

S.A. GOVT. & POLITICS

1994 JANUARY

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Deadline democracy

THREE weeks of momentous political manoeuvring lie ahead for South Africa, weeks in which make-or-break decisions and compromises will set the scene for the crucial April election and the launch of a new democracy.

Political activity resumes next week when parties and organisations begin preparations for the final phase of the election campaign — and negotiators from the government and the ANC attempt to persuade the dissenting Freedom Alliance to join the process.

The ANC is to begin its election phase in mid-January and the National Party is planning a grand launch of its manifesto and the final phase of its campaign early in February.

This will be at a special federal congress at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on February 2 — exactly four years after President De Klerk's historic announcement of major reforms and the unbanning of the ANC, the PAC and other organisations.

The party's manifesto will set out its platform for the election.

The National Party's list of candidates will also be announced there and immediately after the congress there will be a conference of candidates to plan election strategy.

It is already clear that President De Klerk will be the centrepiece of the NP's campaign.

Surveys have shown Mr De Klerk, in his own right, is attracting support among people who have not been traditional supporters of the National Party, particularly in the coloured and Indian communities.

The so-called "De Klerk Nats" are regarded as a new phenomenon in South African politics.

On his first roadshow in the Overberg this week Mr De Klerk pressed the point that the NP of today was a "new" National Party, a party which had renewed itself.

At the same time he attacked the "old" ANC for clinging to outmoded policies and remaining in the clutches of its communist partners.

Equally the ANC will market Nelson Mandela at the centre of its election campaign.

Both leaders will campaign extensively throughout the country.

In the meantime, the eyes of the political world rest on the Freedom Alliance which effectively has until January 24 to become part of the process.

This will depend on negotiations with the government and the ANC ... and whether it will accept the condition that it must abide by the democratic process, or, at least, not hinder it.

If the alliance agrees, negotiations with the ANC and the government will be re-opened in an effort to satisfy its constitutional demands that federal elements in the constitution be strengthened.

The alliance announced a cool-

■ South Africa has a new interim constitution that will transform the highly centralised Westminster-style system installed at Union in 1910. The new system, which provides for a greater degree of federalism and devolution of power to the provinces, will be brought into being by the country's first non-racial, democratic election on April 27. After the Christmas lull, political progress towards this event will rapidly gain momentum, reports **TOS WENTZEL** of the Weekend Argus Political Staff.

HOW THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA WILL WORK

PRESIDENT

HEAD OF STATE

Elected by the National Assembly at its first sitting

EXECUTIVE DEPUTY PRESIDENTS

Every party holding 80 seats in the National Assembly shall designate a DP (if no party holds more than 80 seats in NA the two largest parties shall each designate one)

MULTI-PARTY CABINET

Consists of the President, Deputy Presidents and at most 27 Cabinet Ministers (allocation of Ministerial portfolios in proportion to seats held in National Assembly; all parties with at least 5% of the vote shall have a Minister; decision-making by ordinary majority)

PARLIAMENT

Which is also the Constituent Assembly and will adopt the final constitution by two-thirds majority vote within two years

NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

400 MEMBERS

directly elected:
200 from a national list
200 from provincial lists;
decision making by
ordinary majority;
some special
majorities required

SENATE

90 MEMBERS

10 members from each province
elected by members of each
of the 9 provincial legislatures
on a basis of proportional
representation

PROVINCIAL LEGISLATURE

Between 30 & 100 SEATS

depending on size of the province

Eastern Cape

E Transvaal

Kwa Zulu

N Cape

N Transvaal

North West

OFS

PWV

Western Cape

ing-off period after the last round of negotiations last month.

Inkatha, one of the alliance partners, is to decide within the next week or so on whether it will take part.

If an agreement is reached with the alliance, parliament will be recalled late this month.

This is likely to be only a one-day, joint session of the three Houses.

Meanwhile, the sub-councils of the Transitional Executive Council — covering law and order, stability and security; defence; fi-

nance; foreign affairs; status of women, intelligence and regional and local government and traditional authorities — will soon be fully operational.

So far decisions have been taken by the full council.

The work of the Independent Electoral Commission — charged with setting up and monitoring the election itself — will intensify this month.

Among key functions are co-ordinating voter education, monitoring election activities and, finally, certifying the election free and fair, or not.

The ANC is to begin its election phase in mid-January and the National Party is planning a grand launch of its manifesto and the final phase of its campaign early in February.

F W de Klerk has spoken of his hopes for 1994.

FW sees hope for democracy and economy

(304A) ARG 1/1/94
THREE challenges were facing South Africa in 1994: democratic success, economic growth and breaking out of past conflicts, State President F W de Klerk said in his New Year's message last night.

December 31 marked more than the end of just another year. It also marked the end of an era, he said.

This year South Africa would, for the first time, have a multi-party government that would be truly representative of all its people.

"For the first time we will have a system where the constitution and the Bill of Rights — and not politicians in parliament — will have the final say," Mr De Klerk said.

For the first time South Africa would have a constitutional system containing effective checks and balances against the misuse of power.

Important among these would be independent courts, including an independent constitutional court with wide-ranging powers.

Equally important would be the establishment of strong and autonomous provinces, with important powers and functions effectively entrenched.

Mr De Klerk said South Africa faced three challenges in the new year, the first being to let democracy succeed.

"The second challenge... will be to make our economy work to the benefit of all our people. Success in the economic field will be as important as success in the constitutional field."

Democracy and elections would not by themselves bring all the things that people needed, said the president.

"We will not be able to create jobs and build all of the houses, schools and clinics that we need, unless there is money to pay for them.

"And the only way that we can get this money is to ensure that our economy grows as quickly and as strongly as possible."

This would require hard work, new investments and expanding exports.

"To achieve this, the new government of national unity will have to follow the right policies — policies that have succeeded throughout the world.

"The third great challenge we face will be to build a new South African nation; to break out of the conflicts of the past; to break through to reconciliation," said Mr De Klerk.

■ Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said in his New Year message that great challenges for South Africa, as far as peace and economics were concerned, lay ahead in 1994.

General Viljoen said he believed there could be a positive vision of the future, especially if political solutions in coming weeks could accommodate the Afrikaners' search for self-determination.

"This is a precondition. Then, I believe, there will be peace and stability. The Afrikaner will commit himself to this."

■ Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring said in his New Year message that the era of apartheid and the armed struggle was finally something of the past.

"We are now starting with an era of peace, stability, progress, wealth and nation building."

■ The SACP said in its New Year message that all the machinery of the party would be thrown into ensuring a decisive African National Congress election victory this year.

However, SACP general secretary Charles Nqakula, said such a victory would have significance only if it laid the basis for a thorough reconstruction and development programme. The everyday lives of the majority should show tangible improvements. "This is the only feasible way forward."

The response to the assassination of SACP leader Chris Hani, from across the political spectrum, showed the SACP was deeply rooted in the country's political culture. "We are here to stay," said Mr Nqakula.

The SACP would continue to work for a broad national consensus, democratic values and tolerance of differences.

"But, equally, we will continue to insist that stability in South Africa will not result from popular interests being traded off indefinitely in the name of the 'greater national interest' or for the sake of reconciliation with unbending minorities."

■ The Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) has declared 1994 the year of the great offensive on all fronts.

In a New Year's message issued in Umtata, Apla commander Sabelo Phama said yesterday the bullet and the ballot were to be used effectively in 1994.

Mr Phama said his organisation was concerned about decisions pertaining to security forces at the World Trade Centre. Political power without military and economic power was empty and Apla should double its efforts both politically and on the military front.

The statement made no mention of the attack on a Cape Town pub which killed four people and injured five.

■ Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Jaap Marais said in his New Year's message that it would be in contravention of democratic rules if the government refused to call a white election, and this would give others the right to use other means to fight for their rights.

The April 27 election would make a mockery of responsible politics. Not only would it be an injustice to whites, but to the millions of blacks who would be invested with a responsibility they did not comprehend.

"Such an election would be the method to put a communist cabal in power, like in Zimbabwe and Namibia." — Sapa.

→ cont.

1/1/94

CP pledge to resist April 27 election

304A

■ In spite of the ongoing moves to persuade the Freedom Alliance to participate in the election, at least one element of the FA remains adamant that it will be staying out. A report from **ALEX HETHERINGTON**, Weekend Argus Correspondent in Pretoria.

THE Conservative Party will not contest the April 27 elections. Instead, they will embark on a programme of resistance, says party spokesman, Dr Lem Theron.

In an interview at the CP's headquarters in Pretoria, he cited the mobilisation of rightwing sympathisers in the Mine Workers Union and the Steel and Metal Workers Union, as well as in the schools, as strategic elements in the resistance campaign.

When asked if such groups would use boycotts as a method of their campaign, Dr Theron denied this, saying that the word "boycott" had negative connotations to it. "I would rather call it constructive engagement," Dr Theron said.

The aims of the resistance are to discredit the negotiation process, the new constitution, as well as to enforce CP demands for a volkstaat. "We are serious about the Volkstaat, and believe it to be very realistic," he said.

Opinion polls, carried out by the CP, indicated that 53 percent of Pretoria residents wanted to be part of the Volkstaat, with only 31 percent against; similar sentiments were found in both Free State and northern Natal, Dr Theron claimed.

He said "resistance" would not be violent. However, if fundamental rights were threatened — notably, property rights — then Conservative Party members can be expected to resist "by whatever means are needed."

Dr Theron said that the Afrikaner demand for self-determination, within the Volkstaat, was the "common denominator" the CP had with the Zulus and Tswanas and that, once established, the Volkstaat would live in "peaceful co-existence with our neighbours."

Even though Dr Theron called the current negotiations between the government, the ANC and FA representatives an "accommodating plan" to "delay" the actions of rightists, he did indicate that the start of the resistance would depend on the acceptance of any amendments made, to the current constitution, before the FA deadline of January 21.

Ex-MK cadres 'joining DP'

JOHANNESBURG. — The DP entered the fray yesterday over defecting MK members, claiming many former cadres had "enthusiastically" joined it due to dissatisfaction with the ANC.

On Thursday, the NP made a similar claim which was dismissed by the ANC with "contempt and disgust".

Meanwhile, the CP claimed yesterday the NP was considering establishing a military wing using MK members who had joined its ranks.

It said the force would be used to protect President F W de Klerk during his hand-shaking visits "a la Clinton" to townships. — Sapa (3041)

Blacks have most faith in future

JOHANNESBURG. — More blacks are optimistic about the future than whites, according to a poll carried out by the Markinor Research Group.

It found that 60% of blacks interviewed, and only 31% of whites, believed things would improve in 1994. Last year only 31% of both both groups canvassed said things would improve.

Included in the poll for the first time, coloureds and Indians were less optimistic than blacks, with 53% of coloureds and 45% of Indians feeling things would get better in 1994.

"Clearly, blacks are heartened by the dramatic developments in our country. The upcoming election, open to everybody for the first time, the establishment of the TEC and the fact that black leaders are now sharing in the decision-making process has understandably given them great hope for the future," said Markinor deputy managing director Ms Christine Woessner.

"Whites, on the other hand, are unsettled by the changes. The continuing violence has also contributed to their pessimistic outlook." — Sapa

Disaffected MK men defect to Nats

THREE senior members of the ANC's military wing have defected to the NP amid allegations of dissatisfaction within the ranks of the guerrilla army.

In a report yesterday, City Press said two of the defectors were top-ranked members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (MK).

They were identified as Sidney "Desert" Ramasodi, a member of MK's elite special operations unit, Joe "General" Nxumalo and Vronda Banda, who spent nine years on Robben Island for MK activities.

MK chief of staff Siphiwe Nyanda said the ANC had been about to expel the three and his organisation was "not unhappy" to see them go.

Banda said the three had quit because the ANC was not clear on its economic policy.

"The ANC has no comprehensive eco-

nomic policy. I fear that they will plunge our country into an experiment based on the policies of other countries that will ruin it," said Banda, the NP's administrative secretary for Soweto (304 A).

The news came only days after the NP announced that an unspecified number of MK members had joined the party because of deep dissatisfaction.

The NP's federal council said the MK members had defected because of the ANC's autocratic and dictatorial leadership style, favouring of Xhosas and widespread corruption within the organisation.

In another development, scores of MK members staged a sit-in at the ANC headquarters, demanding Christmas and New Year bonuses. The demonstration ended when the organisation gave them R500 each. — Sapa.

TEC subcommittees get to work as the election looms ever nearer

TIM COHEN

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) subcommittees meet tomorrow, beginning a frenetic 16 weeks of political activity before the April 27 election.

But negotiations between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance on amendments to the constitution will be on hold for at least another week as most senior negotiators are still on leave.

The foreign affairs and defence subcommittees of the TEC are due to meet in Pretoria tomorrow and will focus on establishing a national peacekeeping force.

According to TEC legislation, the force

should consist of members of all military forces in roughly equal numbers from every policing agency under the control of council participants.

Even though the establishment of the force is required in terms of the legislation, government sources have voiced scepticism about whether it will be feasible to establish, train and deploy such a force before the election.

The foreign affairs subcommittee may discuss the council's decision to withhold a multimillion rand loan to Bophuthatswana. Other TEC subcommittees are

also likely to meet before the main council meeting on January 11. (3047)

ANC regional organisations are planning to hold meetings in Natal, the Free State and the Cape next weekend to finalise election candidates in the regions.

These meetings will be followed by a national list conference the weekend after next, ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The ANC state of the nation document, announced annually on January 8, was in

the process of being prepared and would be released on Saturday, she said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is due to discuss its political options next weekend when the organisation's weekly central committee meetings resume. The NP is due to hold several election campaign meetings this week to propagate the "new era" theme set by President F W de Klerk in his New Year's message.

De Klerk said in his message that SA faced three major challenges to establish democracy: to make the economy work and to forge peace and reconciliation.

Every role player ought to make sure that the election was free and fair.

South Africans should take a strong stand against intimidation, he said, asserting the right of every party to conduct their campaigns in SA.

"Democracy and elections will not by themselves bring all the things that our people need," he said. SA would not be able to create jobs and build houses, schools and clinics without money.

"The only way that we can get this money is to ensure that our economy grows as quickly and as strongly as possible."

Bop funds fettered by political stance

BIDON 31/1/94

GRETA STEYN

THE Transitional Executive Council would block the Development Bank's R216m loan to Bophuthatswana until the homeland committed itself publicly to free and fair political activity, sources said at the weekend. (304A)

The bank confirmed it was still awaiting the go-ahead to pay out the funds, which would finance electrification, urban infrastructure and water supply. MD Andre la Grange said the matter was out of the bank's hands and had to be resolved between the TEC and Bophuthatswana.

La Grange said the TEC and the bank had agreed on a formal set of criteria for development lending which the bank was already implementing. The criteria included ensuring broad community participation and taking into account regional development.

He said before new regional governments were in place, the bank would liaise with regional economic and development forums on its lending activities in a specific region. "The TEC finance subcouncil agreed on these criteria after a series of constructive meetings." A further condition attached to bank lending was that no political party should get mileage out of development lending.

The TEC blocked the Bophuthatswana

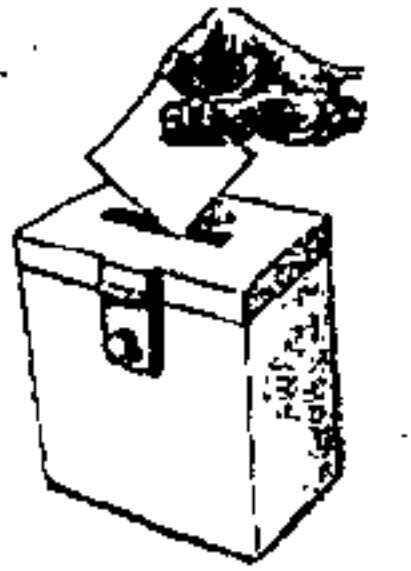
loan after the homeland government tried to get political mileage by issuing a news statement linking the payout to the bank's "confidence" in the homeland government.

Development sources were worried that development momentum would be lost as a result of the standoff between the TEC and the Bophuthatswana government.

They pointed out that TEC finance sub-council member Tito Mboweni's threat to cut off central government transfers to the homeland would be more difficult to implement than stopping the bank's loan. However, bank money would not finance day-to-day Bophuthatswana government spending. It would go towards augmenting Mmabatho's bulk water supply, electrification of informal settlements, and improvement of link roads. Sources said apart from the loss in development momentum, further delays could cause legal problems as there were contractual obligations to be fulfilled in terms of the loan agreement.

It is understood the Development Bank has pointed out these problems to the TEC, which last week provided evidence that Bophuthatswana was suppressing free political expression.

This voter education page is a joint project of the Sowetan and Matla Trust on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education



Voter
education

VOTER EDUCATION The fruits of months of planning vote

Declare a public holiday



Namibia: International monitors outside a polling station in Ongwandiva. They are not policemen and will not arrest you or tell you who to vote for. PIC: CENTRE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES: CAPE TOWN

In the last article we discussed the preparations that need to go into making election day a success.

It is on voting day that we need to ensure that things run smoothly.

Voter Count

A relatively accurate estimate of voters in each district is needed to avoid some polling stations being swamped by unexpectedly big voter turn-outs.

It is plausible that there are as many as 3-4 million more voters than anticipated.

Logistical planning must prevent any polling station from running short of the paraphernalia of voting.

Accessibility

The 7 500 planned polling stations need to be accessible to all voters and be fairly distributed across the country. Transport might present 'peace-keeping forces' with the biggest headaches, particularly since trains and taxis remain highly vulnerable targets for — and sites of — violence.

In the rural areas, transport remains a tough problem. Will political parties that lay on transport for, say, farmworkers be allowed to travel onto farms to collect their supporters? Special official transport might seem a good idea. But if that system fails — whether through negligence or mal-

Sowetan 3/1/94
"Neutral electoral officers and monitors should be present throughout balloting and should be well-trained in voting-procedure details."

ice — the integrity of vote is again undermined.

And an oversight that so often trips up even the most thorough preparations: will voting stations be made accessible to physically disabled voters?

Political campaigning should not be allowed within a specified distance from the polling station, to avoid harassment of voters.

Electoral officials (politically neutral ones and counterparts from the different parties) and election monitors should be present throughout balloting and be well-trained in the details of voting procedure.

Voters who are unfamiliar with the process may need assistance and instruction.

Ballot boxes should be examined before voting starts and should be correctly sealed once voting ends. To prevent double-voting, the use of invisible, indelible ink stamps on the

hands of voters who cast their ballots seems to be effective.

(304A)
How many days?

One day of voting avoids multiplying the already daunting logistical problems and adding new ones — like security of the ballot polling stations during the evenings, billeting for election officials and monitors (at 7500 sites!) and so on.

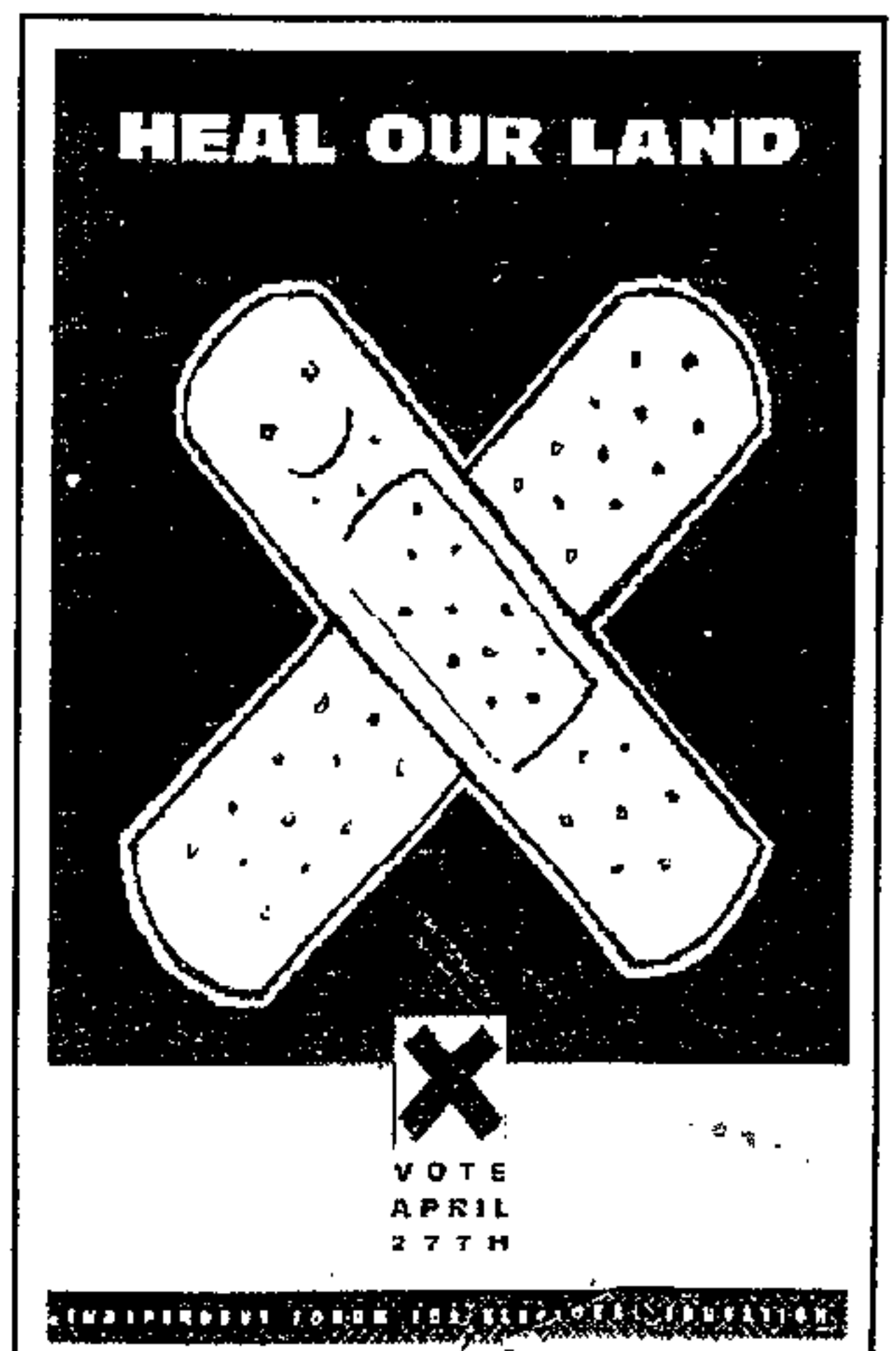
Experts say "first-time" elections tend to generate so much enthusiasm that most voters vote on the first day, anyway — like in Namibia, for example. Angola found its two-day period was justified, largely because of immense transport problems in rural areas.

