completed before the elections. Buthelezi has insisted, however, that the elections be postponed untilmediation has
run its course. $27 \times 1304$
ANC and Inkatha negotiators have still not agreed on the terms of reference for mediation. The two main mediators - former US secretary of state Henry Kissinger and former British foreign secretary Lord Carrington - have said they were not prepared to start work until the terms of reference had been sorted out.
ANC president Nelson Mandela warned against "exaggerated expectations" from negotiations in the short term. "Let me be frank. I cannot see a resolution before the elections," he said on Friday after the summit meeting.
TH: "This problem can be resolved only by the government of national unity, th body which wifl have legislative powers."

He was confident the state of emergency, "when up. to strength ... will go a long way in securing free and fair elections".
SADF spokesman Maj Nick Sendall yesterday confirmed there were an estimated 3000 tropps in KwaZulu/Natal, "assisting the SAP".About 1000 more citizen force members had been called up for a month's duty from Friday. "The numbers will be increased as and when the situation warrants it."
Defence and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee defended the decision to declare To Page 2



JOHANNESBURG. - Police have seized a large number of alleged false identity books and applications for ID books from the Johannesburg offices of a company called Vrede Peace Immigration Verteenwoordigers (VPIV).
Police spokesman Dave Bruce said yesterday the company "evidently facilitates the obtaining of identity documents".

Lieutenant-Colonel Bruce said that although the investigation was in the preliminary stages, "the particulars contained in the applications are based on those of deceased persons".

He warned that anyone who had obtained an ID document from VPIV was likely to be in possession of a false document, which constituted a serious offence.

Colonel Bruce issued a strong warning that the police would "especially be on the lookout for false IDs during the election period".

Police are searching for' Noko Nobelo Titus in connection with their find.
The Syndicate Fraud Unit was first alerted about the allegedly fraudulent operation by the Home Affairs Department, which noticed irregularities on application forms.
The documents seized included 22 ID books and four passports, passport photos, temporary ID documents, birth certificates, completed receipts for applications and five administration books containing about 2000 names of people who might have been issued with false identity documents. - Sapa.

## POLITICS Moseneke speaks out on Natal elections • I

# Zululand problem <br> THE heart of Zululand will be <br> Tthe most difficult area to carry out free and fair elections but the poll in KwaZulu-Natal will not be postponed, according to <br> <br> - TOUGH DISTRICTS Intimidation <br> <br> - TOUGH DISTRICTS Intimidation <br> brings drop in polling stations: 

an Independent Electoral Commission report released at the weekend.

Speaking to journalists after returning from a two-day fact finding mission to Natal, IEC vice-chairman Mr Dikgang Moseneke said a free and fair poll would not be easy to conduct in districts in the Empangeni sub-province in Northern Natal, most of which fell entirely within

KwaZulu. Moseneke mentioned Nkandla, Msinga, Ingwavuma, Nqutu, Mahlabatini - the area in which Ulundi is situated and Nongoma, the stronghold of the Zulu king, as problem areas in the 51-district province.

IEC commissioner Ms Gay McDougall said she and Moseneke had found there was
a clear desire from people in the region to vote. $804 A$ Mosenelee said the number of proposed polling stations in the homeland had been reduced to about 800 because of violence and intimidation. - Sapa.
(Report by Jono Waters 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

ALLCGAlivivgumgacism between the difrican National Congress and the National Party continued in the Western Cápe today.

捔
Western Cape leaders Allăn Boesak and Hernus Kriel flung allegations of racism at each other's parties.

Dr Boesak alleged the NP was telling coloured people that "kaffirs" were to be feared while Mr Krel pointed out that the ANC referred to "skollies" in pamphlets depicting NP candidates of colour as "dogs".

In interviews at the weekend each denied his party was running a racist campaign.
Dit Boesak said a"major problem the ANC had with the NP's campaign was its racist undertone.
"We have seen the material the NP is prepared to use such as that infamous booklet which, through an interdict, it has been ordered to stop spreading and which, after the interdict, they continued to spread.
"We are also seeing what one could call a whispering campaign all over the Cape Flats.
"People are saying 'I am not going to vote for the ANC because I do not want to fall under a kaffir government' and that blacks are going to take their houses and jobs and are going to kill them," Dr Boesak said.
"It is something so totally out of character for those people that we now ask people 'Where did you hear this?' They say at National Party meetings, at house meetings.
"The NP's efforts are creating racial tensions between black and white in general and specifically between Africans and coloureds that we never had before," Dr Boesak said.