Here, though, it is the prospect of violence that advises a second day of voting. The fear of violence and intimidation might deter millions from heading for the polls on the first (and only) day. If voting lasts two days, and the first is made to pass relatively peacefully, many of these anxious would-be voters might end up making the trip.

Not only does democracy win, but the vote becomes fairer. Because an involuntary voter "stay-away" will not do equal damage all around; violence prone areas will be hit hardest.

One thing is clear, though: election day must be a public holiday.

"There must be no 'no-go areas'. Farms, mining compounds and company towns must be made accessible for canvassing."



Three former MK commanders join NP

THREE former commanders of the African National Congress military wing have defected to the National Party amid allegations of dissatisfaction within the ranks of the guerrilla army, a Johannesburg weekly newspaper reported yesterday. *Sowetan*

The paper, in a front-page report, said two of the defectors were top-ranked members of Umkonto we Sizwe (MK). *3/1/94*

They were identified as Mr Sidney "Desert" Ramasodi, a member of MK's elite Special Operations Unit, Mr Joe "General" Nxumalo and Mr Vronda Banda, who languished for nine years on Robben Island for MK activities.

MK Chief of Staff Mr Sphiwe Nyanda said the ANC had been about to expel the three and his organisation was "not unhappy" to see

them go.

Banda, speaking on behalf of the three, told the newspaper they had quit because the ANC was not clear on its economic policy. *(2044)*

"The ANC has no comprehensive economic policy.

"I fear that they will plunge our country into an experiment based on the policies of other countries that will ruin it," said Banda, the NP's administrative secretary for Soweto.

The NP Federal Council said the MK members had defected because of the ANC's autocratic and dictatorial leadership style, favouring of Xhosas and widespread corruption within the organisation. — *Sapa*.

Mbeki: We'll keep talking

JOHANNESBURG. — Leading ANC members pledged on Saturday to continue negotiating with the Inkatha Freedom Party, even if the IFP decided to support its leader and boycott the April elections.

Speaking at the launch of the ANC election manifesto in Nasrec south of Johannesburg, national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki said the IFP and the Afrikaner right-wing should participate in the April election to promote their demands in a constituent assembly.

Mr Mbeki, who is taking part in talks with the Freedom Alliance that resume today, said there was no way Alliance demands would be met through force. — Sapa

TEC's new home 'a security nightmare'

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Security at the Saabon Building, home to some of the country's top politicians for the next four months, has turned into a nightmare for officials entrusted with the safety of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

TEC security officials privately express anxiety at their own ability to ensure the safety of the members, who will meet in the building for the first time in less than a week. The lack of a clearly-defined

perimeter around the building, they say, makes it very difficult to secure, while there are also fears about getting TEC members safely from their allotted parking bays into the building.

The possibility of assassination attempts and car bombings rank high among the security risks.

Security is a major headache, admitted TEC liaison officer Dries van Heerden.

The building was not designed to have stringent security measures. However, in view

of the importance of the TEC, security will be strict and access to the 13th floor, where the council chamber is situated, will be through special access cards," he said.

Pretoria's deputy traffic chief, Mr Herman Bosch, said no request had been received from the TEC for special traffic measures outside the building.

Earlier, Pretoria director of traffic Tienie van Rensburg said planning on the movement and safety of TEC members was continuing at full speed.

Mr van Heerden took journalists for the first tour of the building, where work was proceeding feverishly to get council chambers and offices ready for occupation this week.

The tour of the building revealed large offices, some with bathrooms en suite, for TEC members.

The first full TEC meeting is on January 11. The full council will initially meet once a week, on Tuesdays, but the seven sub-councils will meet more regularly, said Mr Van Heerden.

MK members join NP, (304A) says chief

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Umkhonto we Sizwe chief of staff Sphiwe Nyanda has confirmed that three former MK members have joined the National Party, and that former Bophuthatswana Defence Force members have joined the ANC's guerrilla army.

The three former MK members to join the NP are Vronda Banda, Joe "General" Nxumalo and Sidney "Desert" Ramasodi.

Mr. Nyanda said the three had been working for the NP "for some time". MK had been receiving reports that they were trying to recruit for the NP, he said.

Mr. Nyanda last night confirmed that members of the SADF had been joining the ANC, although not MK. He said former Bophuthatswana Defence Force members had also been joining MK.

Sapa reports that Bophuthatswana Defence Force chief Major-General H S Turner has denied that there had been any defections from the homeland's army.

The NP announced last week that the three former MK guerrillas had signed up as members because of alleged preferential treatment given to Xhosas in MK.

Three MK commanders defect to Nats

JOHANNESBURG. — Three former commanders of the ANC's military wing, uMkhonto weSizwe (MK), have defected to the National Party amid allegations of dissension within the ranks of the guerilla army, City Press reported yesterday.

The paper, in a front-page report, said two of the defectors were top-

ranked members of MK. They were identified as Mr Sidney "Desert" Ramasodi, a member of MK's elite Special Operations Unit, Mr Joe "General" Nxumalo and Mr Vronnda Banda, who served nine years on Robben Island for MK activities.

MK chief of staff Mr Sipiwe Nyanda said the ANC had been

about to expel the three and his organisation was "not unhappy" to see them go.

Mr Banda, speaking for the three, said they had quit because the ANC was not clear on its economic policy.

Asked how he felt about teaming up with his former jailers, Mr Banda, who is now the National Party's

administrative secretary for Soweto, said: "This is a new National Party."

Last week the NP federal council said MK members had defected because of the ANC's autocratic and dictatorial leadership style, favouring of Xhosa and widespread corruption within the organisation. In another development, scores

of MK members staged a sit-in at the ANC headquarters demanding Christmas and new year bonuses. The demonstration ended when the organisation gave them R500 each.

And Bophuthatswana denied yesterday there had been defections in the homeland's defence force to MK.

304A

27/2/94

Frenetic political activity lies ahead

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — With little more than 16 weeks to go before the April 27 election, frenetic political activity is set to take off early in the new year, starting with Transitional Executive Committee sub-committee meetings tomorrow.

But negotiations between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance on amendments to the constitution will be on hold for at least another week as most senior negotiators are still on leave.

The Foreign Affairs and Defence sub-committees of the TEC are due to meet in Pretoria tomorrow, focusing on forming a national peacekeeping force.

According to the TEC legislation, the force should consist of members of all military forces in roughly equal numbers from every policing agency under the control of council participants.

The Foreign Affairs sub-committee could discuss the council's decision to withhold a multimillion rand loan to Bophuthatswana.

Other TEC sub-committees are also likely to meet before the main council meeting on January 11.

ANC regional organisations are plan-

Parties gear up for poll campaigning

ning to hold a series of meetings in Natal, the Free State and the Cape next weekend to finalise candidates for the election in each of the regions.

These meetings will be followed by a national list conference, which will take place the following weekend, ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said yesterday.

The ANC major "state of the nation" document, announced annually on January 8, was also being prepared and would be released on Saturday.

Inkatha is due to discuss its options next weekend when the organisation's weekly central committee meetings resume.

The NP is due to hold several election campaign meetings this week to propagate the "new era" theme set by President F W de Klerk in his New Year message.

CT 3/1/94

(304A)

Mr De Klerk said in his message that South Africa faced three major challenges: To establish democracy, to make the economy work and to forge peace and reconciliation.

Every role player ought to make sure that the election was free and fair. South Africans should take a strong stand against intimidation, he said, asserting the right of every party to conduct its campaigns anywhere in the country.

Success in the economic field would be as important as success in the constitutional field, he said.

"Democracy and elections will not by themselves bring all the things that our people need.

"We will not be able to create jobs and build all the houses, schools and clinics that we need, unless there is money to pay for them," Mr De Klerk said.

"The only way we can get this money is to ensure that our economy grows as quickly and as strongly as possible."

The third great challenge South Africans faced would be to build a new nation by breaking out of the conflicts of the past.

"We must work together to make a better country for us all, rather than working against one another to get as much as we can for ourselves," Mr De Klerk said.

Bloodshed continues

POLICE have reported a bloody start to the new year in Natal, with 65 killings since Friday. **BIDON**

Most of the murders were crime-related. At least 180 people had died in faction fighting, crime and political violence during the past fortnight. **4-11-94**

Included in the toll were two deaths at Nqutu, northern Natal, where gunmen opened fire on security forces involved in an arms raid yesterday. **(24)**

A seven-year-old child and a 50-year-old man were killed in the crossfire, and three security force members were injured.

A police spokesman said the raid, involving members of the SAP, SADF and SAAF, followed a tip-off about the flow of AK-47s into the area.

Police recovered six AK-47s and a large quantity of ammunition.

ADELE BAILEY reports that a resurgence of violence has been seen in East Rand townships after a relatively peaceful period and the launch of several peace initiatives.

At least 17 bodies were found in the townships during the weekend, police said yesterday. In the week before Christmas, the daily body count had dropped to about one a day. — Sapa.

Kriel studying TEC demand on KwaZulu

GOVERNMENT has not yet decided whether to bow to the Transitional Executive Council's demands for police to be sent to KwaZulu. **BIDON**

Sources close to government said yesterday Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel was considering the issue and no decision had been taken, Sapa-Reuter reports.

This was confirmed by Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze. **4-11-94**

Kotze said it was unfortunate the perception existed that the SAP could simply invade KwaZulu. It had to be borne in mind that an established basis for co-operation already existed between the two police forces, our Political Staff reports from Cape Town. **(304A) (104)**

However, Kotze emphatically denied saying the SAP would probably ignore a demand to deploy police in KwaZulu.

The TEC said last month that national police should protect lives and property in four areas in northern Natal, two of them in the KwaZulu homeland.

The demand appeared to be a direct challenge to KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who refuses to recognise the council's authority.

The issue is likely to be the first real test of strength between the NP government, which is reluctant to interfere in KwaZulu, and the TEC.

The government says the TEC is an advisory body, but the council says it has executive powers over crucial areas in the run-up to the April 27 election.

The ANC yesterday rejected government's stated position that it and the TEC

did not have the power to send security forces into black homelands.

"The TEC has got powers over self-governing territories... security forces can be ordered into any area of this country, including the self-governing territories," said ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa.

Another area of potential friction between the TEC and KwaZulu involves the KwaZulu government's purchase of a R33m luxury jet.

INGRID SALGADO reports an ANC spokesman said yesterday the KwaZulu government's purchase of the eight-seater jet would contravene the Independent Electoral Commissions Act as Inkatha Freedom Party would use it during the elections to the disadvantage of other parties.

The spokesman said the TEC's independent elections commission should investigate the matter urgently.

It was questionable whether the KwaZulu government should be allowed to make the purchase during its final days, the ANC said.

The ANC, which had previously called on the TEC to impound the Hawker 800 jet, said the purchase was a "total abuse of taxpayers' money".

It said the TEC would look into the matter at its first sitting.

Meanwhile, Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie has said the central government had no problems with the jet as the KwaZulu government had not asked for additional funds for its purchase.

The homeland government had stayed within its allocated budget, he said.

ANC, Govt headed for showdown

Sowetan 4/11/94
■ STRENGTH TEST Council's

demand for policing a challenge:

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

A STANDOFF has developed between the Government and the ANC over the TEC demand that SA Police units be deployed in KwaZulu; with the Government insisting that it would ignore the order.

The ANC is to bring the matter up before the TEC's law and order sub-council when it meets for its first working session next week.

This is the first real test of strength between the Government and the TEC, with divisions appearing within NP ranks. The decision to deploy troops was taken with the support of NP representatives Mr Roelf Meyer and Dr Dawie De Villiers.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus last night slammed statements made yesterday by Law and Order spokesman Captain Craig Kotze inferring that the TEC did not have the power to send the units into the territory.

Kotze said Law and Order Minister Mr Hernus Kriel was considering the TEC demand but any action taken would probably not reflect the form of the TEC demand.

"How can we go into a self-governing territory and take over policing? ... It's tantamount to an invasion."

He said any action would have to be the result of discussions between the

SAP and the KwaZulu police.

Niehaus said while Kotze obviously had no understanding of the legal standing of the TEC, it was a matter of concern that he was speaking on behalf of the ministry which should be carrying out the TEC instruction.

The Government has consistently contended that the TEC was an advisory body but the ANC insists that it has executive powers over crucial areas, particularly law and order.

The TEC, dominated by the Patriotic Front parties allied to the ANC, said last month that national police should protect lives and property in four areas in Northern Natal, two of them in the KwaZulu homeland. (304A)

Direct challenge

The decision was seen as a direct challenge to KwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who is also minister of police. Buthelezi has refused to accept the legitimacy of the TEC or its sub-councils.

The TEC demanded action after SAP commissioner General Johan van der Merwe reported that the main cause of unrest in Northern Natal was the power struggle between the ANC and Inkatha Freedom Party.

The police report said the IFP had launched a campaign to drive ANC members from some areas. It added that more violence was likely in the run-up to the elections.

Alliance responds to talks provisos

CT 4/1/94 304A

PRETORIA. — The stalemate between the government/ANC and the Freedom Alliance continues after an alliance meeting here yesterday.

IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said after the meeting he did not see how it could be part of any agreement if there was no agreement in the first place.

He was reacting to government/ANC conditions to negotiations set on December 21 that the alliance commit itself, in the event of a final tripartite agreement being reached, to the constitution, all transitional structures, that it participate in the April 27 election and abide by the results.

The alliance's response was being communicated to the government and the ANC, he said.

On the IFP's participation in elections, Chief Buthelezi said the IFP would await the government's response to the alliance's views before committing itself.

Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF), said the AVF would not leave its alliance partners in the lurch.

Regarding AVF talks with the ANC he said: "We cannot accept an agreement which satisfies the needs of the Afrikaner people but not those of our allies." — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Any ANC deal 'is treasonous'

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boere Weerstandsbeweging (BWB) has warned the Afrikaner Volksfront that any deal with the ANC would be treasonous.

BWB leader Mr Andrew Ford said the AVF was on the same road as the government if it negotiated with the ANC and the SA Communist Party. — Sapa

Alliance agrees to elections

B1 Day 5/11/94

TIM COHEN

THE Freedom Alliance yesterday formally agreed to participate in elections if agreement was reached on its demands in negotiations, and it called for more talks with government and the ANC (304A)

The alliance's response follows discussions with government and the ANC last year during which it was asked to commit itself unambiguously to all aspects of the new constitutional arrangements should negotiations be successfully concluded.

The alliance's formal response, released yesterday, includes this commitment, but goes no further than the position it informally adopted on this demand last year. It says the commitment will fall away if agreement on its demands does not result in amendments to the constitution.

It is unlikely that a mere restatement of its existing stance will satisfy government and the ANC, who are concerned that alliance members might not consider themselves bound by all decisions of the newly created political watchdog bodies even if constitutional amendments are effected.

The alliance said it had agreed twice in

December to participate in elections and other constitutional arrangements if and when final agreement on its minimum demands was reached and such agreement was endorsed by its controlling bodies.

"The alliance and its leaders are committed to an all-inclusive agreement through peaceful negotiations and therefore invite the government and the ANC to immediately proceed with negotiations."

The proposed constitutional changes included agreements on the issue of self-determination on a territorial basis.

Other important issues were the powers, functions and financial affairs of provinces, the safeguarding of provincial constitutional arrangements and separate ballot papers for elections at different levels.

The alliance reiterated in its response that any such agreements should immediately be effected through formal amendments to the constitution, failing which their undertakings would fall away.

A government spokesman said it would respond to the undertaking next week.

TEC initiates new SA defence force with joint command body

PRETORIA — An embryonic command structure for a new SA defence force was established yesterday by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The newly formed Joint Military Command Council, with representatives from the SADF, the ANC's military wing Umkhonto we Sizwe, and the Veldt and Transkei defence forces, will meet today. Its first job will be to set in motion a process of auditing all military equipment and personnel in the country.

As well as establishing the new military body, the TEC subcouncil on defence, which met for the second time yesterday, resolved to create a joint controlling body for the proposed national peacekeeping force. This is likely to be set up and become operational today.

The peacekeeping force's command council, comprising senior officers from the SADF, the SAP, Umkhonto, and the defence and police forces of most of the self-governing and independent homelands, will oversee the creation and operation of the force in its bid to ensure elections free of violence and intimidation.

It will decide on the size and composition of the peacekeeping force, whether it will be armed, the type of uniforms and insignia to be used and training, organisation and policies.

Excluded at this stage from the peacekeeping force, and the joint military command, are the KwaZulu police and the defence and police forces of Ciskei and Bophuthatswana, which are party to the Freedom Alliance and not formally part of the negotiations process at this stage.

ADRIAN HADLAND

8/Day 51144

Joint command 8/Day 51144 From Page 1

- ☐ The formulation of a code of conduct;
- ☐ Liaison with all armed formations to ensure the objectives of the TEC are adhered to;
- ☐ Research into the parliamentary control, composition, manpower policy, organisation and executive command of a future SA defence force; (304/17)
- ☐ Advice on the future of the arms and related industries; and (204/17)
- ☐ Administration of "assembly" points within SA of all armed forces.

While the SAP has been included as one of the personnel contributors to the peacekeeping force, the peacekeeping force command council will have to make a decision on the controversial issue of whether internal stability division officers will serve in the force.

"The division constitutes a natural pool

of recruitment, for the peacekeeping force," Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday.

Umkhonto ordinance chief Rashid Patel told Sapa the first intake of the national peacekeeping force would begin training within two weeks. "Preparations are going ahead for intakes from those forces that have decided to take part. We are now looking at the initial training phase for the first group," he said.

Patel estimated that a force of 10 000 peacekeepers would be needed.

Nyanda said earlier this week that his organisation had set March 1 as the launch date for the peacekeeping force, but government sources have expressed scepticism regarding the earliness of the date.

● Comment Page 6

made up of the senior commanding officers of the SADF (Gen Georg Meiring), Umkhonto (Siphwe Nyanda), Transkei Defence Force (Gen TD Matanzima) and Venda Defence Force (a Col Swanepoel).

This council will act as a liaison body between the TEC and the various armed formations represented.

In effect, however, the council represents the first significant move toward the reintegration of all armed formations into a new defence force.

The Joint Military Command Council will be responsible for conducting a personnel audit, in the form of a certified register updated monthly, which stipulates the exact number of people in each force, their location and the armaments at their disposal, a TEC spokesman said.

Other responsibilities of the TEC sub-council on defence are also likely to be handled by the command council. According to the TEC Act, these could include:

- ☐ Ensuring the TEC is informed of any internal directives or regulations regarding the conduct and deployment of any military force;
- ☐ To Page 2

Government 'hopeful' FA talks will continue

Political Staff

THE government was still hopeful that negotiations with the Freedom Alliance would continue, said Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman.

FA leaders formulated their response on Monday to an ANC/government demand that they publicly commit themselves to the transition process and the April elections.

Mr Schoeman said yesterday that the government was hopeful talks would continue, but added that certain realities existed.

Firstly, elections would take place on April 27. Although the government still hoped that the FA would take part in the election, the alliance would make itself irrelevant should it boycott the country's first democratic elections.

Mr Schoeman said that transitional structures, such as the Transitional Executive Council, Independent Media Commission, Independent Elector-

al Commission and the Independent Broadcasting Authority, were in place.

Although the government would have preferred the alliance to take part in these structures, Mr Schoeman said self-governing territories, which include Kwazulu, were bound by their decisions.

He added that after the April elections, these areas would also be bound by the Interim Constitution. Unless, they use the opportunity now to include their amendments to the Interim Constitution, members of the FA would be bound by the existing document.

It would be "short-sighted" for the FA not to use this opportunity to negotiate the inclusion of its amendments to the Interim Constitution, he said.

The FA leaders did not publicly release their response, but alliance sources said yesterday the door was still open for further negotiations.

US interest in Viljoen, Buthelezi

Own Correspondent (304A)

WASHINGTON. — A delegation of US congressmen will have talks tomorrow with IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Ulundi and then meet the Afrikaner Volksfront's General Constand Viljoen in Johannesburg.

The group arrives in South Africa tonight and leaves on Saturday. It is headed by Representative Harry Johnston, chairman of the House Africa sub-committee.

A committee staff member said the sessions with Chief Buthelezi and General Viljoen should not be seen as "a signal of support or approval". Mr Johnston decided to see General Viljoen after hearing ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela describe him as "someone with whom we can work".

The ANC and government are hosting separate dinners for the visitors.

CT 5/1/94

'Agreement' will see Alliance at polls

CT 5/1/94 (304A)
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The Freedom Alliance yesterday formally agreed to participate in elections if agreement was reached on its demands in negotiations.

It also called for more talks with the government and the ANC.

The Alliance's response follows discussions with the government and the ANC last year during which it was asked to unambiguously commit itself to all aspects of the new consti-

tutional arrangements.

The Alliance's formal response includes this commitment, but goes no further than the position it informally adopted on this demand last year. It is unlikely that a mere restatement of its existing stance will satisfy the government and the ANC, who are concerned that Alliance members might not consider themselves bound by all decisions of the newly created political watch-dog bodies even if constitutional amendments were effected.

AS SA's political parties fine-tune their strategies for the April election campaign, the series of opinion polls shows which way the wind has blown over the past 15 months — and also gives important clues to where each party can most profitably seek out floating voters.

The trend since October 1992 (see chart) is clear: rising support for the ANC and seriously declining fortunes for the NP, while the smaller parties' positions have been fairly constant with the exception of Inkatha, which may have lost some support. Also on an upward trend, and unusually high, is the number of "don't know" and "won't vote" respondents.

The Human Sciences Research Council is scheduled to publish on Monday the results of a further survey conducted in November. Director Lawrence Schlemmer declined to supply details yesterday. But it is understood that it shows ANC support at an even higher level, well above the 66,6% required to dictate constitutional amendments, at best a minor NP recovery and a confirmation of slightly declining Inkatha support. The numbers expressing no preference remain extremely high.

There are two problems with attempting to use opinion polls to predict election results. First, they are sometimes unreliable even in established democracies. The margin for error is obviously even greater in a society with high levels of coercion and virtual civil war in key areas. But they are all we have.

Second, swings in voter preferences are the essence of an election campaign, and it is these potential shifts that are most crucial in the next four months. Signs are that the most important targets for canvassers are the coloured and Indian communities and obviously, most important of all, the "don't know" and "won't vote". And it appears that the party least likely to improve through this process is the ANC.

ANC support among black voters is, aside from Natal, solid and substantial — up to 75% overall, or 80% excluding Natal. The ANC's job in this sphere is to continue consolidating that support and ensuring those voters get to the polls. This process of holding on to the converted was

Parties ponder on their priorities in run-up to April 27

ALAN FINE

B1 Bay 6/11/94

(304A)

the primary function of the series of "people's forums" held late last year, and will probably continue.

And in Natal, polls suggest the 3.5-million black voters are evenly divided between the ANC and Inkatha. Such is the polarisation between them that any shifts are certainly not going to be directly between those two parties.

ANC support among whites, while symbolically important, is electorally insignificant. It is in the western Cape, as the ANC battles the NP for the "coloured vote" in the one region the NP can expect to govern, that the ANC's main focus must be on winning new converts. Polls show an even higher than average number of uncommitted in this area.

In contrast, the NP's support base is anything but solid. The violence,

combined with the interminable and (until November) unsuccessful negotiations, took its toll. The polls show that some of those who deserted the NP, especially in Natal, defected to Inkatha. But most of the disillusioned appear to have joined the ranks of the uncommitted.

Over the next four months, though, the NP's chance of recovering the support of some defectors and achieving 20% of the vote is strong, for a number of reasons. The finalisation of negotiations (which may happen any day now) and the promise of greater stability can only assist the NP.

Significantly, the white right and the CP in particular have not gained at all from the shift away from the NP. The CP represents an opportunity for the NP, rather than a threat.

Polls show the 900 000-odd no votes cast in the March 1992 referendum — translating into about 6% of the electorate in a universal franchise election with a 75% poll — represent the CP's upper limit.

For the rest of the white electorate, the CP has a reputation as something of a dead-end party. Indeed, analysts like Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman believe that, for this reason, many of the 900 000 may vote NP simply in the hope of strengthening opposition to the ANC. (Should the Freedom Alliance not stand as a bloc, others may cast their votes for Inkatha for the same reason.)

Provided Inkatha participates, the NP will probably not regain the support already lost to Inkatha. But the promise of stability could win back many of those who became disillusioned with the NP and politics in general, and joined the ranks of the "won't vote". Given that the NP's hopes of winning significant black support are minimal, this and retaining the majority coloured and Indian support it already enjoys must be the party's most critical focus.

Inkatha, of course, may feel encouraged by its increasing numbers of white supporters. Less pleasing for Mangosuthu Buthelezi and his lieutenants, though, is that this process has been accompanied by stagnation or even decline in the party's overall standing in the polls. The harsh truth is that it reflects a fairly

serious haemorrhaging of support within Inkatha's traditional Zulu constituency, although it is not clear where those voters have now placed themselves.

That leaves the two smaller parties — the PAC and the DP. Aside from the University of Potchefstroom's Donald Simpson, who measured 6% support for the far-left PAC and the tiny Azapo combined, polls have consistently given the PAC around 2%. Although Simpson's polls have a reputation for accuracy, this may be an aberration. In terms of policy, the PAC has little to offer to the left-wing militants of the ANC. It has always tried to attract. The old argument that the ANC negotiators were selling out "the people" by making concessions to "power-sharing" can carry little weight given the outcome of negotiations.

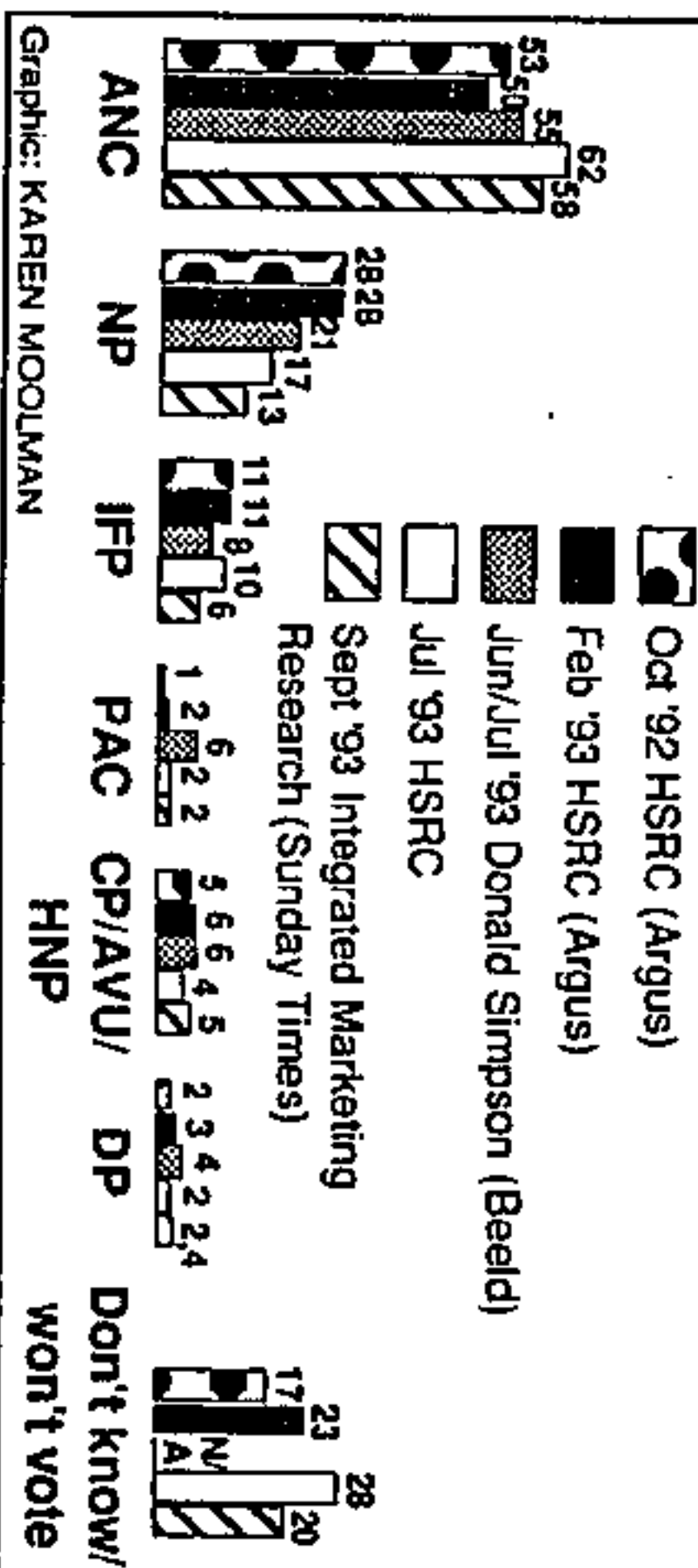
In contrast, the DP possibly has the potential to use the campaign to double its share of support — admittedly from a low base, since few polls have given it more than 2% to 2.5%. With little scope for improving among the white electorate, given the narrowing of differences between it and the NP over the past four years, the DP will have to work hard to retain its support base in that sphere.

However, provided it has the infrastructure and access, it could well use its absence of apartheid baggage and its predecessors' liberal credentials — especially among Indian and coloured voters — to win the votes among those fearful of a too-strong ANC government and who might otherwise vote NP. Its performance over the constitutional court last November will not have done the DP's prospects any harm, if it continues to sell itself as the only liberal choice.

All this assumes that the significant Freedom Alliance parties — Inkatha and the CP — participate in the election. If they do not, it is fair to assume that a proportion of their combined 12% to 15% support base will vote NP as an anti-ANC gesture, while the remainder will observe the boycott.

In a way, this will benefit the NP by increasing its share. But, ironically, a Freedom Alliance boycott will, electorally, benefit mainly the ANC by reducing the total number of votes and thus increasing its percentage of votes cast.

Survey of surveys



Graphic: KAREN MOOLMAN

Alliance may go to polls

PRETORIA. — The government is to study the contents of a statement by the Freedom Alliance saying constitutional amendments affecting regions could still secure its participation in the April 27 election.

"The government has received the response of the Freedom Alliance to the proposals of the government/ANC of December 21, 1993," a statement by Deputy Constitutional Development

Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman said yesterday. 56/1/94

The government aimed to arrange talks between itself, the ANC and the Alliance early next week, he said.

The Alliance said in a statement on Tuesday it had already committed itself to an all-inclusive agreement through peaceful negotiations if its amendments to the constitution were included in a minimum package. — Sapa (304A)

Minibuses take voter education to masses

THE interim constitution and voter education campaigns were set to reach SA's furthest rural areas through taxi ads, Taxinet marketing director Ken Varejez said yesterday.

Taxinet brings together three companies as subsidiaries — Trans Ad, Star Music and Commuter Reach.

Varejez said that with 85 000 minibuses taxis, the taxi industry had become SA's biggest transporter of commuters, carrying more passen-

THEO RAWANA

31004 6/11/94
gers than buses and trains combined.

Trans Ad had been launched in 1990 and, after its successful AIDS education campaign more than a year ago, had become SA's biggest exterior taxi advertising company, he said.

Taxinet had signed an agreement with advertising agency Hunt Las-caris to help educate voters and in-

roduce the interim constitution.

Star Music had successfully promoted products and services for six years, he said, through music tapes in 19 000 taxis, each tape featuring ads alongside the latest hits (3044)

Commuter Reach provided marketers with an opportunity to make contact with millions of economically active commuters via 30 information kiosks at major taxi ranks throughout SA, Varejez said (326)

CP under fire for warning to troops

Star 7/1/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Conservative Party has come under fire from political opponents, the SAP and the SADF for telling security force members to choose between serving the Transitional Executive Council or the "volk".

Responding to the establishment of the National Peace-keeping Force (NPKF) on Wednesday, CP deputy chairman and defence spokesman Dr Willie Snyman said his party would not recognise the NPKF as it was under the command of the TEC, which it also did not recognise. (304-A)

He warned that every member of the security forces would be faced with a choice to serve a "communist-controlled authority" or to serve the "volk which is now facing its final struggle for survival".

A Ministry of Defence spokesman said: "It is a matter of SADF policy that the SADF and its members are above the level of party politics. It is therefore unacceptable that political parties attempt to put pressure on members of the SADF on party-political issues."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said security force members owed their loyalty to the government of the day.

Democratic Party MP Peter Soal warned the CP that it would feel the full consequences of its actions by threatening to disobey the law.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said: "The NPKF is for the protection and security of all South Africans and the ANC will not tolerate any actions from any group intent on derailing negotiations or returning to the old apartheid system."

IF THERE is one thing many of this country's employers do not lack, it is enthusiasm for new causes. But while this can show a willingness to rise to challenges, it can also suggest an eagerness to embrace new fads. And there is at least a danger that the excitement about voter education is the latter rather than the former.

For some time now, voter education has been advanced as both the salvation of our future and the most appropriate way for business people to show that they care for, and are contributing to, democracy.

So how important is voter education? A recent article by one voter education enthusiast suggested it was essential because, in Namibia, where the voting population is one-twentieth of ours, no fewer than 750 UN officials had been needed to ensure that people knew how to vote.

It is, of course, true that the vast majority of South Africans have never voted. It is also true that even literate people may remember from their school days that a cross is usually placed next to something which is rejected, and may therefore be prey to those who tell them to put a cross next to the party they dislike. But whether that really requires platoons of voter educators is another matter.

First, discussions with senior Namibian electoral officials suggest that the example from that country is deeply misleading. There was, they say, no heroic effort by the 750 UN stalwarts — indeed, the Namibians insist the UN did little or nothing to educate voters.

And yet, despite a limited voter education effort, in a country where illiteracy rates are just as high as ours, if not higher, there were very few spoilt papers. And later analyses suggest that voters knew exactly who they were voting for, and why.

All of this suggests that the "unsophisticated masses" may be a great deal more sophisticated than some of our gung-ho voter educators would have us believe.

A recent Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey of rural black voters suggested there was

Voter education may be just the latest business fad

STEVEN FRIEDMAN

indeed a need for some voter education, but not as much as some of the pundits assumed. About four-fifths planned to vote, and 43% were aware that a cross indicated a party preference. Most — 56% — could name four or more political parties, while 70% could name three or more.

It may also be worth noting that, in response to the voter education call, many employers are concentrating their efforts on "educating" their workers on how to vote — and this in unionised plants in which workers have been voting in union elections for a decade or more.

However well-meant it may be, voter education may rest on a patronising assumption — that "they" are not only ill-educated but deeply stupid and require "us" to explain the basics to them.

None of this denies there is a need to explain to people how the system works. But the voter education task usually rests with political parties.

The HSRC survey showed the greatest gap in preparedness for the election was that 55% of non-urban black voters said they did not know the policy differences between the major parties. This may be less alarming than it looks: even established democracies, voters do not necessarily base their choices on a detailed knowledge of party platforms. But, even if it is a problem, it

is one which voter educators who are impartial will find very difficult to handle. Explaining differences is, clearly, a party political function.

But our mass parties are under-resourced and underorganised — and there is also a time-honoured inclination to get business to do things which activists cannot or will not do themselves. Given the historical disadvantage from which some parties suffer, it does make sense that they should be assisted in some areas. (Explaining voting procedures is an appropriate area for impartial help — "explaining party differences" may not be.)

But, given also that the task is nowhere near as crucial or as daunting as we are told, two questions arise. The first is whether this task could not be adequately and more appropriately performed by the all-party Independent Electoral Commission. The second is whether voter education has not been seized on as an easy quick fix by nervous business people anxious to show their democratic credentials.

The voter education lobby has an answer to this. The purpose of voter education, it says, is not only to explain to people how to vote, but to

inculcate in them democratic values and principles — in particular, political tolerance.

Fair enough. But how much of this can be done in a few months with a voting population of 14- to 17-million? With the best will in the world, we are not going to ensure political tolerance through a brief course of videos, pamphlets and short plays. This sort of endeavour — which we might call civic, rather than voter, education — is not a "quick fix" activity.

Those genuinely concerned about democratic education should be aware that they are contributing little if they are interested only in a brief and highly public flirtation with the subject. A flurry of activity followed by waning interest as funders move on to something more "exciting" will be almost worthless.

Given all this, is there any way in which business could be contributing to the electoral process in a way that really is needed? There is, but we do not seem to be hearing much about it. Electoral monitoring is, arguably, as great a priority as voter education, if not more so.

Some residential areas are controlled informally by one or other party. It will be difficult for people living there who want to vote for any other party to do so. The resistance culture of the past few years has also

created a climate in which citizens are used to being coerced into showing support for particular causes and they may be afraid that an "unconventional" vote will get them into trouble. And some parties control homeland administrations, which can be used to influence the result. We will have foreign monitors. But there is little they can do to ensure that elections are fair — their personnel is too limited and they lack the intimate local knowledge needed to detect threats to free elections and act against them.

The incentives for foreign monitors to declare an election unfair are not great — to do so is to invite continuing and costly involvement in a process from which international governments and agencies would prefer to withdraw.

Perhaps the best evidence comes from Kenya, where international observers declared the elections fair despite reporting a wide array of abuses — the cost and effort involved in withholding approval were clearly too great.

Here electoral monitoring will be a task of the Independent Electoral Commission. But, unless it inspires the citizenry to perform the monitoring function, it will not be able to perform its task.

If it does do this, there will be a vital role for business as well as other groups who will need to help supply the people and resources needed to ensure effective monitoring. And if it does not, there will be a need for an independent citizens' monitoring effort in which business people will have an important role.

Of course, electoral monitoring does not offer some of the "benefits" that voter education does: it is not an instant passport to acceptance by political parties. If it is done properly, it may entail crossing swords with them.

But the need for it is urgent — and the contribution it is likely to make to ensuring wide acceptance of our first election, and so greater stability after it, seems unquestionable.

□ Friedman is director of the Centre for Policy Studies. This is an edited version of an article appearing in IR Data, published by Andrew Levy and Associates.

Blacks twice as hopeful as whites, survey finds

BLACKS are twice as optimistic as whites about the year ahead, according to a Markinor survey.

More than 60% of black respondents were confident about the future, compared with only 30% of whites.

This was a sharp contrast to last year's findings, in which both blacks and whites had expressed equally pessimistic views about the future, said Markinor deputy MD Christine Woessner.

In the last survey only 31% of blacks believed things would get better in the year ahead, with 40% holding the gloomy view that they would be worse off as time wore on. In the latest survey, only 18% of black respondents believed things would be worse.

The poll was conducted among adults around the country, as part of

GAVIN DU VENAGE

an international year-end poll carried out in 54 countries by Gallup International.

More than 1 440 blacks and 820 whites were polled. Coloureds and Indians also took part for the first time. Woessner said these two groups were more optimistic than whites but less so than blacks.

More than half of coloureds felt the future held a better promise for them, while 45% of Indians shared this view.

Woessner said: "Clearly blacks are heartened by the dramatic developments in the country." The imminent election and the fact that blacks were now taking part in decision-making had given them great hope for the future, she said.

However, it was also clear that

whites were unsettled by the changes. The continuing violence had undoubtedly contributed to their pessimistic outlook, she said.

Respondents were also asked to give an opinion on industrial disputes. Again, blacks (57%) and coloureds (41%) felt labour relations would improve, although fewer whites (18%) and Indians (33%) felt the same way.