Mr Kriel rejected Dr Boesak's allegations.
"Never ever have I or any of our speakers referred to people in racial terms.
"What we have been doing is that we have said we believe the ANC - and there are people of all races who belong to the ANC - is a danger to the Western Cape It is not a racial thing, it is political.
"Ithink Dr Boesak is trying to türn the campaign we have against the ANC into a socalled racial thing which is absolutely not correct.
"No decision has yet been given about our so-called racial booklet, the one in the form of a comic book. An ANC applićation and"our defence will be properly heard only tomorrow."


# Big 

 chiefs fos ATE on Friday night President de Klerk tried his utmost to put a positive spin on the day of talks that had just been completed between himself, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini. Nelson Mandela and Mangosuthu Buthelezi.But it was evident from the language of aides that proceedings had gone far from smoothly. One described the meeting, bluntly, us a "stuff-up"; another said he was amazed the talks had survived through the day after it became evident that there was very little chance of bridging differences.
The words of Mandela and Buthelezi at a late night press conference at Skukuza in the Kruger National Park reinforced the suggestion of a yawning gap.

As midnight approached, Mandela reacted sharply to a statement issued jointly by Buthelezi and the king: "... the statement read by the Chief Minister comes to me as a complete surprise. I certainly was not informed about it before now. I would have expected that if there was a separate statement we should have been informed and warned about it."
The statement, read to the press conference by Buthelezi, had been aggressive, hitting at the state of emergency and the proposals made by the ANC as well as demanding a postponement of the election.
Responding to Mandela's criticism, Buthelefi suggested that the ANC leader had misufterstood proceedings during the talks and "it wasn't as if we were doing it (issuing the statement) secretly"

Mandela reacted bluntly to the election
"The IFP wanted the date of the election postponed. We have emphatically rejected that. That. day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever."
Nelson Mandela
delay demand: "We have emphatically rejected that. That day is sacrosanct and there can be no compromise over it whatsoever.
Buthelezi also dismissed what he apparently believed were suggestions that the king was demanding personal reassurances: "The issues, as the king has raised (them), have a lot to do with the self-deterinination of the Zulu people. (It is) not just a personal issue which His Majesty raises about himself and his family, but an issue which he raises about his people as a whole."
In the circumstances De Klerk's notes of optimism sounded misplaced. He had urged observers not to look cynically on the creation of yet another "working group"' to probe differences, and added: "I think we have achieved progress.
But one comment by the President did come close to summing up the situation in KwaZulu/Natal today: "To a certain extent

we have come to the brink of a very serious situation," he said.

The leaders are expected to get together again late this week. The working group is scheduled to issue its report on Thursday. The founding documents with which it will have to deal were released in the course of Friday's dellberations - and largely lost in the drama of the inconclusive media conference. Here is the crux of the various proposals and submissions put forward.

## THE ANC PROPOSAL

The ANC tabled a seven-point "draft agreement" between itself and the king. In essence the detailed document offered to entrench the Zulu monarchy, guarantee it the "proper" regal status, clarify the king's domain over public property and pay his expenses and those of the royal house of KwaZulu out of the provinctal budget.
In addition, the agreement allowed for the king to be crowned "in such a manner as may be agreed with him", reaffirmed his right to install all chiefs in the province and his powers determined by Zulu custom and tradition.
The constitution would provide for the king to open the provincial legislature each year. The premier of the KwaZulu/Natal province would be required to regularly report to and brief the king on all legislative
"One can't really say in one breath that you have a free and fair election and then in the next breath say that you approve of the state of emergency." Mangosuthu Buthelezi
and executive actions.
The provinciul government would also establish a Royal Constabulary responsible for the security of the royad house, while the the security of the royaf house, while the
king would have to be consulted by the provincial government on the question of the final name to be given to the province. In return, the king and royal house would undertake to actively promote the rights of all South Africans to full politfeal freedom.
The document spelt out that this would mean "guaranteeing all political parties and organisations . . . shall not be hindered . . . in their unarmed and peaceful campaigns". The crucial requirement demanded of the king in the draft agreement was contained in its final paragraph: "His Majesty and the royal house of KwaZulu further undertake to do all in their power, in collaboration with the Independent Electoral Commission, to ensure that all persons seeking to partjcipate
"There is already broad consensus . burning issue of : accommodation recognition of the the Zulu lingdom. F W de Klerk
and vote in the fort......, able to do so without ${ }^{2}$ Mandela said after the out of our way to ates we believe a consitu: like to enjoy. There is : our view which we haps we were silent on: right of his majesty to :indigenous law. When ${ }^{1-}$. us we indicated (that we address this question."