Respondents were also asked if they thought 1994 would be a peaceful year, free of international disputes.

Blacks were the most hopeful, with more than half saying it would be peaceful, compared with only 18% of whites. About 35% of coloureds and Indians felt the same way.

"It is interesting that in this instance Indians were more pessimistic than whites, with 43% of Indians and 40% of whites saying it would be a troubled year," Woessner said.

Claim SADF aided station

THE SABC and the military have been accused by independent broadcaster Tony Sanderson of supplying Radio Pretoria with broadcasting equipment.

Earlier this week the SABC acknowledged that some of its equipment, which had been rented out for the December 16 memorial of Blood River, was being used by the station. However, most of the hardware had not been supplied by the SABC.

Sanderson said guns and an "Afrikaner culture" were keeping the right-wing radio station on the air.

Radio Pretoria had its temporary licence extended by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte earlier this week. Sanderson and other independent broadcasters have reacted angrily at the extension, accusing government of capitulating to the right wing while denying other stations an extension of their licences.

Sanderson said the station must have got at least some of its equipment from the SA Defence Force, a charge the army has denied. He said only licensed broadcasters and the SADF could import the equipment needed for a radio station.

Sanderson works for Solid Gold Radio, which recently stopped its broadcasts after government refused to extend its licence. He said special treatment was given to Radio Pretoria because it was an Afrikaner culture and shared common values with government.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

The threat of arms also cowed government into extending the licence, he said.

Sapa reports that an SADF spokesman challenged Sanderson to step forward with specific information, such as equipment serial numbers, to prove that the army had supplied Radio Pretoria. "We would like to know about it," he said.

A Johannesburg radio specialist said it was relatively easy to build a 5kW-8kW transmitter with a fairly wide signal radius. "Any radio technician worth his salt could build such a transmitter ... and at relatively little cost, something in the region of R10 000 for the hardware." All the necessary hardware was readily available.

Sophisticated custom-designed radio transmission equipment was also commercially available in SA, but at a higher price.

Station management committee chairman Mossie van den Berg would not comment on the allegations. He said most of the equipment had been scrounged from various sources, including auctions and sales.

Radio 702 MD Stan Katz said although he supported freedom of speech, he was opposed to the way Radio Pretoria had kept itself on the air. He said the system of temporary licences should be scrapped, and licensing left to an independent broadcasting authority.

Old rivals join forces to form centre

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party agreed yesterday to establish a daily joint operation communication centre in Katshehong, following the closure of a similar one at Natalspruit Hospital last week.

The organisations agreed to station political representatives of appropriate status at the Katshehong centre, the aim of which was to monitor constantly the situation in the township.

A memorandum said the communication centre would be under the joint control and supervision of the Germiston/Katshehong Local Peace Committee but would be resourced and assisted by the Wits Vaal Peace Secretariat.

It said the ANC and Inkatha signatories should urgently request international observer missions and the SA Police to par-

THE ELECTION Fm 7/1/94 Some surprises

It was not by chance that President F W de Klerk started his election campaign roadshow in the western Cape. It is the one region the NP is most likely to govern after April's general election. (304A)

The post-Christmas swing — through selected hamlets between Cape Town and Hermanus — saw De Klerk and his wife, Marike, climbing through farm fences to press flesh and pass around sweets. It's a campaign style to which SA is still not accustomed.

Though the presidential pair will be used similarly to garner votes for the NP in all regions, the Cape can expect special attention. While the ANC remains outwardly bullish about winning the western Cape, senior officials admit privately that it's a problem area — a view confirmed by the latest Market & Opinion Surveys poll for the non-aligned Institute for Multiparty Democracy.

The demographically representative poll was conducted in November and December among 1 425 coloureds, 582 whites and 493 blacks. The results, published just before Christmas, show support for the NP at about 35%, the ANC alliance 28%, DP 6%, PAC 2%, the white Right 1% and Inkatha under 1%. The undecided group totals 14% while 7% of respondents refuse to say whom they will support and nearly 4% say they will not vote.

The NP has by far the most support from coloured voters — 45% — compared to 17% for the ANC and 4% for the DP. A significant 20% of the group was undecided at the time of the poll. Just over 56% of the western Cape's 3,7m potential voters are coloured, compared to 22% black and 21% white.

The poll shows that around 46% of whites support the NP, 14% the DP, 10% the white Right, 3% the ANC and 3% Inkatha. The overwhelming majority of blacks support the ANC/SACP (77%) followed by the PAC (8%), DP (4%) and NP (0,7%).

A number of significant issues emerge from the results, including greater support for the DP among blacks than in the coloured community — which it believes is its natural growth area; far less support for the NP among blacks than was generally believed; little support for the PAC, which regards the western Cape as one of its stronger areas; and little support for the white Right.

Fm 7/1/94
In an analysis of the results, Jannie Gagliano and Hennie Kotze of Stellenbosch University and Hermann Giliomee of the University of Cape Town say a major feature of the poll is the extent to which voters in the region are willing to participate in the election and accept the outcome even if it is unfavourable to them. This could be because parties opposed to the election (such as the PAC and white Right) are weak in the western Cape. (304A)

They say it is also significant that a larger proportion of coloured voters "attached" themselves to the NP but point out that abstention among coloureds as a result of violence in the build-up to the election could hurt the performance of the NP more than its rivals.

The poll shows that coloureds feel most threatened by violence and intimidation. It could cut their participation in the election from 78% of potential voters to 50%. The turnout of whites could drop from 92% to 80% and for blacks from 91% to 79%. The overall percentage poll as a result of violence and intimidation could drop from 82% to 63%.

Coloureds (34%) and whites (36%) see the ANC as the most likely source of violence and intimidation followed by the AWB (21% each). Just over 51% of blacks regard the AWB as the greatest potential source of violence and intimidation followed by Inkatha (22%) and the SAP (11%). In squatter communities the figure for the SAP increased to 18%.

The analysts say for most voters in the region the threat perceptions are "clearly built on stereotypes that operate in the national arena" rather than in the western Cape because of the limited presence in the area of, for example, the AWB and Inkatha.

Most coloureds (66%) and whites (59%) regard the SAP as their best protection against violence and intimidation, compared to only 16% of blacks who place greater reliance on civics (15%), peace monitors (15%), MK (13%) and street committees (12%).

Coloureds consistently have greater faith in the NP rather than the ANC in key areas such as enforcing law and order, creating a climate of peace and promoting education and health care.

Apart from the importance to the NP of winning control of the western Cape's regional government, a strong showing by the party in the province would boost its prospects of greater representation at national level. ■

THE ELECTION

Fm 7/1/94

Dangerous apathy

(304A)

There will be no more holidays from politics before the election on April 27 and everyone is beginning to realise just how much work must be done. The most important priority is to stop terrorist attacks, control political violence and prevent intimidation. There are many other pressing tasks.

By contrast, the mechanics of the election itself may seem a mere technicality. The general view seems to be that the election, though it might not quite measure up to First-World standards, will be broadly democratic and that we must get it behind us with as little fuss as possible.

In the sense that universal adult franchise will be offered for the first time, with a genuine choice between competing parties, the election on April 27 will be democratic. But the spirit of democracy, as well as the undertaking that the nine regions would play a major constitutional role, has been severely undermined by the decision that each individual can only cast one vote. It is an abuse of the franchise; it goes against the spirit of the interim constitution.

As things stand now, if you vote for the ANC on April 27, that vote will count not once but three times: in support of the ANC's national list of candidates for parliament and the relevant ANC regional list for parliament, as well as the ANC's list of candidates for your provincial assembly.

Why is this a problem? If you live in Johannesburg, you may wish to support the ANC's national list because you are impressed by the calibre of its senior leaders. But you are suspicious of the people on the list for parliament produced by the ANC's PWV office and so would prefer to support the National Party alternative. Finally, you happen to be very impressed with the Democratic Party's candidates for the

PWV provincial assembly — which, after all, will have much to do with matters that affect your daily life. To put it more bluntly: you might be quite happy with the prospect of Nelson Mandela running the country — but not with Winnie Mandela running Johannesburg.

But you will not have a choice. You will have only one vote, which makes the system of separate lists a pointless exercise, a mirthless joke. Knowing this, a political party will be able to devote all its resources to building up its national leaders, knowing that its provincial candidates will be able to ride to office on their coat-tails. Parties will be able to pack their lists for the provincial assemblies with mediocrities; local issues will not make any impact and, therefore, campaigning on a provincial level will be meaningless.

After the election, the standard of provincial government will decline. Corruption at local level will flourish because the provincial assembly members will be completely unaccountable to the voters they serve. Power will not lie with the people, as the theory provides, but with party headquarters. Re-election will not depend on answering to constituents in a given area, but only on keeping your slate clean with the politburo officials.

It is not too late for changes to be made. At the very least, elections for provincial assemblies can be held at a later date.

But we find it alarming that many leading businessmen, normally astute and ready to apply pressure on matters of important political principle, seem so serenely unconcerned about this insult to the voters, this betrayal of hard-fought negotiations. If they remain unconcerned, they could, in fact, be helping to undermine the democracy they seek. ■

Mad rush to obtain ID books

By IVOR CREWS

CAPE TOWN is in the grip of election fever with thousands of applications for new identity documents being processed daily to enable people to vote on April 27.

Mr Pierre de Villiers, regional director for the Department of Home Affairs, yesterday said "it's a mad house" as long queues formed to apply for their identity documents at the Barrack Street offices.

On Monday about 1 500 applications had been processed and staff were working overtime to meet the demand. Mr De Villiers said peak periods were during the lunchtime break, with staff helping people who cannot read or write to fill in their application forms.

During 20 working days in December about 23 000 applications for new IDs were processed in Nyanga.

Mobile units in townships were processing applications.

● The Department of Home Affairs has urged people who have valid documents for the purpose of voting not to apply for new ID documents at present.

Documents accepted for voting purposes are: The green identity card first issued in 1950; the blue ID document first issued in 1972; all green ID documents issued since 1980; reference books issued to black people since 1950, and ID documents issued by the various TBVC countries since becoming independent.

DP tries to stop ANC TV feature

Star 8/1/94

LOUISE MARSLAND

(3049)

THE Democratic Party has called on the SABC to withdraw a five-part programme on the history of the ANC, starting on TV1 at 4 pm tomorrow.

DP MP and southern Transvaal chairman Douglas Gibson said screening the series *Hold Up the Sun* shortly before an election constituted "political preferment of the most blatant kind".

"I hereby call upon the SABC to withdraw the programme and to screen it after the election. If the SABC does not agree to this demand, the DP in this region will appeal to the Independent Electoral Commission and any other appropriate authority to stop the SABC from converting itself from a Nat lackey into an ANC lackey."

Campaign for Independent Media chairman Raymond Louw said he could not agree with Gibson. "For 40 years we have had nothing but the worst about the ANC. Here is an attempt to place the movement in perspective. It is a good two months before the election and I think it (the programme) rather levels the playing field."

"To follow this, it would obviously be fair for the SABC to then work on showing the history of the other political parties," Louw said.

The NP said the decision to screen the programme raised serious doubts about the SABC's unbiased handling of political parties. It asked for the decision to be reconsidered.

Bronwyn Keene-Young, information director of the Broadcast/Media Monitoring Project, said the documentary was a historical overview, not a programme on the ANC's election campaign. "This should be seen as an attempt to show some South African history that has not been shown before."

The SABC plans to screen the documentary over the next five Sundays until February 6.

IFP will not take part in poll, TEC

Star 8/1/94

POLITICAL STAFF
and OWN CORRESPONDENT

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) central committee has resolved not to take part in the April 27 election or transitional structures.

The party issued a statement last night rejecting the Interim Constitution and issuing a direct challenge to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC).

The decision was apparently taken at a central committee meeting at Ulundi yesterday (30/12).

The resolution will be submitted to a special congress of the IFP later this month where the final decision on participation in the election will be taken.

The National Party and the ANC have both expressed surprise at the central committee's stance, which comes against the background of ongoing negotiations between the Government, ANC and the Freedom Alliance (FA), of which the IFP is a member (1/1).

NP information director Marthinus van Schalkwyk accused the IFP of blackmail. The ANC's Carl Niehaus said the election would go on with or without the IFP.

Non-negotiable

The Conservative Party, however, welcomed the decision, saying it was in line with the position of the FA.

The resolution states that the IFP will not participate in the April 27 election or enter Parliament or the provincial legislatures under the 1993 Constitution.

It further states that the IFP will not participate in the TEC and its subcouncils or accept any decisions of the transitional body.

"The IFP will oppose every decision (the TEC) makes which in any way affects the IFP, the South African people and kwaZulu," the resolution read.

The central committee said only the acceptance by the Government of the FA's constitutional demands would move it to reconsider its position.

The IFP regards the elimination of the deadlock-breaking mechanism in the event of a constitutional dispute and the scrapping of the single-ballot voting system as non-negotiable, the resolution states.

Niehaus said the conditions set by the ANC and Government that the FA leaders commit themselves to the transitional process and the election were perfectly reasonable and intended to secure the participation of all parties in the constitutional process.

"We are surprised by this over-hasty reaction. The time is still open for negotiations with the FA until January 24," Niehaus said.

"We want to emphasise that the transitional pro-

● TO PAGE 2.

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IFP

6 FROM PAGE 1.

cess and the election will go on whether the IFP participates or not, although we would obviously like them to participate (30/12) (1/1).

"But we believe that the vast majority of the people of South Africa support the transitional process and the process towards democracy."

Merit

Van Schalkwyk said the Government and NP had bent over backwards to accommodate the IFP and FA. He said while the FA and IFP had initially made use of delaying tactics, the IFP had now turned to blackmail by proposing a trade-off between the acceptance of their proposals and their participation in the election.

"We will consider their proposals on merit, and we will not be blackmailed into decisions, however much we want all parties to participate in the elections."

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said the IFP had made the right decision, and denied that it was at odds with the FA's willingness to continue with negotiations.

ANC negotiations commission secretary Valli Moosa said the IFP resolution would be discussed at the ANC's national executive meeting on Friday.

"Unfortunately, the

IFP is attempting to draw us into negotiations in order to amend the Interim Constitution agreed upon at the World Trade Centre. Yet at the same time it is not prepared to commit itself to the process and the transition," he said.

The director of the Inkatha Institute, Gavin Woods, described the Ulundi resolution as a reaffirmation of the position the IFP has held "now and for a good couple of weeks".

"It's not a radical shift. But he (Buthelesi) is saying: 'We are not playing, but if you look at our position the avenues are still open'."

Woods said bilaterals between the Government and the IFP would continue "between now and the 24th".

Tragedy

"I think the ANC and the Government will see this (resolution) as a rewording of what the IFP has said before ... I don't see any reason to be more pessimistic."

Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer said "it would be a tragedy if Inkatha were to pull out of the election and rob the new South African parliament of the constructive influence which it might bring to bear there within the Parliament". He appealed to Inkatha, urgently to communicate with all parties with the view to bringing about their re-entry into the constitutional process.

as killed.

Power game could still be won by nine regions

BOYAH ARC 8/1/94

CONFLICT over the allocation of public finance and resources between component regions seems to be a distinguishing feature of federal states. In this respect the role of the proposed Fiscal Advisory Commission takes on added significance, although it still remains an open question whether such a body will be able to contain inter-regional economic competition altogether.

Generally speaking, conflict over the allocation of public resources between sub-national entities has not been a major feature of South African politics because both the homelands and the provinces lacked political leverage in pressing their case against the central government.

There are some signs now that a new regional assertiveness is starting to make itself felt.

The first departure from the established pattern has, perhaps not unpredictably, come from Natal. In the last year a report commissioned by the Natal/KwaZulu Joint Executive Authority (JEA) has argued two highly controversial points in relation to the combined revenue received by these two authorities.

The first allegation made is that Natal/KwaZulu has been a "victim of apartheid bias in government spending" in that it receives the third smallest share of public sector spending of the nine development regions on a per capita basis. The second is that the region's tax burden has "consistently been greater than the region's share in the South African gross domestic product".

Proponents of this view argue in addition that the diversion of water from Na-

tal to the Transvaal to serve the water needs of the PWV region, together with the government's refusal to develop the Tugela Basin as a manufacturing centre, are actions which have detrimentally affected their region.

The calculations on which this report is based are highly controversial and have been called into question by several economists, both in the public and private sector. Nevertheless, the political dynamic underlying the Natal/KwaZulu complaint is significant. For the first time, black homeland and white provincial authorities have combined in defence of their perceived "regional interests".

There are also some signs that positions not altogether dissimilar from those of Inkatha or the JEA are being formulated within other regions and within political groupings more closely aligned to the African National Congress. The first position is that adopted by certain poorer regions who are attempting to assert their right to preferential funding on the basis of socio-economic indicators or backlogs. Another position is characterised by the argument that the regions should have some sort of natural claim to the benefits of resources within their own area of jurisdiction.

The most notable formulation of the first position mentioned above is that which appears to be emerging in the wake of the imminent reincorporation of the TBVC states. Both Transkei and Venda, ANC-aligned homelands, have indicated that they are expecting greater financial assistance from a majority-rule government in compensation for the

■ Even though the shape and provisions of the new South African constitution have yet to be finalised, it now seems beyond doubt that the constitution will grant stronger rather than weaker powers to the regions. The impact which reasonably strong regional authorities will have on the dynamics of South African politics is likely to be profound, especially with regard to public finance, writes **RICHARD HUMPHRIES**.

backlogs built up during the apartheid years.

The former rector of the University of Transkei and now Chief Executive of the Independent Development Trust, Wiseman Nkulu, recently urged TBVC states to motivate an intergovernmental transfer formula which took the reduction of backlogs in service provision into account.

The second position flows from sentiments recently expressed in Kimberley by the chairman of the ANC's Western Cape region, Dr Alan Boesak. While accepting that richer regions ought to share their wealth with poorer regions, he argued that regions within whose borders certain minerals or natural resources ("bepaalde grondstowwe") existed ought to derive the primary advantage in their utilisation before they were applied elsewhere.

The logic of this position is that regions will attempt to erect protectionist walls around natural resources found in their areas. The incentive to do this could well be maximised if the regions are given powers, in respect of regional develop-

ment pattern in South Africa. The PWV development region towers over the other eight regions in terms of the Gross Geographic Product generated within its borders. In 1984 the GGP of this region was in the order of R40 000 million, more than three times larger than its nearest rivals, Natal and the Western Cape.

This imbalance would be somewhat reduced if regional boundaries were redrawn along the lines of the seven-regions proposal presented to the South African government's federalism conference at the end of 1992. In that proposal, the PWV is effectively reduced to a Witwatersrand region, with the Pretoria region forming part of a larger Northern and Eastern Transvaal region.

The Witwatersrand region's GGP amounts to approximately R30 000 million. Its nearest competitor, the Transvaal region of which Pretoria forms a part, produces some R20 000 million, while the Cape and Natal regions follow with an estimated R18 000 million and R14 000 million respectively.

Other indicators of regional inequalities are reflected in the contribution to GDP generated in metropolitan, non-metropolitan and homeland areas. In 1985, the percentage contribution by these three categories was 62 percent, 33 percent and 5 percent respectively.

Even though it is by now clear that the homelands will disappear into revised regional units, their utterly marginal economic status in relation to non-homeland South Africa will continue to inform debate over public finance. In 1990, GDP

per capita in South Africa was R5 175 compared to R616 in the homelands. Some 42 percent of the country's population is found in the homelands which account for only 5 percent of the Gross Domestic Product.

Part of the difficulty in assessing how assertive new regional units might be arises from the fact that such an assessment is dependent on how persistent present racial inequalities prove to be and how they influence political dynamics within the new regions.

The most obvious prediction is that existing racial inequalities will inform political competition within the regions, thereby undercutting the regions' ability to challenge policy directions adopted by the central government.

Deep political divisions within the regions would serve to prevent regional assertiveness against the centre and to link regional elites fairly closely to national elites within the same political party.

Nevertheless, the prospect that the very act of creating new regions might itself stimulate a sense of regional political identity within those regions should not be quickly discounted.

It may take time to develop separate identities and one might anticipate that this process could take place more rapidly in some regions than in others.

Should this occur, regional disparities in wealth, it seems fair to predict, will become a hallmark of South African politics. Indeed, the signs and seeds of such a conflict are already starting to emerge.

■ Richard Humphries is senior research officer at the Centre for Policy Studies, Johannesburg.

Police-PAC row tests TEC

CT8/1/74

(304A) (25)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE police crackdown on PAC members and the bitter public clashes between Transkei's military leader and the government will top the agenda when the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) meets next week.

The refusal of the KwaZulu Police to hand over documents about hit squad activities and the deployment of police in northern Natal/KwaZulu to curb violence will also be high on the agenda.

After a two-week break for the festive season, negotiations between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance on amendments to the constitution will also resume next week.

With just 15 weeks before the April 27 election, the TEC, which meets on Tuesday in Pretoria, faces a number of critical issues that could have a decisive bearing on its influence and role during the transition process.

The Heidelberg Tavern killings and the police methods in tracking down the murderers, including its use of soon-to-be-abolished section 29 of the Internal Security Act to detain people and its action against a PAC meeting in Guguletu this week, could overshadow next week's discussions.

Although the PAC has not yet lodged a complaint with the TEC, which it refused to join, it called

Transkei's clash with govt high on crisis list

yesterday on the Independent Electoral Commission and other transitional structures to "prove that they have teeth" and act firmly against the security forces.

Its chief negotiator, Mrs Patricia de Lille, said: "The PAC has always said the police are racist and brutal when dealing with black people."

Both Transkei's Major-General Bantu Holomisa and the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel, have asked the TEC to intervene in their often-bitter public dispute about the SA Police claim that the killers are based in Transkei.

Transkei has rejected a South African request for a joint investigation, saying that the police have no credibility in the homeland, and has called for international observers to do the investigation.

Transkei has also formally asked the TEC to intervene in the investigations into the SADF raid on a house in Umtata in October

in which four youths were killed, with, it was revealed yesterday, up to 22 bullets in their bodies.

Gen Holomisa said yesterday: "The TEC will be put on test on the Umtata raid — whether they put the interest of the whites first and neglect the blacks."

Some of these issues could be discussed at the TEC management committee on Monday or in the law and order sub-council, which meets on Monday and Tuesday, but the TEC itself will have to take decisions on these issues.

The foreign affairs and the status of women sub-councils also meet on Monday, and the regional and local government sub-council will meet on Tuesday and the intelligence sub-council on Wednesday.

The TEC will also have to decide what action to take on the KwaZulu Police refusal to hand over documents and the failure, so far, for more police to be deployed in the four northern Natal/KwaZulu trouble spots.

Other issues the TEC will face next week include:

- The blocking of a multimillion loan to Bophuthatswana.

- Approval of the defence sub-council plans for a joint command structure and the deployment of a peace-keeping force by the end of March.

While the meetings of the TEC management committee and its sub-councils are held behind closed doors, the meetings of the TEC itself will be held in public.

Alliance is mistaken — congressman

JOHANNESBURG. —
US congressman Mr Har-
ry Johnston criticised
the Freedom Alliance
yesterday for not partici-
pating in the election
process. (304A)

Mr Johnston said he
thought the Alliance was
"making a serious mis-
take by not getting in-
volved". CF 8/1/94

His comment came
after he met members of
the Alliance and other
parties and organisa-
tions.

Mr Johnston headed a
congressional delega-
tion on a three-day study
mission to South Africa.

IFP leader Chief Man-
gosuthu Buthelezi told
the Americans that com-
munists could use the
new South Africa as a
springboard to force
their ideology on devel-
oping countries. — Sapa

Delpport poised to ditch Nats for new party

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

LOCAL Government Minister Tertius Delpport is considering taking up a senior position in the month-old African Christian Democratic Party according to party insiders.

Dr Delpport would not comment on the rumours when contacted at his Bushman's River retreat on Friday, saying only that he had no plans to resign from his cabinet post "this weekend".

"But I can't say I will be a member of the National Party for all time," he added.

ACDP sources said this week that Dr Delpport was disillusioned with the NP's weak stand on federalism and local government and was seeking a new political home.

It has been established that he was due to attend a meeting of the ACDP to discuss his future on Tuesday this week, but pulled out at the last moment.

However, by Friday he had indicated to party leaders that he supported the ACDP's principles, a source said.

Commentators have speculated in the past that Dr Delpport might leave the NP for Inkatha, with whom he has a good relationship.

Dr Delpport rose to prominence as the government's chief negotiator in the constitutional working group of Codesa, where he established a reputation as an inflexible proponent of federalism and frequently clashed with ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa.

Despite his prominent role, however, he was overlooked as a replacement for ailing Constitutional Affairs Minister Gerrit Viljoen in favour of Roelf Meyer. Dr Delpport and Mr Meyer have since wrangled over local government negotiations at the World Trade Centre.

The ACDP, which was launched in December, is strongly federalist and believes that participation in the transition is the most effective way of achieving its goals.

Since its formation, the new party has embarked on a head-hunting crusade to improve its profile and attract what it believes to be a massive constituency of undecided Christians.

Party officials spent this week conducting a flurry of meetings with potential members.

Among those the party is believed to have targeted are Christians within Inkatha who are disillusioned with that organisation's continuing boycott of the transitional process.

Inkatha's announcement yesterday that it would boycott the April 27 poll is expected to increase tensions within the party and spur defectors to make their move.

Row looms over SAP in Kwazulu

SI Times 9/1/94

(304A)

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

GOVERNMENT hawk Hernus Kriel is headed for a showdown with the Transitional Executive Council when it reconvenes on Tuesday.

Law and Order Minister Kriel has dragged his heels on a TEC demand that SA Police be sent to Kwazulu — a deployment characterised by a Law and Order spokesman as an "invasion".

But the TEC has received a report from one of Mr Kriel's own men, the Natal regional police commissioner, which says the SAP has jurisdiction in Kwazulu and that action should be taken.

The document, quoted in London's Independent newspaper, lists six trouble spots in northern Natal, identifying Inkatha supporters as the "aggressors".

"It is clear that Inkatha has embarked on a campaign to drive ANC members from the above-mentioned Inkatha areas, and it can be expected that an increase in unrest related incidents will occur in view of the forthcoming election," the report quotes the document as saying.



SHOWDOWN ... Hernus Kriel

The Ministry of Law and Order has said it is "studying" the TEC demand. The ANC has rejected the government's statement that it did not have the power to send the SAP into homelands.

"Security forces can be ordered into any area of this country, including the self-governing territories," an ANC spokesman said.

The issue is provisionally set down for Tuesday's TEC agenda, and is regarded as the first test of strength for the interim government body.

Mr Kriel will also find himself in the hot-seat over East Rand violence, described yesterday as a "national emergency" by SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo.

Although the TEC last month approved in principle Mr Kriel's recommendation that the Internal Stability Unit be revamped rather than removed from the townships, the issue is to be revisited this week. Jets, debts and ad campaigns will also occupy the TEC this week.

The council will discuss Kwazulu's controversial new R33-million jet, which ANC spokesmen have suggested be impounded by the TEC, and the suspension of a Development Bank loan to Bophuthatswana.

Mr Slovo said on Friday his party intended raising the government's controversial R21-million advertising campaign on the interim constitution. He said the government was guilty of claiming the products of negotiations as its own.

The TEC should have taken a joint decision on the campaign, he said. Inkatha and the CP have already voiced objections to the campaign.

The council is also scheduled to discuss the controversy surrounding the alleged harbouring of Apla terrorists in Transkei.

Talks hopes fade as Freedom Alliance sticks to its guns

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

HOPES of an early breakthrough in negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, ANC and the government dimmed this week after the alliance insisted it would only bind itself to transitional processes after talks. *S Times*

And this week, Inkatha said it would not participate in the April 27 election unless alliance bottom lines — including separate ballot papers and stronger regions — were met. *9/11/94*

Inkatha has scheduled a special congress for the end of January to make a final decision on participation in the election and transitional processes. The congress will take place within a week of the January 24 deadline set for the conclusion of constitutional talks.

The alliance was asked by government and ANC negotiators last month to commit itself to transitional arrangements and the elec-

tion before talks could advance. But this week, the alliance said it had already committed itself to "substantially the same terms" as those proposed by the ANC.

However, ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the latest alliance position did not take talks any further.

The ANC's national executive committee would, nonetheless, discuss the alliance statement at a meeting on Wednesday. *(30/4/94)*

The alliance said in its statement: "The contents of the required commitment correspond substantially with the commitment already given by the alliance and its leaders." *(1/3/94)*

"If and when a final agreement on the minimum package detailed in its submission is reached and such agreement is endorsed by its controlling bodies, then the alliance would participate in the elections and the constitutional process."

Multilingual Nats fall down on Tsonga

BIDON 10/11/94

WILSON ZWANE

THE country's Shangaans have not been invited to vote for the NP — if a promotional calendar produced by the party is anything to go by. (3044)

The calendar, which the NP is distributing in most townships, urges residents in English, Afrikaans, Ndebele, southern Sotho, Sotho, SiSwati, Tswana, Venda, Xhosa and Zulu to vote for the "builders of a better new SA".

NP organiser David Chuenyane said although the calendar came out only two weeks ago, 1-million copies had already been distributed in Soweto alone.

The calendar — like pamphlets, which the party is also distributing — is dropped at the doors of residents. But the omission of Tsonga — a language spoken by Shangaans — in the calendar had apparently not been spotted by party officials.

Asked for comment, Chuenyane expressed surprise and said he had not been aware of the omission of Tsonga. "I will look into this," he said.

The calendars are compiled and issued by the NP's federal council. They feature

President F W de Klerk, the NP logo and a ballot box.

Chuenyane said the party was distributing 15 000 promotional pamphlets twice a month in Soweto alone. The pamphlet campaign is countrywide.

Chuenyane said the calendar was not being distributed in strife-torn areas, such as Katshele, Thokoza and Tembisa, because of possible attacks on NP workers.

Chuenyane also fired a broadside at self-defence units operating in the Soweto suburb of Diepkloof, saying they were harassing NP personnel in the township.

First full meeting of TEC to probe alleged hit squads

PRETORIA — The full Transitional Executive Council (TEC) meets in Pretoria for the first time tomorrow.

The TEC's management committee will decide today on the agenda for the council's fourth meeting, although a number of controversial items are likely to be included.

KwaZulu Police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During has been summoned before the council to provide information on the existence of hit squads within the KwaZulu Police.

During has refused twice previously to submit documentation or evidence on the issue, uncovered last year by the Goldstone commission.

In a letter to the TEC in December, During wrote: "The KwaZulu government did not participate in the decision nor was it consulted regarding the establishment of the TEC and hence recognises no obligation to provide it with any information."

The TEC responded by reminding

ADRIAN HADLAND

During of his legal obligations under the TEC Act and arguing that the views of the KwaZulu government were not relevant to his appearance before the TEC. (3014 A) (10/11/94)

The TEC may also consider a number of recent requests from Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel, the National Land Committee, Transkei leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa, the ANC and the Transvaal Provincial Administration.

These requests concern extradition laws in independent states, the eviction of labour tenants, the creation of an independent investigation team to examine alleged Apla attacks and arrests, the purchase by KwaZulu of a multimillion-rand executive jet and the Sebokeng hospital strike.

Additional issues to be discussed include the TEC's order to Kriel for the dispatch of SAP officers to KwaZulu, several parties' complaints

about a R21m government advertising campaign on the constitution, and the new national peacekeeping force's use of the peace doves symbol, which is opposed by the national peace committee.

Following an early meeting of the defence subcouncil last week, in which plans for a national peacekeeping force and restructured SADF were unveiled, all seven TEC sub-councils will deliberate on a range of issues this week.

The law and order, status of women and foreign affairs subcouncils meet today, the law and order and local government subcouncils sit tomorrow and the intelligence sub-council convenes on Wednesday.

But the Freedom Alliance parties — including the CP, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei governments, Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha Freedom Party — still remain outside the council's ambit.

See Page 6

Randfontein nine named

MARIANNE MERTEN

POLICE have released the names of nine AWB members arrested on Thursday in connection with an attack on black travellers near Randfontein on the West Rand in December.

The nine are Jaco Badenhorst, Gert Diederichs, Phil Kloppers, Deon Martin, Piet Matthews, Carol Meiring, Marthinus van der Schyff, Andre Visser and Etienne Visser.

The accused allegedly manned a roadblock on the Randfontein-Ventersdorp road on December 13, forced two cars off the road, shot dead Patrick Ga-

Inkatha divided on the elections

BILLY PADDOCK

to the constitution by the January 24 deadline less likely. (3014 A) (10/11/94)

ANC negotiations commission secretary Mohammed Valli Moosa said at the weekend that the alliance had not agreed to the ANC's demand that it commit itself to taking part in the elections. The ANC would study the alliance's response at its national executive committee meeting on Wednesday. (415)

Inkatha central committee sources in favour of taking part in the elections said they would try to reverse the decision not to take part. Boycotting the elections would give the ANC a free run in Natal.

They acknowledged, however, that "hardline" Inkatha adviser Walter Felgate had the ear and loyalty of leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

THE Inkatha Freedom Party will make a final decision at the end of the month on whether to take part in the April elections.

The IFP central committee said at the weekend it would not take part, but a final decision would be taken at a general council meeting at the end of January.

The central committee was divided between those who wanted to take part in the elections and those who demanded the party's preconditions, as set out by the Freedom Alliance, should first be met, central committee sources said.

There are also divisions in the alliance. While it had agreed that its members would negotiate jointly, the Afrikaner Volksfront has insisted on conducting separate talks with government and the ANC.

This has hampered progress in talks and made a decision on proposed amendments



304A

Political tolerance

MANY PARTIES ...



ONE NATION!

ONE of the most difficult and necessary components of a democracy is tolerance of an opposing or even offensive point of view. In a democracy, the government represents

with or finds insulting, they must accept his or her right to do so.

Tolerant behaviour allows different people to become exposed to different customs,

all the people of the nation. It is this government's duty to respect everybody's ideas.

The apartheid regime did not practise tolerance. Those taking positions against the government were often detained and imprisoned. On 28 April, a new democratically elected Government will take power in South Africa. One of its most important goals will be to avoid the practices of the past in promoting a culture of political tolerance.

Political tolerance applies not just to the behaviour of the government, but also to people. This means that people have the right to freely demonstrate or speak in favour of a particular party or viewpoint. The opposite is also true. If someone expresses an opinion which another person disagrees

practices, and beliefs. If one person makes an argument that another person finds disagreeable, then they can engage in discussion and debate. When this exchange of ideas occurs, a society develops where people understand and respect each other. In a sense they can agree to disagree. The alternative is an atmosphere of tension, distrust, and even violence.

Certain people or parties may promote unfair or undemocratic views. For a democracy to survive, people must tolerate these ideas. If they are forbidden they can become believable. A democracy will flourish in a society where unjust ideas are confronted in an open forum of debate.

Hostile demonstrations

There are many instances of political intolerance in South Africa. For instance, many party meetings and rallies have been disrupted and ruined by hostile demonstrators.

Fortunately, there are also countless examples of political tolerance in South Africa today. Many people released from years in prison chose to negotiate for a new South Africa with their former enemies. Such behaviour demonstrates a commitment to a free society. It is this attitude of tolerance which must prevail for South Africa to have a working democracy.

The secret ballot

The use of a secret ballot is one of the critical features of South Africa's first democratic elections on 27 April. Everyone's vote is his or her own secret. A secret ballot helps to guarantee that an election is free and fair. Bribery and intimidation can not alter the election results. If an individual is offered money to vote for a particular party, he or she can still vote for the candidate of their choice. Their vote is a secret, and nobody can discover it.

Similarly, a person or group cannot influence someone's vote by threatening them with

violence. A threatened person simply needs to respond that their vote is secret. Threats will not change a person's decision when nobody can find out how that person will vote. A person might even avoid a threat by agreeing to vote for a certain party, and then selecting a different choice in secret.

The secret ballot has a number of effects. A woman will not have to vote for her spouse's party. A young man will not have to vote for the party that his parents support. A man will be allowed to vote for the party his neighbours oppose. A worker will not have to

vote for the party of his or her employer or risk losing a job. A person can state in public that they voted for a particular party, but nobody will know that person's real selection.

The process of voting allows each person's selection to be secret. When someone votes, they will place a cross next to the party of their choice on the ballot paper. This activity will take place in a private area and nobody will see that person's choice. The person will then take their ballot and place it in a special box where it will remain until the ballots are counted. The voter does not put his or her name on the ballot, and it will be impossible for someone looking at the ballots in the box to identify which one belonged to which person.

A secret ballot is a necessary component of a democracy. Nations which fail to use a secret ballot in elections do not have legitimate governments. In South Africa's elections on 27 April, the use of a secret ballot will ensure a democratic process for electing a democratic government.



Ciskei 'poised to join TEC'

CT 10/11/94 (3041A) (85) Down Correspondent

EAST LONDON. — Ciskei appears poised to take up its seat on the Transitional Executive Council, with more evidence of a growing split in the increasingly fragile Freedom Alliance.

However, the homeland is still unwilling to commit itself publicly to participation in the council.

Ciskei's Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Mickey Webb, would only say yesterday that his government was contemplating taking part in the TEC.

"Certain constitutional issues still have to be negotiated and the constitution improved," Mr Webb said.

However, it was learnt yesterday that the homeland government has signed a declaration of intent to take part in the TEC and has agreed to send 250 troops to join the National Peacekeeping Force before the end of the month.

According to Dr Jakkie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Policy, this strongly suggests that Ciskei plans to take up its seat on the TEC.

Under the TEC Act, only political organisations which were part of the TEC could join the peacekeeping force, Dr Cilliers explained.

2 Cape Times, Monday, January 10 1994 ★

Delport 'to join new party'

Own Correspondent

PORT ELIZABETH. — Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport is believed to be ready to join the newly formed African Christian Democratic Party.

It is also thought probable that he will stand for the party in the April 27 election.

Contacted at his holiday home at Bushmans River yesterday, Dr

Delport declined to comment "at this stage".

However, political sources insist that the deeply religious Dr Delport is in the final stages of negotiations with the church-led ACDP.

The Sunday Times reported yesterday that Dr Delport was considering taking up a senior post with the month-old ACDP.

Dr Delport denied he would

be resigning from his cabinet post "this weekend" but, said the Sunday Times, he added that he could not say he would remain a member of the National Party for all the time.

A source, who declined to be named, said Dr Delport was disillusioned with the NP's weak stand on federalism and local government. (304A)

November

Two weeks to D-Day for government, ANC and Alliance talks

Political Staff

SOUTH Africa will know within the next two weeks whether it will have a fully inclusive negotiated settlement.

The deadline for completing the three-way talks between the Freedom Alliance, African National Congress and government is January 24.

And the deadline for discussions between the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and the ANC about the rightwing's demand for a separate Afrikaner homeland is on January 20.

But hopes for the successful completion of the ANC/AVF talks dimmed on Saturday when ANC president Nelson Mandela outright rejected the demand for a white homeland.

He said it was the task of other parties to ensure that the concerns and fears of all South Africans were properly addressed in talks.

Mr Mandela appealed to the rightwing not to drive the country into a civil war. He said the Afrikaner community had played, and should continue to play, an important role in the country.

The Inkatha Freedom Party central committee this weekend issued an ultimatum to the ANC and government to continue constitutional negotiations without any preconditions.

It endorsed a decision by Alliance leaders, taken last Monday, to reject the preconditions set in December by the ANC and government. In terms of these preconditions, the Alliance should commit itself to taking part in the April election and abide by the interim constitution and Transitional Executive Council decisions.

But the IFP central committee's resolution made it clear that the door was still open to further negotiations.

After the central committee meeting in Ulundi this weekend, the party's position on the election remain unchanged. It will take part in the country's first democratic elections only if the Alliance's amendments have been included in the interim constitution.

Hitch in ANC-Volksfront negotiations after 'rejection'

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Talks between the ANC and the far-right Afrikaner Volksfront, aimed at accommodating the Afrikaners' demands for self-determination, are floundering following ANC president Nelson Mandela's rejection of an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The talks, which resumed last week and were to have continued this week, followed the near-signing of an accord between the two parties late last year in which the ANC recognised the desire of many Afrikaners for self-determination in a volkstaat.

However, Volksfront spokesman Steven Maninger said today he could not confirm whether the negotiations would go ahead this week.

"We have to accept that Mr Mandela's statement has put the negotiations under great pressure," he said.

Mr Mandela told a press conference on the 82nd anniversary of the ANC that a homeland for Afrikaners was out of the question. (304A)

Africans had fought for three decades against the homeland system "which caused such pain. A volkstaat would never happen and by insisting upon it Afrikaner political groupings were doing their people a dis-favour," he said. ARC 10/1/94

However, Mr Mandela called for patience with rightwing Afrikaners to allow them time to realise their demand for a volkstaat was untenable and was isolating Afrikaners.

In another development, three-way talks between the

government, ANC and Freedom Alliance continue tomorrow. The deadline for reaching agreement on the alliance's constitutional demands is January 24.

However, the negotiations resume on shaky ground following the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee's rejection of the April 27 election and transitional structures.

The government and ANC have insisted that the FA parties commit themselves to recognition of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and the election if their demands are met before January 24.