## GOVERNMENT PFUFE

President de Klerk put ; which he later said but: the ANC's submission mands. It envisaged the constitution of the king's that of an executive and the kingdom of KwaZuiu.
> , forging a tenuous bridge over the political summit. Failure could plunge the country into , writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield


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"There is already a discernible broad consensus... on the burning issue of the accommodation and full recognition of the monarchy of the Zulu kingdom." F W de Klerk

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I parties and .tu. . . in migns". The the king in invod in its ? the royal tane to do i! with the inn, to enparticipate
and vote in the forthcoming elections shall be able to do so without hindrance."

Mandela said after the meeting: "We went out of our way to address everything which we believe a constitutional monarch would like to enjoy. There is hardly any power in our view which we reserved except perhaps we were silent on the question of the right of his majesty to communal land and to indigenous law. When this was pointed out to us we indicated (that we were) prepared to address this question."

## GOVERNMENT PROPOSAL

President de Klerk put forward a proposal which he later said bridged the gap between the ANC's submission and the king's demands. It envisaged the entrenchment in the constitution of the king's position as well as that of an executive and a council to grovern the kingdom of KwaZulu.

The council would consist of 80 members at least half made up of traditional leaders. The copy of the submission obtained by The Star made no reference to the composition of the executive.
The king, his executive and the councll would "have jurisdiction over the land which is subject to the traditional land tenureship system or subject to the powers of a traditional leader and over all Zulu subjects".
The king, executive and council would have legislative and executive powers on: nindigenous law and customs and local government affairs in the relevant area of its jurisdiction;
a Traditions, indigenous law and customs relating to the Zulu subjects and;

- Other assigned or delegated matters.

Do Klerk said later: "We have made specific proposuls; we have specifically dealt with the two issues (outstanding from the ANC proposal). I am confident on this issue, which is an issue of major importance to the Zulu nation, that we have made progress."

## THE KING'S SUBMISSION

In his 12-page presentation to Mandela, the king began with a searing attack on the ANC for the deaths which occurred outside the organisation's Johannesburg headquarters in the recent city centre bloodshed.
He demanded that Mandela personally dis-
tance himself from the shedding of "innocent blood of my father's people" and added that the ANC president should personally use his Influence to seek the conviction of those gullty of this "crime". The King warned that unless Mandela did this "our dialogue will remain difficult if not impossible".
The king lashed out at the emergency declaration, caling it "an Invasion ... an act of foreign aggression ... and a rape of our national dignity and pride". He and his people would never recognise the legitimacy of actlons taken under the emergency.
The king added that it was "a fact of history that I will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 constitution in its present form".
He said the future of the kingdom of KwaZulu as a fedcral state of South Africa or as a "completely autonomous state" depended on what Mandela "and others in South Africa do tc me and my people". The king said that while "the kingdom must preferably be made part of the new South Airica", this should never be at the expense of what he called "the soverelgnty of the kingdom".
"I and my people would like to have just elbow room within a greater South Africa," said the king. This "elbow room" should include a provincial police force and militia as well as a recognition of the Zulu monarchy above the institutions of chieftanships.

## BUTHELEZI'S MEMORANDUM

In his submission to the summit, Buthelezi sald he would participate in elections if a number of conditions were met - these included the postponement of the clection.

## 'It is . . . a fact of history that I

 will not encourage the Zulu nation to participate in any election under the 1993 Constitution in its present formulation."King Goodwiil Zwelithini

Also prominent in the list of conditions was the immediate lifting of the state of emergency in Natal/KwaZulu, and the binding inclusion in the constitution of the outcome of international mediation on regional powers and other constitutional matters.