FA leaders are unwilling to commit themselves before they know the outcome of negotiations between them, the government and the ANC.

DP suspends 'disloyal' MP

DP LEADER Zach de Beer yesterday suspended DP MP Andre de Wet (3047)

He said the suspension followed De Wet's acceptance of nomination on the ANC ticket for the eastern Cape.

De Beer said: "He ... is going to stand for a party which is in direct competi-

tion with us. This constitutes flagrant disloyalty."

A DP executive meeting would be held on Friday to review the issue.

However, De Wet said yesterday he hoped to discuss the "possibility of his joining the ANC" with the organisation's Border regional executive. — Sapa.

Latest opinion poll gives the ANC a two-thirds majority

TIM COHEN

A NATIONWIDE opinion poll released yesterday indicates that the ANC's support among voters has breached the two-thirds level for the first time. If the ANC won the elections with such a majority, it would be able to draw up almost all aspects of the constitution unilaterally.

The poll also shows that the Inkatha Freedom Party's and CP's support bases are hemorrhaging, while the NP has not regained the supporters it lost last year. The poll was conducted in October and November by MarData and the HSRC under the auspices of the Institute for Multi-

party Democracy from a sample of 2 100 adults. It excluded the TBVC territories.

Research co-ordinators Bill Johnson and Lawrence Schlemmer said 24% of respondents expressed no choice, which was "rather high" but not unusual.

The report shows that the ANC comes close to or exceeds a two-thirds majority in the country as a whole and in all the former provinces except Natal, where it has only a narrow majority.

The poll shows a sharp polarisation of

patterns of support between blacks and whites, with the ANC not gaining significant white support while the NP's black support has dropped away almost entirely.

Black support for the ANC/SACP alliance was high in February 1992, then fell significantly but rose sharply again after April to its current high of nearly three-quarters of all black voters. (304/92)

Support for the NP reached its peak among whites, coloureds and Asians after the March 1992 referendum, after which white support dropped to half its previous level. Since then white support has risen

sharply but among coloured voters it has dropped by more than half since February 1992, with more voters uncertain rather than moving to other parties.

The NP's loss of its 7% black support in late 1992 suggests a loss of about 1-million voters, the largest element of decline.

Black support for Inkatha was well above 10% until April, after which it declined by about half, while white support had risen but has fallen again.

The CP's support among whites was just under 30% but the latest results show a

To Page 2

Voters' choice of political party after exclusion of "no choice" respondents

Percentage	Capa	Natal	MPV	Natal	QFS	Total
Azapo	1	51	2	5	2	67
PAC	69	2	66	76	84	2
ANC-SACP	3	19	2	1	8	2
DP	25	23	20	7	5	17
NP	1	1	3	2	4	6
IFP	3	3	2	1	1	3
CP	3	3	2	1	1	2
AWB	3	3	2	1	1	2
Other	3	3	2	1	1	2
Right-wing	3	3	2	1	1	2
Other	3	3	2	1	1	2

Graphic: KAREN MOOLMAN Source: HSRC, MARKET DATA

Opinion poll

11/1/94

From Page 1

sharp decline to about 20%. "It is tempting to see in its sharp further decline, as elections approach, a growing sense of resignation among white conservatives that the coming transition, however uneven, cannot really be resisted." (304/92)

The PAC and Azapo had shown consistent support of 5% or less.

The report attempted to measure the parties' legitimacy by asking respondents how closely they identified with parties to show a "band of sympathy around each party". This suggested that while only 2% of respondents chose the PAC, 15% identified with it, while 8% of respondents identified with Azapo even though it did not

Picture Page 3

Ciskei defies alliance and joins TEC

EAST LONDON — Ciskei, a member of the conservative Freedom Alliance, said yesterday it would join the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). (304A)

Military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo told a meeting of chiefs and headmen in the capital of Bisho that: "We ... for the sake of the people have decided we must participate in the TEC."

This will widen the gap between Ciskei and its alliance partners. Last month the homeland said it would take part in the

April 27 elections.

Ciskei authorities said 250 of the homeland's soldiers would serve alongside government soldiers and former ANC guerrillas in the national peacekeeping force that will keep order during the elections.

Gqozo did not say whether he would leave the Freedom Alliance. He said his decision had been prompted by fears the Ciskei Defence Force would be considered an "unauthorised army" if he did not join the transition process. — Sapa-Reuter-AP.

STRONG indications that the African National Congress might obtain the two-thirds majority it needs to write its own constitution have emerged in a national survey released yesterday.

The survey, conducted by an independent research group as part of the HSRC's Launching Democracy project, revealed

that the National Party has re-established
itself as the principal alternative to the
ANC. (30419)

The survey was conducted among 2 100 South Africans across the colour line nationally, excluding the TBVC states.

In a sharp departure from general perception, the survey found that the Conservative Party has fallen back sharply from a support level of around 30 percent

of white voters to only 18 percent of such voters.

The survey's findings, announced at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, pointed out that the Pan Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organisation continued at a low level.

However, the survey indicated that 22 percent of African voters said they felt "close" or "very close" to the PAC and 13

percent said this of Azapo

The leaders of all three major political parties emerged as more popular than their parties, with State President FW de Klerk holding a particularly strong position among Indians and coloureds.

Africans, especially ANC voters, had notably high expectations of the post-election future, while all other groups remained somewhat or very pessimistic.

Tuesday January 14 1991

Election survey — mixed reaction

Sowetan

By Lulama Luti

WHILE political violence continues unabated in the KwaZulu-Natal region, most Natalians are keen to vote, a recently conducted survey in the area has revealed. 11/1/94

According to the survey, jointly conducted by Data Research Africa and the Human Sciences Research Council, although all voters in the region were worried about the violence, a large majority thought the elections should go ahead despite the violence.

While 24 percent said there was too much violence for the elections to be held, 64 percent felt the elections should go ahead.

A breakdown of the findings revealed that 82 percent of whites said they would definitely vote, as did 63 percent of coloureds, 52 percent blacks and 49 percent of Indians.

(2049) Supporters

Sixty one percent of African National Congress supporters gave the elections their full backing as opposed to 54 percent among Inkatha Freedom Party supporters.

The survey also found that power in Natal was strongly territorial and only 30 percent of urban blacks, as opposed to 62 percent of those in rural areas, felt they could look to the police for protection if violence occurred.

The survey's findings also revealed that among black voters there were signs of a euphoric "liberation" spirit, with party choices having been firmly made with little scope for change, and often, without much concentration on issues.

Race relations

While black expectations were very high, all racial groups expected race relations to improve after the elections and all the races favoured power-sharing.

On day-to-day issues, African voters came across as optimistic: they expected violence to diminish after the elections while white voters believed the opposite.

The survey further found that there were many signs of white-Indian insecurity and blacks expected significant numbers of whites, Indians and coloureds to emigrate in the wake of the elections.

The survey findings are based on research carried out on a total of 2 604 respondents, of whom 1 602 were black, 500 Indian, 402 white and 100 coloured.

Delport to remain with NP

304A
CT 11/1/94

PRETORIA. — Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delport has confirmed he has no intention of resigning from the National Party and has stated his unequivocal support for the NP and its leader President F W de Klerk.

This follows weekend news reports speculating that he was about to leave the NP to join the newly formed African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP).

Dr Delport said in a statement last night he would work as a NP member towards beating the ANC in the April election and called on like-minded parties to join forces against the ANC.

He said the ACDP was not the enemy of the NP.

— Sapa

AVF quits 'volkstaat' negotiations

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront has suspended negotiations with the African National Congress after ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said that Afrikaners should not expect self-determination in a "volkstaat" before the April 27 election.

The establishment of a Afrikaner homeland was inevitable and the Afrikaner nation would now use other methods to gain its freedom, AVF chairman and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday. (SAPA)

His statement did not elaborate on the methods. CT 11/11/94

The AVF said Mr Mandela had said he would react to their demands after consulting with his organisation. — Sapa

ANC strong poll race leader NP in distant second place

HUGH ROBERTON
Political Editor

THE latest national poll has confirmed the trend shown in other major opinion surveys in recent months — the African National Congress is well ahead in the election stakes, with the National Party a distant second — and the new statistics are likely to deepen the crisis facing the Freedom Alliance.

The alliance's unity took a knock yesterday when Ciskei announced its decision to break with its partners and take part in the Transitional Executive Council and the April 27 election.

Earlier there were reports of deep divisions in the Inkatha Freedom Party following its national executive recommendation last week that the party not take part in the TEC or the election and there has been speculation that some IFP members may break with the alliance.

The Western Cape leadership of the IFP has endorsed the boycott decision of the executive.

According to the latest poll, by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy (IMD), the ANC has overtaken the IFP even in Kwazulu and Natal, with the ANC having 51 percent support in the region to the IFP's 32 percent.

While IFP leaders have rejected the findings of the latest poll, they cannot do so with much credibility, since they warmly welcomed an earlier survey by the IMD which showed that the IFP was leading the ANC by 37 percent to 23 percent in Natal.

According to the new IMD poll, the ANC would win 67 percent of the national vote on April 27, followed by the NP with 17 percent, the IFP with six percent, the Conservative Party with three percent and the Democratic Party and Pan Africanist Congress each with two percent of the vote.

The survey was signed by academics Dr Bill Johnson, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and Professor Paulus Zulu. They said it seemed clear that the ANC "is heading for the two-thirds majority it needs to be able to write its own constitution".

Earlier polls have shown the ANC to be well in the lead. In a Gallup poll by Markinor between September and November, support for the ANC nationally was 82 percent, the highest level since a poll conducted in May, 1992.

A Human Sciences Research Council study of polls done between 1991 and July last year showed the ANC winning as much as 64 percent of the vote, to the NP's 15 to 18 percent, the Freedom Alliance's 14 to 18 percent and the IFP's 10 percent.

A striking feature of the latest poll is how consistent the ANC's lead has remained. But another feature is the clear decline in support for the alliance. While the HSRC survey found the alliance had the support of as much as 18 percent of voters, the new poll puts this at only about nine percent.

Natal NP leader George Bartlett found the new figures "interesting", but said the campaign was at "a very early stage", adding: "I am not overly impressed whatsoever".

"Watch developments in the next three or four months. It will be interesting to see what develops as we are not in the field really now."

"These figures do not tally with the returns that we have been getting," Mr Bartlett said.

Ed Tillet, spokesman for the IFP, said the IFP was sceptical of opinion polls.

"There is growing evidence on the ground of increasing support for the IFP."

"Once the constitution has been properly amended and an all-inclusive election takes place, South Africa is likely to see one of the biggest election upsets. The IFP will romp home with an overwhelming victory."

● See page 5

SAP praised for co-operating

TEC deals with range of touchy problems

Star 12/1/94

(304A)

■ **BY ESTHER WAUGH**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Transitional Executive Council yesterday dealt with a number of controversial issues.

These included the Bophuthatswana police raid on the ANC's Mafikeng office, security in northern Natal, and the Government's controversial R21 million advertising campaign.

The TEC decided that the police should keep the security situation in northern Natal under continuous review, and take whatever action was necessary to promote peace and stability in the region.

It also commended the SAP for its co-operation with the body.

Reports to the TEC indicated that violence had dropped significantly after December 9 when it was decided that more troops should be deployed in the area.

It was further decided that the controversial Government advertising campaign to promote the Interim Constitution

would come under the wing of the TEC.

The next phases in the advertising campaign are to be conducted in consultation with the TEC.

A four-member committee will meet the South African Communication Services to discuss those phases in the campaign.

Protest

On the Bophuthatswana police raid in Mafikeng yesterday, the TEC decided to register its protest with the homeland government.

It requested its subcouncil on foreign affairs to investigate the matter.

■ The TEC also announced the names of the five international members of the Independent Electoral Commission.

They are Professor Walter Kamba of Zimbabwe, R K C de Silva from Sri Lanka, Ron Gould from Canada, Amare Teckle from Eritrea and Gay McDougal from the United States.

World figures named to monitor elections

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Five people with experience in elections in other countries have been appointed to work with the Independent Election Commission (IEC) in arranging the April 27 general election.

They are Professor Walter Kamba of Zimbabwe, who kept an eye on the Namibian election for the Organisation of African Unity, RKC de Silva from Sri Lanka, Ron Gould from Canada, Amare Teckle from Eritrea and Ms Gay McDougall from the United States.

Their appointments were made by the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) yesterday. They were recommended by the United Nations Observer Mission in South Africa.

President F W de Klerk was asked by the TEC to put the Electoral Act into operation on Friday, January 14. This will enable the IEC to set up a party liaison committee. Parties will be asked to nominate representatives to the committee.

Together with the IEC it will tackle

arrangements for the election, the number and location of voting stations, demarcation of electoral districts, foreign voting stations and election regulations.

Meanwhile, TEC members decided yesterday they were not happy with the South African Communication Service's R21 million campaign to promote the new constitution, run through an advertising agency.

Joe Slovo of the Communist Party said: "It is our constitution and not that of an individual participant."

The TEC is to take the campaign under its wing, and gave this task to its joint secretaries Fanie van der Merwe and Mac Maharaj, plus Colin Eglin of the Democratic Party and Zam Titus from the Transkei Government.

They will immediately meet with the communications service to work out the next steps of the campaign.

TEC management committee members are to visit the East Rand to see for themselves the political violence in the region.

ARG 12/1/94

(304A)

End of road for talks — Viljoen

JOHANNESBURG —
Afrikaner Volksfront co-
leader General Con-
stand Viljoen said yes-
terday he believed the
end of the road had been
reached in negotiations.

(3044A)
Earlier, ANC leader
Mr Nelson Mandela said
he had warned A.V.F.
chairman Dr Ferdi Hart-
zenberg to stop inciting
people into demanding
an Afrikaner homeland.
He said the ANC "will
never" agree to one.

Sapa

CT 12/1/74

1994 ★

2 000 UN monitors for elections

WASHINGTON. — United Nations secretary-general Dr Boutros Boutros-Ghali is to recommend that between 1 800 and 2 000 UN observers be sent to monitor South Africa's elections, in a report to the UN Security Council due by the end of the week, diplomats said.

The report, based on an assessment mission undertaken at the request of the Transitional Executive Council, is understood to call for the observers to be phased in over the next three months.

In Pretoria, the TEC yesterday announced the names of international observers it had appointed to the Independent Electoral Commission.

They are Professor Walter Kamba (Zimbabwe), Mr R K C de Silva (Sri Lanka), Mr Ron Gould (Canada), Mr Amare Teckle (Eritrea), and Ms Gay McDougall (United States).

Planning at this stage calls for a UN observer to be placed at each polling site in areas considered volatile. Elsewhere,

monitoring would be carried out by mobile two-person teams who would be responsible for covering a number of sites.

The UN contingent is expected to be supplemented by 312 observers from the EEC, 70 from the Commonwealth and up to 50 from the OAU. Their activities will be co-ordinated by the UN, but each group will probably issue its own findings on the conduct of the election. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Rock of intolerance lurks in sea of expectations

Editor 13/11/94

(3047)

TIM COHEN

It is actually causing them to retrospectively revise upwards their experience of the last three years," say analysts Lawrence Schlemer, R W Johnson and Paulus Zulu.

This mood is enormously advantageous to the ANC and somewhat disabling for all its opponents, who cannot counter it. To the extent that they take a more pessimistic line, it is easy for them to be cast as "spoilers." The election is therefore viewed in quite a special way by black and some Indian and coloured voters, and, for good or ill, SA seems to be heading for its own unique election, they write.

More disturbing are the report's findings on the second set of issues — constraints on freedom of choice and violence during and after the elections. Roughly a quarter of respondents felt violence would reduce the voting turnout. This perception was most marked among coloured and Indian voters, but about a fifth of all blacks surveyed shared this view.

The survey also attempted to assess carefully whether there was strong community pressure to vote a certain way. Respondents were asked whether it was easy or difficult to hold opinions different from their neighbours'. The result indicates that whites lived in the most tolerant environment. Substantial

proportions (about 20%) of black and coloured respondents said it was difficult or impossible. The smaller or more marginal parties experienced the greatest restraint, with 34% of Inkatha Freedom Party supporters, 26% of AWB supporters and 25% of PAC supporters reporting difficulty.

But the most disturbing issue recorded by the poll was the problem of the acceptance of the result of the election and the likely response to it. The poll asked voters both what party they expected to win and what they would do if their party did not win. "If our assessments of party strength are even roughly valid, unexpected disappointment awaits Azapo, PAC, Inkatha and AWB voters, which might usher in difficult problems of security management," the report notes.

But on a scale which included the options "accept result", "angry protest" and "reject result", the majority of party supporters said while they might criticise the result, they would engage in only peaceful protests. However, warning signs are evident. Between 14% and 22% of Azapo, PAC, Inkatha and AWB voters said they would reject the result or engage in angry protest.

SA's first democratic election may be the cause of widespread enthusiasm, but it will also put to the test SA's soft security underbelly.

successfully, is whether it should attempt to counter the concept of a liberation election or somehow project itself as a vehicle for liberation. The MarkData/HSRC poll elicited from the report's compilers the conclusion that "SA's first open election is unfortunately not exactly a feast of positive anticipation".

Only 30% to 40% of white, coloured and Indian respondents viewed the election positively, and even among blacks support for the election was not unequivocal. However, the poll indicated, on the whole, a widespread intention to vote across party and racial lines.

A separate poll of Natal's voters elicited surprising results. Asked whether they were better off now

than in 1990, for the first time the majority of black voters answered in the affirmative. The researchers commented that this was a remarkable result, especially considering that unemployment has continued to rise and violence remains prevalent. Surveys in the past three years have consistently recorded negative majorities among all groups in response to this question, but black respondents are now so filled with expectation that their mood is changing to one of excited optimism. "So great is this anticipation that

Does a particular political group control your area and keep other political parties out?

Response	African	Coloured	Indian	White
Yes	27%	8%	6%	5%
To some extent	17%	18%	14%	10%
No	56%	74%	80%	86%

Graphic: KAREN MOOLMAN Source: MARKET DATA, HSRC

LETTERS

Dear Sir,

TIM COHEN

THE NP has disputed the results of the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) poll which found more than two thirds of voters support the ANC. Announcing an extensive 'road-show' featuring President F W de Klerk, NP executive director Jans van Zyl said the poll confirmed the NP's own findings that it had "turned the corner". While the ANC had sig-

NP disputes poll results as it launches roadshow

nificant support, it was not as extensive as the poll suggested. He conceded, however, that black support for the NP was crucial and would have to improve significantly over the next few months.

The NP would unveil its manifesto and release a list of candidates at a federal congress to be attended by about 2 000 delegates at the World Trade Centre on February 2.

The party did not intend establishing a national list of candidates, but lists of regional candidates. It would also not select candidates for regional premiership until the election results were released.

See Page 4

The Union Cold Storage Of South Africa Limited

(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
(Registration number 02/01318/06)
("UCS")



(Incorporated in the Republic of South Africa)
(Registration number 93/04669/07)
("Games Holdings")

Change of control and related transactions

Further to the announcement dated Friday, 24 December 1993 Simpson McKie Inc. is authorised to announce that an agreement has been concluded in terms of which, inter alia, MH Finger Investments (Proprietary) Limited ("Finger Investments") will sell and procure the sale to Games Holdings, with effect from 28 January 1994, ex the special dividend referred to below, of 1 170 405 ordinary shares in UCS for a cash consideration of R12 166 594, subject to fulfilment of certain suspensive conditions.

Change of control and offer to minorities

The shares acquired represent 90% of the issued ordinary share capital of UCS, resulting in a change of control. In accordance with the requirements of The Securities Regulation

Inkatha refuses to aid violence probe

THE Inkatha Freedom Party said yesterday it would not co-operate with the Transitional Executive Council's (TEC) management committee when it visited the violence-torn East Rand townships of Kaitleng and Thokoza.

Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Dlovu was reacting to the TEC resolution taken this week that a task group would be formed to try to restore normality in the townships and the decision that the TEC's management committee should tour the area.

He claimed the violence was coming from the ANC and government "and if anything happens to the TEC encourage during their visit to Kaitleng and Thokoza, Inkatha will not be held responsible".

On Tuesday the TEC resolved that a two-man committee, comprising Mac Maharaj and Fanie van der Merwe, would evaluate how the restoration of peace on the East Rand should be carried out.

Sources also said Inkatha branches in Thokoza and Kaitleng were divided over whether peace monitors should operate in the East Rand townships, WILSON ZWANE reports.

ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela said Inkatha's Thokoza branch withdrew from local peace structures last September, citing biased monitoring as one of the reasons. He said Inkatha claimed that peace monitors, operating under the auspices of the Wits/Vaal peace secretariat, were spying on its strongholds for the ANC and ferrying weapons.