Other demands were:
BRecognition of the Zulu monarchy and the kingdom of KwaZulu in the Interim Constitution as well as "the KwaZulu/Natal provincial constitution";
AThat provincial constitutions, as well as the powers and functions of provinces in the interim conslitution, be "entrenched";
That the results of international mediation be incorporated in the Interim Constitution.
Buthelezi insisted that to "facilitate" participation in elections and the resolution of constitutional disputes, the election be postponed and that parties be given another chance to register.


## IEC the ill and <br> By ANTHONY JOHNSON 94 <br> Political Correspondent <br> THE Democratic Party yesterday as Commission Independent Electoral franchision (IEC) of effectively disen tential voters. <br> The IEC's decision to flou the sions of the Electoral flout the provito visit private homes Act by refusing and aged persons to to allow invalids was "quite shocking", DP MP Mr votes las Gibson said yesterday Mr Doug. <br> "Even at this late stage the DP calls

ANOTHER political row has broken out between the ANC and the National Party in the Western Cape over propaganda claims that a victory by NP candidate premier Hernus Kriel would cost Cape Town the Olympics.

And the Democratic Party has expressed concern that the virulent tone of the ANC's campaign against the NP could have serious repercussions for the postelection Western Cape government.

The latest row is over an ANC pamphlet which warns that "if Kriel wins the election, Cape Town has no chance of getting the Olympics".

No Olympic Games, the pamphlet says, means no tourism, no investment, no work and would be tantamount to "disaster".

ANC election workers distributed the leaflets, headed "No Olympics", on commuter trains early today.

The pamphlet also suggests that Mr Kriel has plans for a "boerestaat" in the Western Cape and that an NP victory would attract a rightwing influx and lead to racial tension.
But Anna van Wyk, a member of the Cape information committee and National Assembly candidate of the Na tional Party, dismissed the ANC claims and said informed people in the Olympic movement overseas would not be swayed by such propaganda.
'This is typical of the ANC's approach of trying to blackmail and hold to ransom the population of a whole region.
"It is the sort of blackmail we have come to associate with the ANC."

Mrs Van Wyk said there had been clear indications from abroad that there would be confidence in an NP administration among foreign observers, because of the party's free market approach

Olympic bid committee cochairman Raymond Ackerman said he would complain to the ANC.
"The Olympics are on as far as we are concerned. South Africa has too much to lose if we bedevil the Olympics with party politics.
"I am going to speak to political leaders to try to ensure that the Olmpics are kept out of the present election scramble."

He said the problem in South Africa was always the mixing of politics and sport. He apof politics and sport. He ap-
pealed to the parties not so spoil "this most meaningful opportunity for the country".

The Olympic committee would open offices with a small team of people in the Waterfront next month.

By 1997, when a final decision on the Olympic venue would be made, about R1,3 billion would have been spent on building sports facilities, mostly in areas of the Cape that had been denied them because of apartheid or neglect.

Democratic Party candidate premier Hennie Bester warned that the tone of the ANC's campaign against the NP suggested an ANC central government - might adopt a a "punitive" attitude to the future Western Cape administration if the NP won the regional election.
"We think the ANC's propagandist claims are nonsense but the potential repercussions concern us," he said
However, Bulelani Ngcuka, head of the ANC department of information and publicity, said the pamphlets were issued because the ANC was deeply concerned that race relations in the region would deteriorate and might result in open racial conflict should the National Party win the Western Cape elections.

## Secret

## ANC paper slams Nat strategy

## ROGER FRIEDMAN

Staff Reporter
MANIPULATING the "rational and real fears within the coloured community" and exploiting divisions and mistrust created by apartheid are key ingredients in the National Party's recipe for winning power in the Western Cape says a secret Afri ern Cape, says a secret Afri ment.
A "highly classified" ANC working paper, Understgind-ing"Tne-New National Party, which hasin been leaked to The Argus, says the NP campaign is based on:

- Fostering fear and suspicion through its use of "swaartgevaar" and "rooigevaar".
Exploiting apartheid's divisions and mistrust
* Manipulating the fears of the coloured community.
- Depicting the ANC as dangerous and untrustworthy.
(2) "Keeping institutions of minority domination as little changed as possible."
Under the heading Elements in its strategy, the ANC claims the NP hoped it would not be held responsiwould not be held responsi le "for its own mismanage ment and mess" by "making us forget the past".
By claiming full responsibility for the transition process, the NP aimed to undermine the centrality of the ANC-led alliance. And by focusing on President De Klerk as its trump card, it hoped to "hide the hundreds of other 'crooks' on its list".
The NP hoped to corner significant coloured support by presenting the ANC as by presenting the ANC as an external force/threat to What the NP claimed were ommon valus between Af ikaners and coloured, says the document.
Through its strategy of pretending to "hover above the violence", the NP was suc ceeding in presenting the violence as "intolerance of the ANC and its struggle for turf with Inkatha".
- The National Party has denied charges of racism
According to NP Western Cape premiership candidate Hernus Kriel the party is not referring to people in racial terms.
It has, however, said that the ANC is a danger to the Western Cape. This, Mr Kriel has said, is a political accusation.


News by T Wentzet, M Morris, V Bavum and T Hood. 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).
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 attempts of foreign mediators led by $\mathbf{D r}$

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 almost certainly the vast majority -



 a most serious, and potentially
disastrous, step. the African National Congress and the
government this week, would have been foreign mediation of its differences with
the African National Congress and the insisted on during the failed attempts at fortuight before it was due to take
place, as the Inkatha Freedom Party To have delayed South Africa's first mediation


| Editor-in-Chief | Editor |  |
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| 122 St George's St. Cape Town 8000 | $488-4911$ |  |











































## R700-m budget for staging election <br> 回BY HELEN GRANGE <br> The ECC's estimated expenditure for staging the election is R697 million. Its administration directorate has been apportioned R376 million, the monitoring directorate R163 million and the adjudication directorate R29 million. <br> The rest is allocated to voter education, the Operation Access programme, financial and executive administration of the IEC, the international liaison office and the commis' sionerș' salaries. <br> The administration directorate is paying 9000 presiding officers and more than 270000 voting and counting officers" some R182 million in wages and salaries. <br> Printing of the ballot paper is budgeted at $R 35$ million. Some R 59 million is earmarkedsfor equipping the voting stations Tielecommunica- <br> tions to link all the voting stations is expected to cost about R18 million. Transporting the voting material to the voting stations is budgeted at R9 million. Some R23 million is earmarked for the use of public and private transport by LEC officials. <br> The 11000 monitors and 4000 officers to staff operations rooms around the clock get a budget of R 63 million. Transport for monitors is set to cost R12 million, while R74 million has been set aside for monitoring telecommunications operations. Back-up telecommunications has been allocated at least R11 million. <br> The adjudication directorate's R29 million budget is earmarked mainly for the salaries and wages of judicial officers and staff (R25 million). <br> The commissioners have been allocated R5,5 million. ( 47 Sauer 5 t. Johannesburg)

## Electoral Fund doubled to R44－m

## BY HELEN GRANGE

The Transitional Executive Council has approved the dou－ bling of the Electoral Fund to
R44 million－which means political parties can earmark R2 per voter in their election campaigns．
Independent Electoral Com－ mission chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said yester－
day that，as a result，regis－ tered political parties would be receiving a second injec－ tion of campaign funds next week．
The Electoral Fund，con－ sisting of State funds，has been divided in two－with one half set aside for pre－elec－ tion campaigning and the other for partles gaining seats in Parliament．

The amount given to a party for its campaign de－ pends on its proven level of support by way of either lists of signatures or an opinion poll．

Mr Justice Kriegler．said R2 per voter was a＂modest＂ amount in the international context．
（47 Sauer Street，Johannesburg）


## - BY CHRIS WHITIFIËLD and KAIZER NYATSUMBA

International mediators yesterday abandoned their mission to South Africa, taking with them probably the last chance to get the IFP into the electoral process.

The high-powered team began leaving the country yesterday after the IFP, Government and ANC failed to bridge differences on the terms of reference for mediation. They flew into Johannesburg on Monday.


Analysis - Page 2
Analysis
state and mediator Henry;Kissinger refused to apportion blame for the fiasco, saying that the parties had made "a major effort to bridge the differences".

He and his team had come to the country in the belief that terins ồ reference hadwbeen agreed on," but "discovered on Wednesday that this was not the case.