JOHANNES NGCOCO

The secretariat was waiting for Inkatha to furnish proof of this.

Secretariat official Mavret Koeiz said a meeting would be held next Tuesday to discuss the matter. Members would also try to break a deadlock precipitated by a split between Inkatha's Thokoza and Kaitleng branches. He said Inkatha's Kaitleng branch favoured reopening a joint monitoring centre but the Thokoza branch opposed this.

Inkatha East Rand spokesman Thabani Dlamini said his organisation would not take part in monitoring the two townships until its complaints had been addressed by the secretariat.

Meanwhile, the Wits/Vaal peace committee's newly appointed peace corps director, Thami Thengeni, said the 200-strong corps would start training on January 24 in Daveyton.

He said a mediation organisation had met the Wits/Vaal committee this week to draw up a module for the corps' training programme. The corps would not have any direct links with the envisaged national peacekeeping force, but would work closely with such structures.

The Human Rights Commission said yesterday SA's violence-related death toll increased by 25% in 1993 against the previous year, JACQUE GOLDING reports. Last year's deaths topped 4 364, 1 000 more than the previous year.

Comment Page 4

Bitter-sweet victory in an onion field

FW de Klerk's election roadshow through rural Western Cape provoked angry reaction but drew votes for the 'new' National Party, write **Alf James and Janet Heard**

THE April elections were "about the future, not the past", President FW de Klerk repeatedly told people during his election roadshow in sleepy Overberg dorps in the Western Cape last week.

But the past continued to haunt him. While a large group of coloured people in Greyton and Genadendal showed eager support for the "new National Party", there was an antagonistic crowd who were unwilling to forget the NP's past.

FW's whistle-stop tour, conducted with military precision, drew contrasting receptions in the two towns. In the coloured mission town of Genadendal, the community was divided about his presence. The president's cavalcade was met by jubilant supporters holding colourful balloons, while African National Congress members jeered him and held up placards declaring "De Klerk bly weg" (De Klerk stay away).

Minutes later in the fashionable town of Greyton about 4km away, the small white community welcomed him with smiles and he was invited into the Rose Shop for cream scones and tea.

While De Klerk sipped tea in the garden, on the main street outside protesters tried to shout down NP supporters.

"FW comes here and he ignores the past," said one of the protesters, Ferdinand Engel. "People were evicted from Greyton in 1970 and they were paid R600 for houses that are now selling for R160 000. FW drives right past Heuvelkroon, where people were relocated, but he doesn't stop; he doesn't know the township exists. He wants their votes, but he doesn't



Cheers and jeers ... FW de Klerk received a mixed reception in the Western Cape

PHOTOGRAPH: JANET HEARD

even know or care how they have suffered under his party's rule."

Earlier in Genadendal, one of the highlights of the roadshow was supposed to be a 20 minute visit by De Klerk to the Moravian Church and museum. After stopping at the home of a pensioner, his cavalcade moved swiftly to the church. As De Klerk was about to get out of his car, the press was informed that the tour was "running late" and would proceed to Greyton.

It was 10.20am and according to the itinerary, the tour was in fact running early.

It turned out that historian and museum caretaker, Isaac Balie, whom FW was due to meet, had not been present and the museum doors were closed. At the church, the Reverend Martinus October had refused permission for sniffer dogs and a host of security personnel to search the church so, according to October, "the

police told me FW would not be able to enter the church".

October added that he had been misled into believing FW's visit was a friendly trip during his holiday break in Hermanus. "The church is open to everybody so I had no objections. However, after seeing all the police and NP posters in town I realised that it was part of his election campaign, which I felt uncomfortable with."

A visit to the Moravian church is a prerequisite to understanding Genadendal (Valley of Grace) as the town developed around the mission station in 1737. By the late 18th century it was the second largest settlement in the country and was also the sight of the country's first teachers' training college.

"Genadendal had the potential to develop into a centre of learning and perhaps even another Stellenbosch. But this was prevented by its

coloured status," Bailie said. "In 1926 the teachers' training college was closed down by the Department of Public Education, who argued that the coloured people had no need of tertiary education and were better employed on farms in the area. These policies caused impoverishment, degradation and stagnation of the town and a loss of community pride."

Today Genadendal, whose inhabitants are mostly seasonal farm labourers, is a tightly knit community and most people are able to trace their roots in the village back at least five generations.

After his Genadendal and Greyton visits, De Klerk stopped at an onion field along the road to address farm labourers, most of whom said they earned R13,50 a day.

"In the past, we (the NP) have done lots of good, but we have also caused some pain. We must rectify this. The NP is no longer a party for white peo-

ple, for boere, it's a new National Party, a party for everyone," De Klerk said.

The labourers listened intently. Afterwards De Klerk's wife, Marike, handed out gifts to some of the children before the roadshow disappeared in a cloud of dust on the way to Riviersonderend, Stanford and Gans Baal.

One of the farmworkers, Daniel Ockers (36), who lives in Genadendal, said he would definitely vote for De Klerk. "I am not going to vote for Mandela, I wouldn't work for a Bantu," he said.

Other labourers on the farm expressed similar sentiments, saying they supported De Klerk's vision of the future.

For a few minutes, De Klerk's whirlwind tour had stirred up emotions in the area, but the dust had hardly settled after his departure before the streets of Genadendal and Greyton had taken on their sleepy appearances.

And on the farm, life returned to normal. By the next morning Ockers had lost his job. He had made a shelter for his child using fence posts without asking the farm manager's permission.

"They were old fence posts lying on the side of the field, and the sun was hot," said Ockers. "But the manager swore at me so I left before I got into a fight because around here a coloured can never win against a white." But Ockers will still vote for the NP. "De Klerk will make things better, he will change things," he said.

Two minor repercussions in which De Klerk was once again reminded of the NP's past were reported in the press the following day.

The Labour Party criticised De Klerk for ignoring the child labour on the farm and for visiting a town from which "coloured" people had been forcibly evicted.

And the Democratic Party commented that the government's hypocrisy in forgetting how it had banned meetings at Genadendal was "sickening".

FW to focus on W Cape

CT/13/1/94 (3044)

By BARRY STREEK

THE Western Cape will be a major focus of President F W de Klerk's national "road show", a key element of the National Party's election campaign.

His schedule until early March, released yesterday, shows he will visit the Western Cape three times, more than any other region.

He will be in the Western Cape on Friday, February 18, and again on Friday, February 25, and Saturday, February 26. The details of these visits have not been released yet.

At a press conference in Pretoria yesterday, Mr Chris Fisser, the president's personal representative in his office, said Mr De Klerk would embark on the road show in

the Transvaal later this month and would visit all four provinces.

A "Mr De Klerk through the eyes of the media" project would be launched to project him to the broader population.

The NP campaign would intensify with the announcement of its candidate list and the release of its manifesto at the party's federal congress in Kempton Park on February 2 and 3.

The congress, exactly four years after Mr De Klerk's watershed speech in Parliament, is expected to be attended by about 2 000 NP representatives from all regions.

It would see the restructuring of the party ahead of the April 27 elections, Mr Fisser said.

Intelligence board formed

ET 13/1/94
PRETORIA. — The Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on intelligence yesterday held its first meeting here where the Joint Coordinating Intelligence Committee was discussed and constituted.

The TEC said the sub-council also established three other standing sub-committees: Basic principles on intelligence and the formulation of a code of conduct; to facilitate the transition to a future intelligence dispensation, and suitable legislation. —

Sapa

(304A)

5 000 observers may be sent to monitor election

ART 13/1/94

304A

The Argus Foreign Service

NEW YORK. — More than 5 000 international observers may monitor the South African election in April, with a 1 800-strong United Nations contingent comprising the largest single group.

Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali supplied the estimate in a report to the Security Council, which must give its approval before the UN can be involved. The estimated cost exceeds R120 million.

Regardless of the financial burden on an already strapped UN, council authority is taken for granted, although there could be some trimming.

The operation could be second in size and scope to that mounted in Cambodia — but at much less cost. The bills for the Cambodian operation, which are still coming in, may exceed R6 billion.

Mr Boutros-Ghali acknowledged that some interested parties would like to have many more international observers on the ground. He mentioned the high expectations of South Africans themselves.

A need for as many as 30 000 observers had been cited, he said. But the more observers that had to be assembled, the more time and resources would be needed to plan and deploy the operation.

His report suggested that mobile groups should take care of polling stations in areas where the risk of violence was low, while at least one observer should be assigned to each station in areas where there was a history of violence.

In contrast to the proposed UN contingent of 1 798, the Organisation of African Unity proposed to provide only 50 observers, according to the report, and the Commonwealth not many more — just 70.

The European Community was ready to send 322 monitors, with a further 600 coming from individual states.

Alliance still ready to talk: New meeting discussed (304A)

APG 13/1/94

Political Staff

FURTHER talks between the Freedom Alliance, the government, and the ANC have not been ruled out and there has been contact between the parties about the possibility of a meeting in the next few days.

This was the position of FA chairman Rowan Cronje today who said the frustrations expressed by Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday and the Afrikaner Volksfront's Ferdi Hartzenberg earlier this week were understandable but did not mean that talks between the FA and the government and the ANC were now ruled out.

A government source confirmed there had been contact to discuss a meeting soon.

Meanwhile, FA leaders will meet in Pretoria tomorrow to assess the present situation. But they won't say "don't negotiate", said Mr Cronje. They remain committed to negotiation and to leaving no stone unturned.

Sniping at voter education ignores crucial facts

By 14/1/94

GERRY SKERRITT

three months remaining, more than 2-million South Africans still do not have valid identity documents.

STEVEN Friedman suggests (Business Day, January 7) that "voter education may be just the latest business fad". He shows through his generalisations, vagueness and overuse of conditional and third-person statements that it is very possible he has a personal axe to grind with voter educators — perhaps because the subject is commanding more airtime and column centimetres than his own area of specialisation.

Without wishing to appear pedantic, it is necessary to tackle his erroneous statements one by one.

First, it is a great insult to the SA public to suggest that "they" need "us" to show them how to mark a ballot paper correctly, and perhaps a greater slight is delivered to business people, who, he implies, would feel incapable of performing this simple function themselves. Friedman finally insinuates that we, the professional trainers, believe we can offer a "quick fix for political intolerance and a lack of democratic values through a brief course of videos, pamphlets and short plays".

One of the first priorities of voter educators is to ensure that everyone is eligible to vote. With a little over

Other priorities are to ensure that people understand not only that their vote is secret but also why nobody can find out whom they have voted for. Most importantly, we need to instil a faith in the process, by showing all the measures that make foul play extremely difficult.

Finally, we believe voters should not be patronised and told only what they need to know but are presented with all the facts. They can then ignore what they see as unimportant.

The single biggest benefit of voter education, and probably the reason why the business community has chosen to support various initiatives, is that the workshops encourage dialogue and ultimately an understanding between diverse groups, of value to business and to the country.

However, far from having a wealth of personnel and resources to assist in this effort, there is still a grave shortage. The problem is exacerbated by the fact that, of those organisations involved, only a few can truthfully claim to be non-partisan

and skilled trainers. Many non-governmental organisations (some distinctly anti-government) are using material that is totally outdated or creates ambiguity or misconceptions through amateur delivery.

Friedman asks why the task cannot be performed more adequately and more appropriately by the Independent Electoral Commission. It is hoped the commission will act as an umbrella body for voter educators, co-ordinating efforts and reducing unproductive rivalry as well as exposing the charlatans and the politicised. The commission was formed only a few weeks ago. It has many tasks to perform between now and April 27. For commission members to perform a meaningful co-ordinating role in voter education will be a considerable achievement.

Friedman also asks whether voter education has not been seized on as an easy quick fix by nervous business people "anxious to show their demo-

cratic credentials". To be kind to Friedman, I will assume this is a rhetorical question. I hope for his sake that the slandered business community is as lenient.

Friedman asserts there were "very few spoil papers" in Namibia. A wider knowledge here would tell him analysts cite as a cause of the current Angolan turmoil the 40% spoil ballots in the 1992 elections.

However, Friedman cannot plead ignorance about the HSRC survey he quotes. The figures he quotes do little to expose the cracks in his water-tight hypothesis. But what about the facts from the same survey that he omits?

Among them:

- 14% of black South Africans said they would probably not vote for fear of violence;
- One third approved of breaking up meetings of opposing parties;
- Only 54% were sure their vote would be secret; and
- 2% of respondents claimed they were committed to violence during and after the elections — this translates into 400 000 people.

It appears Friedman really wants to motivate business to act as moni-

tors in the election and, presuming it can do only one thing at a time, feels the need to precede his plea with an inane diatribe directed at voter educators.

Unfortunately, Friedman is only echoing the call (which, incidentally, was made more timeously) of more eminent figures in the business community such as Colin Coleman, executive director of the Consultative Business Movement.

The electoral commission is already co-ordinating the appointments of personnel and training is being carried out by, among others, the voter educators.

Finally, while I agree with Friedman's call for business to get involved in monitoring, an even more vital issue will be the staffing of polling booths — five times as many people will be needed for this function as for monitoring.

The need presents a perfect opportunity for Friedman to abandon his observer status and actually do something to make the most important event in this country's history an unqualified success.

□ Skerritt directs Whitehead Morris's voter education programme.

First published in Business Day, 14/1/94, p. 14

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, January 14 1994

Fresh bid to draw alliance into poll

ANC, government and Freedom Alliance chief negotiators will meet informally in the next few days to try to arrange a new round of talks aimed at drawing the alliance into participating in the election.

This decision comes after a strong statement from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he will use everything in his means to prevent the ANC coming to power.

The three sides have set January 24 as a deadline to reach agreement on changes to the constitution that will satisfy the alliance's demands.

However, three days of talks at the end of last year came to nothing as the sides thrashed out procedural matters, with the ANC trying to extract a commitment from the alliance that it would take part in the TEC and the elections.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said yesterday the Freedom Alliance was still committed to further talks but said government and the ANC "must stop playing with words and start discussing substantive matters". His words echoed those of Buthelezi who told the KwaZulu legislative assembly caucus on Wednesday that further negotiations were a waste of time.

He said the KwaZulu government and Inkatha "will not tolerate their (ANC) march to the seizure of power either through the ballot box, or through mass action, rolling mass action, or through revolutionary violence".

Two options were available: to continue negotiating for another six weeks until the rejection of the alliance's demands; or "we

BILLY PADDOCK

call their bluff and say enough is enough". In both cases Inkatha would end up in the same position (304A) (10/11/94)

"Our position is very clear. ... We can no longer afford to waste three or four weeks on useless exercises which we know cannot deliver," Buthelezi said.

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana's internal affairs department has launched a voter education programme in the territory amid speculation that President Lucas Mangope will contest the election as premier for the northwest region, despite the fact that Bophuthatswana has not yet committed itself to taking part in the election.

An internal affairs ministry spokesman said yesterday the programme was being conducted by Q-Projects.

However, Q-Projects co-ordinator Deanne Galbraith denied this, saying the matter was too sensitive. She would acknowledge only that the organisation was involved in democracy education.

The ANC's nomination for premier of the northwest region, Rocky Malebana-Metsing, exiled from Bophuthatswana after the abortive coup, said he was looking forward to contesting the election openly and freely with Mangope.

He said he had it on good authority that Mangope was to contest the April 27 election. "He is starting to acknowledge that he has no option but to reincorporate."

The ANC had registered and helped more than 85 000 Bophuthatswana residents to get SA ID books in the past two months. "That is only in the western Transvaal section of the northwest region."



Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, left, the Patriotic Front summit in Johannesburg

CP councils spurn summit

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE CP-aligned Transvaal Municipal Association will not take part in next week's local government summit that is to be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk. BIDA
Government sources said yesterday the association's decision had "come as quite a surprise". The association had been active in local government negotiations and had helped fashion an agreement that was acceptable to right-wingers at least until local government elections later this year. 11/1/94

Earlier yesterday the Local Government Negotiating Forum, of which the association is part, said it regretted the decision. It said it had been notified that the right-wing council of Akasia, north of Pretoria, would not attend the summit. Sapa reports that the Akasia town council said it did not recognise the forum.

Deputy Local Government Minister Yakoob Makda said the decision would result in residents being uninformed. However, sources said information would be disseminated by radio and in local publications, but not through municipal offices "where it might get lost" (2/5/94)

It was decided last year to call the summit to launch a publicity campaign informing the public about local government restructuring.

The forum said it needed public affirmation by national leaders of the changes, which were secured only after compromises by both government and the ANC.

GOLD FIELDS PROPERTY COMPANY LIMITED

(Registration No: 01/01078/06)

Preliminary Announcement of Results

	Year ended 31 December	
	1993	1992
	R000	R000
Revenue		
Income from rent and sale of property	9 945	8 219
Surplus on realisation of investments and fixed assets	2 045	2 124
Interest earned, gold royalties and income from other sources	816	1 648
Income from investments	1 205	1 308
	<u>14 011</u>	<u>13 299</u>
Expenditure and amounts written off	5 401	3 910
Administration and general	3 508	3 075
Interest	1 883	645
Amounts written off investments	10	190
Profit before tax	8 610	9 389
Tax	2 663	3 356

THE TRANSITION The buck moves on

FM 14/1/94
The wisdom of Solomon was what members of the Transitional Executive Council were hoping for when they met for the first time in Pretoria this week, but it wasn't to be. They battled instead simply to keep the council on course to achieve its main aim — levelling the playing field for the election.

As the *FM* went to press the TEC's management committee was tabling "comprehensive proposals" to end the violence on the East Rand. The issue was given added urgency by a meeting earlier in the day between President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela, at which they too discussed the violence. (304A) (14/1/94)

The chances of the TEC achieving lasting peace on the East Rand and in other areas seem remote without the full co-operation of the Inkatha Freedom Party. But rather than draw the IFP closer towards the transitional process, this week's TEC session was expected further to alienate the party by focusing again on the unresolved dispute over the role of the KwaZulu police force (KZP); allegations by the SAP commissioner in Natal, General Colin Steyn, that the IFP is the main aggressor in some parts of KwaZulu; and the continued refusal by KZP commissioner General Roy During to heed a TEC summons, because he has not been given permission by the KwaZulu government.

At its meetings in Cape Town late last year, the TEC effectively instructed government to go ahead with SAP deployment in KwaZulu, in the light of allegations of KZP bias towards the IFP and its apparent inability to end the violence in the homeland. Law & Order Minister Hernus Kriel was expected to be questioned at this week's session on what steps he had taken to implement the resolution. His response could have important implications.

Last month, Kriel said he was considering what he regarded as the TEC's request to deploy the SAP in KwaZulu, but would have the final say. However, some members of the TEC believe Kriel is obliged by law to implement the resolution. A major crisis could develop if he refuses to do so: the performance of TEC kingpins Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer will be closely watched.

On the other hand, if Kriel acknowledges the TEC's over-riding authority, government's earlier assurance that it would re-

cont-7

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM 14/1/94
main in charge during the transition and simply consider TEC recommendations will be called into question. (14/1/94) (304A)

Buthelezi warned this week that any SAP action in KwaZulu would be regarded as an "invasion" and that his government would not hold itself responsible for the consequences of such action.

However, SAP legal opinion is that it has full jurisdiction in the homeland — and it's quite possible that any retaliatory action by the KZP against SAP operations in KwaZulu could be regarded as mutiny or treason.

Buthelezi's defiance is a major challenge to the TEC. Failure to resolve the issue one way or the other could severely undermine the council's credibility and ability to achieve its aims. Obviously a negotiated settlement with the IFP is first prize, but this seems increasingly remote. A showdown of some sort is looming. Buthelezi simply cannot be allowed to flaunt the law and the KZP cannot be allowed to operate beyond the control of the TEC.

The manner in which the problem is dealt with could influence future action by defiant rightwingers, who have also vowed not to acknowledge the TEC's authority.

Kriel was also expected to feature this week in the TEC's other major agenda item: the row between government and Transkei following the Heidelberg Tavern terror attack in Cape Town last month.

That row also raises the wider issue of how the SAP should operate to solve such serious crimes during the transition. It is ludicrous to have no co-operation from Transkei, which will soon be part of SA again.

□ On a more positive note, this week Ciskei announced that it would take up its seat on the TEC, participate in the election and provide men to serve as peacekeepers.

However, Ciskei leader Oupa Gqozo denied that his decision signalled a split in the Freedom Alliance. ■



Ramaphosa

A heavy burden

Fm 14/1/94

304A

For at least two months before the election on April 27, the success of SA's transition to democracy will hinge largely on the Independent Electoral Commission.

Armed with powers to crack down on disruptive elements, the commission will administer the Electoral Act under which the National Assembly and nine regional legislatures will be elected.