The ANC categorically blamed the IFP, the IFP said it was the fault of both the ANC and the Government, while the Government said the FPP and ANC could not reach agreement.
Yesterday both ANC secre-tary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and IFP negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane said their organisations remained committed to negotiations.
At a press conference after Kissinger's announcement, Ramaphosa said: "The breakdown in discussions ... was really occasioned by Inkatha's insistence that the postponement of the election had to be addressed by the mediators."
Ngubane, speaking immediately after Ramaphosa, said - To Page 3


## It's a dead heat, say PWV viewers <br> 施品 <br> 514194

Viewwers in the PWV area saw it as'a dead heat, while those in KwaZulu/Natal thought Pre sident de Klerk had the edge.

These were the main findings of 'a snap telephone survey cònducted by Marketing and Media Research for The Star after last night's debate.
PWV respondents were split evenly - 36 percent of those who had watched said Mandela had won, the same number favoured De Klerk and 18 percent ruled it a draw.
In KwaZulu/Natal, 44 percent said De Klerk had won, while: 24 percent went for Mandela. Nineteen percent drew the contest.
A total of 619 people were contacted in the two areas. Fiftẏ-nine percent said they

had watched, 27 percent said had not, and 14 percent refused to say. $3014 \%$ won the battle for "undecided" voters. In the PWV, 26 percent of those contacted who were described as "undecided" voters, found Mandela more convincing, while 40 percent favoured De Klerk.

In KwaZulu/Natal, De Kerk had the support of 32 percent of "undecideds", and Mandela 16 percent.

The poll was necessarily biased towards white respondents because of the number of telephones in traditionally white areas.
The male-female breakdown was 50-50. - Political Staff.

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## IEC defends keeping press 600 m away Journalists condemn voting station 14

## CBY JASPER MORTIMER

Foreign journalists in South Africa have condemned the Independent Electoral Commission's ban on the media at voting stations during the election as a serious infringement of press freedom.
Joe Contreras, chairman of the 200 -strong Foreign Correspondents Association, said yesterday the IEC's decision to keep journalists 600 m away from polling stations was ridiculous.

The IEC said the 1993 Electoral Act prohibits all journalists from coming within 600 m of the stations. It had decided to revoke the ban to allow press coverage of the leaders of the 26 political parties when they cast their ballots.

IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje said the exception was made because the commission had realised there would be enormous interest in photographing persons such as Nelson Mandela and President de


Klerk when they post their ballots. However, the press would be barred from poiling stations when private persons were voting, he said.

## Secrecy



This was in order to protect voters, particularly in areas such as rurad KwaZulu, where anti-election intimidation was likely to be pervasive $\cong 04 \wedge^{\text {b }}$
"The IEC's guiding principle has been the secrecy of the vote," Cronje said. "If a polling station is bristling with cameras, then the voter will not feel secure."

Contreras said this reason
was not valid. "I don't think a person is going to arrive at a polling station, see a group of journalists, and say 'I'm not going to vote'."
He believed the safety of voters would be compromised not by the press, but by the activities of certain political parties on the ground.
The presence of journalists could moderate the behaviour of political militants, Contreras argued. "By our mere presence, we will be able to make a positive contribution towards ensuring a climate for free and fair elections," he added.

Contreras suggested the nogo area around poling stations should be no more than 10 to 20 m . He predicted that up to 2500 foreign journalists would bo covering the election.
South African Conference of Editors chairman Richard Steyn, who is also editor-inchief of The Star, has said the $\because$ ban appeared to be a "selfdefeating exercise".
(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

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African Moderates Congress Party
AMMP） African Christian Democratic Party




 DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Po shape after the election．
David BREIER
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shape after the election． unity and nine new provincial
 after the elections．Here is a


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 The premier will be Mathew Phosa of
the ANC．边

 The premier will be Ngoako Ramath－
lodi of the ANc．
Eastern Transvaal

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BENCHES FOR AFRICA: What the seating arrangement of the National Assembly (NA)
chamber oi the new parliament will look like during joint sittings of the 400-member NA
and the 90 -member Senate. The benches in the middle will normally be stored in pas-
sages around the chamber. During joint sittings the extra benches will be arranged as
shown here to accommodate the Senate. During ordinary sittings the centre will be clear.




景










[^0]:    - 

[^1]:    Election troops will still be
    

    Defence Reporter
    CITIZEN Force soldiers called up over the election period will be given the opportunity to vote for their home regions if they are stationed in other areas.

    This assurance was given by the South African Defence Force after several soldiers ${ }^{8}$ frôm a Cape Town Highlanders unit who were called up to go to the Northern Cape and Free State complained that they would not be able to vote in their regions.

    When planning was done for the huge call-up over the elec-
    toral Commission to make special arrangements for troops stationed outside their regions, a spokesman said today.
    Soldiers who called The Argus expressed a fear that their democratic rights were going to be ignored while they had to go and defend the democratic rights of others.
    According to the SADF spokesman, the troops were to be asked to indicate their region in documentation. They would be allowed to cast a special vote for their regions on

    The polling stations where they were going to vote would be aware of their special circumstances, the spokesman said.

    Meanwhile, army units have expressed their satisfaction with citizen force response to the call-up.

    Spokesmen declined to mention figures but said the percentage of reporting was high.

    Dodgers would be prosecuted through the normal legal ehannels, they said.
    An overall response figure might be made public early next week, a spokesman said.

[^2]:    Afrlean Christlan Democratle Party leader the Rov Kenneth Meshoe and party
     yostorday to lounch thair party manifeato.

    Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

[^3]:    
    NPaccuse

    THE controversy over the Democracy Education Broadcasting Initiative (Debi) has cntered the political arena, with the National Party this week accusing the organisation of bias and calling for Debi to suspend its voter education programmes in the media.
    Debi chair Ruth Teer-Tomaselli hit back at NP spokesman Marthinus van Schalkwyk, saying he was "on very thin ice, his cheap shot won't go far".

    While the politicians argue, it is still not clear who is going to pick up the tab for Debi's debts, accrued in its efforts to tell South Africa's voters about democracy and how it works.

    The Mail \& Guardian revealed last week that Debi - established to embark on a voter education campaign - had run up debts amounting to more than R3-million.
    This week the NP called for the suspension of Debi's activities, arguing
    that the initiative favaured the ANC Van Schalkwyk said his party would lay a formal complaint before the Independent Electoral Commission, asking for Debi to be suspended.
    But Tomaselli said Debi was "not even thinking of withdrawing its programming". Accusations of bias towards the ANC fell wide of the mark because "many of the 51 organisations which make up Debi are sym: pathetic to the NP".
    The NP has also criticised Debi for featuring personalities associated with the $A N C$, such as American film star Danny Glover and Archbishop Dcsmond Tutu. Said Tomaselli: "We immediately pulled the Glover ad when we became aware of his assoctations with the ANC. Tutu has not been active in party politics for some time, and we must ask where civil society starts and ends if we shouldn't be using him to educate voters."

    The ANC responded to Van Schalkwyk's call by accusing the NP of being
    $\omega m 8-14 / 4 / 94$
    "opportunistic and bent on denying millions of South Africans access to voter education programmes.
    "The NP was involved right from the start in setting up Debi to provide non-partisan and fair voter education. Using bias as a reason to suspend Debi's programmes at this late stage is simply an excuse to rob millions of people the right to voter education and hamper free and farr electons," the ANC said.
    A joint venture of the SABC and 51 non-governmental organisations. Debi claims it was told by the Ministry of Home Affairs R1 1 -million would come from the multiparty forum or whatever body was set up to manage the transition - this turned out to be the IEC. It has been given R3-million as "bridging finance". but further funds pledged have not been forthcoming.
    "We will work out payment to the SABC," said Tomaselli. "The IEC should be paying for this voter education."

[^4]:    

[^5]:    Mellet to stand for FF
    BY ANDRE KOOPIMAN 3047 medical reasons, Gen Mellet, whó GENEARAL Leon Mellet, who retired recently from the police force because of ill health, is to stand for the Freedom Front (FF) as a national candidate in the PWV region.
    diast month he denied that he was mormast month he denied that he was stand Viljoen and the FF. He has joined 48 generals - including the former police commissioner - in supporting the FF.

    Asked how he could stand for the FF when he had been boarded for was head of the police public relaitions division, said: "I feel my health will be able to take it. I am not working 18 hours a day like I used to and am not facing the same stress."
    Gen Mellet said he did not believe the idea of a volkstaat was workable, but he supported theother FF aims. He supported" tie Frided of "selfdetermination", which meant the protection of cultural,language and other rights in communities:

[^6]:    (Report by D Breier, 12 Z St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

[^7]:    ■ Report by Jan Taljaard, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

[^8]:    20 • FINANCIAL MALL • APRIL • 15 • 1994