The commission is headed by appeal judge Johan Kriegler. His deputy is former PAC deputy leader Dikgang Moseneke SC. The other members include former DP MP Helen Suzman, SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, former NG Kerk moderator Johan Heyns, former Inkatha chairman Oscar Dhlomo and Durban advocate Zac Yacoob.

It is already busy with administrative work and the appointment of staff, but the commission's authority to tackle the main issues only comes into force when the election is proclaimed by the State President in the *Government Gazette*. This must occur between 60 and 90 days before the election. With the election set for April 27, this means sometime between January 27 and February 26.

The commission is charged with making sure that the election campaign and voting will be free and fair. It must also deal with voter education, determine the results and certify to what extent the poll was free and fair. It has the power to make and enforce regulations to achieve its aims.

It must comprise 12-16 members, appointed on the advice of the TEC. Five members must be "from the international community" but will not have voting rights. The local members must be "impartial, respected and suitably qualified" representatives of a "broad cross-section" of the population. They may not support or oppose any party or candidate

in the election.

Commission members can be removed from office by order of the Special Electoral Court, on an application by the State President, the Transitional Executive Council, parliament and, under certain conditions, any party eligible to participate in the election; or at least 1 000 voters.

The commission will meet wherever and whenever necessary and will be supported by:

- An International Advisory Committee appointed on the advice of the TEC;
- An Election Administration Directorate



Kriegler



Suzman



Moseneke

and an Election Monitoring Directorate. The Monitoring Directorate will appoint and be responsible for monitors who will observe and report on all aspects of the campaign and electoral process. It will also register observers and regulate their activities and facilitate the role of international observers; investigate alleged infringements of the Electoral Code of Conduct and related matters; with the aid of the National Peacekeeping Force, the police or defence force, issue and execute search warrants and subpoenas and seize items required for investigations of alleged offences; act as peace-broker if necessary between rival parties; and issue warnings concerning alleged or threatened contraventions of the code of conduct;

- Electoral Tribunals comprising an attorney, advocate, magistrate or academic lawyer with at least five years' experience to consider allegations of irregularities and impose penalties if necessary;
- Electoral Appeal Tribunals headed by a Supreme Court judge; and
- A Special Electoral Court headed by an Appeal Court judge, to review decisions by

the IEC or Appeal Tribunals.

The Electoral Act provides for the establishment by the TEC of a party liaison national committee, as well as provincial and local party liaison committees, which will serve as links between the parties and the commission.

Organisations contesting the polls do not have to register as political parties but merely as participants in the election.

The Electoral Act provides for one day for special votes for sick or disabled people who cannot get to a voting station on election day, followed by not more than two days for general voting, of which one day must be a public holiday.

Participating parties must submit their lists of candidates for the national and provincial legislatures within 30 days of the proclamation of the election.

Allegations of irregularities, challenges of results or objections must be made to the commission within 48 hours of the polls closing. Not sooner than two days and not later than 10 days after the election, the commission must either

certify the results as "substantially free and fair" or declare that it was unable to do so.

Contraventions of the Electoral Act, including obstructing free political campaigning, can be punished by fines of up to R100 000 or five years' imprisonment.

Each party contesting the election binds itself to the code of conduct which, in essence, is a commitment to allow rivals to campaign freely. Penalties for contravening the code range from a formal warning to a fine of R100 000. Candidates guilty of violence or intimidation can be barred from election.

State funds will be made available to help parties pay campaign costs if the commission is satisfied that the party will win at least 2% of the votes cast for either the national or a particular regional legislature.



Chikane



Heyns

POLITICAL OPINION

Draining away

304A

Boycott tactics by Inkatha and the Conservative Party appear to have severely undermined their popular support, raising the spectre of the two organisations being whittled down to groups of militant fanatics.

The results of the latest opinion poll by the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) show that IFP support dwindled from 10% to 6% in the 12 months to November last year, while CP support among whites dropped from 26% to 18% between July and November. White support for the NP increased

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from 28% to 40% over the same period.

Even in its KwaZulu/Natal heartland, the IFP was credited with only 23% of support, compared to 51% for the ANC and 19% for the National Party. A poll in 1992 indicated that the IFP would win 37% of the votes in KwaZulu/Natal. (304A)

HSRC analysts say the drop in support for the IFP and CP may be due to their hesitation over participation in the election. If this is correct, the two groups can expect further defections before the election in April unless they agree to take part.

But this seems unlikely. The IFP-dominated KwaZulu government was preparing for a showdown this week with the Transitional Executive Council; CP leader Ferdie Hartzenberg broke off talks with the ANC after Nelson Mandela's stated rejection of demands for a white homeland.

It's possible that a decision to fight the election as a united front could generate a significant groundswell of mainly white support for the CP and IFP — but would further undermine IFP support among blacks.

The irony is that the HSRC's research indicates that 47% of Inkatha supporters believe the election must proceed, while 41% disagree — and 54% say they will definitely vote. While this may seem low, it is only 7% lower than the figure for ANC supporters.

The HSRC poll, conducted nationwide among 2 100 people in October and November, also suggested that the ANC had the backing of 67% of all voters. If translated into votes, this would give the ANC the two-thirds majority needed for a party to approve, on its own, a new constitution.

However, even with a majority of more than two-thirds, the ANC must formulate a new constitution on the basis of 33 principles agreed to by multi-party negotiators.

The poll gave the NP 17% of the vote, the CP 3% and 2% each to the PAC, the Democratic Party and the far Right. The NP's estimated 7% support among blacks — worth about 1m votes — recorded late in 1992 has virtually vanished. ■

given the explosive political potential of education, and there is still no clarity on what precisely the ANC intends to do about the formerly all-white Model C schools.

Spokesman John Samuels said on Monday that he envisaged a system of State schools, State-aided schools and private schools. It is possible that the Model C system (where parents have a say in line with their contribution of around 20% of costs) may not only survive but be extended — but under another name that is not associated with apartheid Cabinet Ministers. This would free more funds to address the township crisis.

Other points in the ANC document reflect broad consensus already reached on:

- ☐ A single Ministry of Education, to replace the 17 at present, and a national system of certification;
- ☐ Regional autonomy to some extent; and
- ☐ Revision of the syllabus in subjects like history, where the approach has traditionally been Eurocentric. ■

ONE of the key leaders of the newly emerged African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, has a long record of running front organisations for Military Intelligence.

Van der Westhuizen confirmed this week that the ACDP had approached Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delpont, known as a hardliner in President FW de Klerk's cabinet, to join the party's leadership.

Delpont has denied he was about to resign from the National Party to join the ACDP. However, in a press release he unequivocally stated his support for the ACDP, saying it was a community-based party that could play a positive role in local government elections. Delpont also called on "like-minded parties to join forces against the African National Congress".

Van der Westhuizen, whose house is being used as the headquarters of the new party, has been involved in mobilising anti-ANC blacks since 1986 when he was an official of the MI front organisation Adult Education Consultants (known as AdEd), which spent more than R150-million of taxpayers' money on secret projects aimed at undermining the ANC and its internal allies.

Before that, Van der Westhuizen and Delpont were colleagues at the University of Port Elizabeth, at the time an Afrikaner Broederbond stronghold.

Van der Westhuizen said the new party had no links with his MI past. "I haven't even talked to those guys for many years," he said.

AdEd Consultants was set up in 1986 by Dr Louis Pasques, a Pretoria educationist awarded the Star of Africa in 1987 by ex-president PW Botha for "service to state security". It spawned a host of other front organisations across the country. One of these was the close corporation Laborel in Johannesburg, of which Van der Westhuizen was the front-man.

A hallmark of many of Pasques' organisations was the use of the word "Christian" in their names, hiding their political motivation behind purportedly charitable and religious work. Most of these fell under the South African Christian Cultural Organisation (Sacco), also founded by Pasques.

Sacco's secret and state-funded activities were exposed by the *Mail & Guardian* last year.

The purpose of these "Christian cultural organisations" was to lecture "moderates" in the coloured and black communities on the "total onslaught on the country".

Although most of the organisations

Former MI man behind new party

A central figure in the African Christian Democratic Party — linked to cabinet minister Tertius Delpont — has worked for Military Intelligence. **Chris Louw** reports

did some legitimate work to hide their covert activities, they were largely sponsored by the South African Defence Force from secret state funds.

As AdEd Consultants' research manager, Van der Westhuizen was directly involved in its covert work. According to a letter written by Pasques in June 1986 and addressed to Dr Das Herbst of the Ministry of Defence, Van der Westhuizen and his wife were behind a youth organisation in Port Elizabeth which was established with the express purpose of opposing the ANC-aligned UDF.

Van der Westhuizen was also personally involved in giving political instruction to 200 members of Inkatha secretly trained by the SADF in Namibia in 1986.

AdEd also helped Allan Hendrickse's Labour Party win three by-elections through weekend seminars in Cape Town in 1987. SADF-printed certificates were awarded to Labour Party organisers who successfully completed the electioneering course. The idea behind the seminars was apparently to boost the coloured vote to give legitimacy to the discredited tricameral system.

Front companies were at the time used by MI to create, train, support, assist and advise "moderate" black organisations which they believed would undermine the ANC. These included the black consciousness AmaAfrica organisation of the reverend Ebenezer Mqina in Port Elizabeth. AmaAfrica was directly involved in violent attacks on ANC supporters.

The friendship between Van der Westhuizen and Delpont goes back to the mid-1980s when both were lecturing at the University of Port Elizabeth. Delpont was dean of the law faculty while Van der Westhuizen was a senior lecturer in political studies at UPE.

Questions about the extent of Delpont's involvement in secret government projects at the time remain unanswered. He is implicated in documents released last year by Transkei military ruler General Bantu Holomisa, but no direct evidence of his involvement has been



Minister Tertius Delpont ... Approached by the ACDP

produced.

Delpont's name is mentioned in a letter written by Brigadier CP ("Joffel") van der Westhuizen dated June 13 1986, marked "top secret" and addressed to the chief of the army.

The letter deals with a plan relating to "stability and state security" in the Eastern Cape, and concludes that an alternative must be found for unsuccessful efforts to activate "pro-RSA resistance movements".

A "Professor Delpont, Dean UPE Faculty of Law", is identified by Van der Westhuizen as one of three people who were "partly" aware of the plan.

The other two are military men — General Gleeson (SADF Deputy Commander) and General Van

Deventer (Ciskei Ambassador).

This week Drickus Botha, a former Armscor employee who was also an official of AdEd, denied that he and Delpont were involved in "Operation Grammet", launched in Port Elizabeth in the mid-1980s and described by an insider as "war games".

The exact nature of Grammet is not clear.

Botha until recently headed an AdEd front organisation in Pretoria, registered as MMD Makelaars.

Another former Armscor employee, Peet du Preez, has been implicated in Operation Grammet. He could not be contacted for comment.

The ACDP, which was launched in December by Van der Westhuizen, says it is strongly federalist and believes that participation in the transition is the most effective way of achieving its goals.

Since its inception it has embarked on a membership drive, trying to attract what it believes to be a massive constituency of undecided Christians. It was launched in Natal this week.

According to reports, Delpont was disillusioned with the NP's weak stand on federalism and local government and was seeking a new political home. He was due to attend a meeting of the ACDP recently, but pulled out at the last moment.

In his press statement on Monday, Delpont emphasised that voters who supported the same principles as the NP, but who for historical or other reasons were not ready to support the party, were not political enemies of the NP.

He said he had no intention of resigning from the NP and stated his unequivocal support for the NP and its leader, FW de Klerk.

In political circles the establishment of the ACDP is seen as a panic reaction by NP-supporting whites now that it has become clear that the party is unable to make significant inroads into the black community.

Many NP members believe the decision not to change the party's name as part of a strategy to actively recruit black members was a fatal mistake. De Klerk, according to observers, did not want to allow a name-change out of fear of losing existing white support.

He believed the NP could still solicit strong black support. This belief was echoed by the NP's election chief, Olaus van Zyl, who at an NP press conference in Pretoria on Wednesday argued that his party would still make huge inroads into black communities once its message became clear.

However, a survey carried out in November and December last year by the Human Sciences Research Council indicates the opposite. Black support for the NP has dropped steadily from July 1992 and is currently at about one percent.

Comment the HSRC pollsters: "The fall from the NP's seven to eight percent level of support in late 1992 to the October-November 1993 level suggests a loss of around a million African votes — by far the biggest element in the NP's decline over the period."

The survey confirms serious doubts within NP circles about the party's ability to stop the ANC from achieving a landslide victory at the polls. NP officials are worried that the ANC may win an outright two-thirds majority, which will allow it to rewrite the transitional constitution without opposition.

Some cabinet members support the idea of an alliance with homeland parties like the Inkatha Freedom Party, Gazankulu's Ximoko Party and QuaQua's Dikwankwella Party. The problem is that these parties, with the exception of the IFP, command very little popular support.

'A wonderful thing from God'

Chris Louw

THE African Christian Democratic Party is based on the view that the country should be ruled according to the word of God, and no state money was used to found it, says Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, who took the initiative to get the ACDP off the ground.

In an interview, Van der Westhuizen categorically denied that he was ever involved with either the South African Defence Force or Military Intelligence. He said he could only laugh when the question was put to him, "because there are so many Van der Westhuizens".

The ACDP, he said, was funded by small and medium-sized business concerns. They had exactly R32 000 in the bank. "We are the biggest but poorest party in the country."

Van der Westhuizen said he had to make sacrifices to get his vision of a Christian party off the ground. "I say

with bitterness that there is almost no food left in my house."

Dismissing newspaper reports that he was the leader of the ACDP, Van der Westhuizen gave a list of names of the leadership group. They include Anthony Dhlomo, brother of Dr Oscar Dhlomo, an ex-Inkatha leader who now heads the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy.

The full leadership group consists of Rev Kenneth Meshoe, Dan Kapeni Mafuleke, Jack Stagman, Rev Nic Addison, Shilke Ramaselele, Anthony Dhlomo, Johan van der Westhuizen, Wessel Swart of Eskom, Lennox Mlomozi, Ron Pocock from Port Elizabeth, Louis Green and Linn Conway.

According to Van der Westhuizen, a leader will be elected at the party's national congress in February.

Admitting that he used to be a National Party supporter, Van der Westhuizen maintained the NP suffered from a crisis of leadership.

The ACDP wanted to establish an alternative to the NP. "We wanted someone with expertise to take over our parliamentary leadership. That was the reason why we approached Dr Tertius Delpont."

According to Van der Westhuizen, Delpont showed definite interest but in the end decided to decline.

Van der Westhuizen admitted that he was involved with Laborel — known to be an MI front — but said it was only for four months. "I am often confused with JC van der Westhuizen, who was also involved and who is no relation of mine."

He was, however, involved in Adult Education Consultants although he did not know where they got their money from. His relationship with Rev Ebenezer Mqina of AmaAfrica was limited to "friendship".

He asked the *Mail & Guardian* not to publish speculation about his past, saying the party was a "wonderful thing straight from God".

Why the FA poses a threat

Sowetan 14/11/94

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

HATRED BINDING *No cause for jubilation even if FA were to collapse:*

THE Freedom Alliance may split and individual partners will still constitute a real threat to a post-apartheid government, political analyst Professor Willem Kleynhans said yesterday.

Commenting on speculation of a split within the FA following Ciskei leader Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's decision to join the Transitional Executive Council and to contest the forthcoming elections, Kleynhans said:

"There is no cause for jubilation even if the Freedom Alliance were to collapse during the pre-election phase.

"What brought them into the alliance in the first place will still be in place.

"With perhaps the exception of (Bophuthatswana's President Lucas) Mangope and Gqozo, a new government will not be able to effectively emasculate the rest of the alliance partners," Kleynhans said.

Gqozo's decision flew in the face of the position of the Freedom Alliance. However, Gqozo said he would not leave the alliance, asserting that his decision was spurred by a feeling of insecurity from civil servants and security forces.

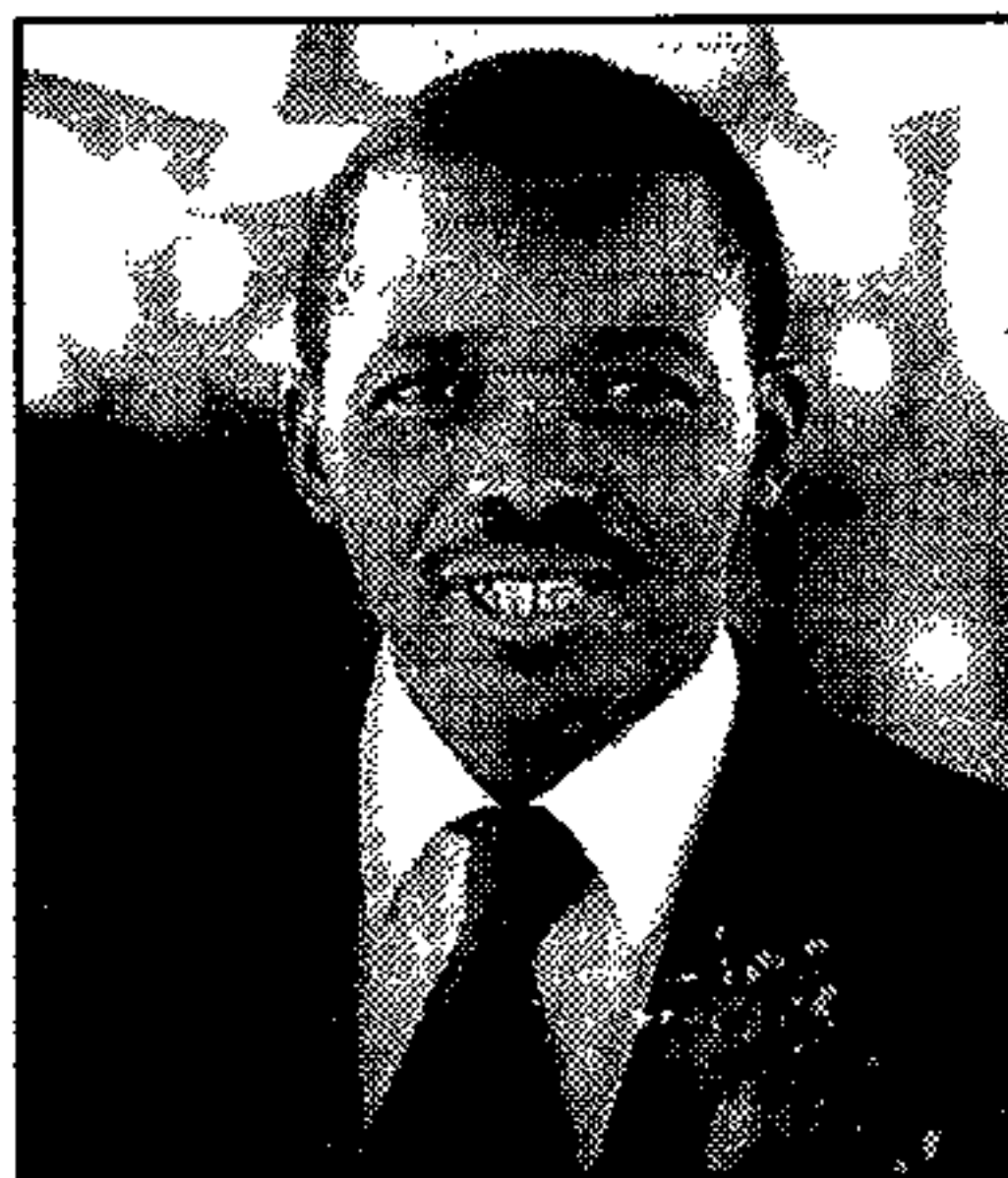
Kleynhans notes that the FA constituent parties are entities on their own, with atypical interests and objectives.

"They were united by only one thing — hatred of the African National Congress-led government," Kleynhans said.

Kleynhans said this common dislike of the ANC will not wither away simply because individual FA partners pursued divergent strategic objectives.

"They will remain elements within the body-politic that will make it difficult for the ANC to govern," Kleynhans said.

Conceding that the constituency-parched Gqozo and Bophuthatswana's President Lucas Mangope were in a more precarious position than KwaZulu's chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Kleynhans also points out to the danger posed by the Afrikaner Volksfront and other rightwing formations.



Gqozo ... joined the TEC.

"Both Buthelezi and the rightwing have the capacity to mobilise their supporters to withstand any force from the government they do not recognise," Kleynhans said.

Referring to the armed rightwing protection of Radio Pretoria in Donkerhoek, Kleynhans said that "if the security forces were to be ordered to close down the station, thousands of rightwingers — armed or unarmed — would assemble within a few hours to challenge them."

On the other hand Kleynhans said he never considered Gqozo a serious partner in the alliance.

"Gqozo was an odd man and with his problems had no option but to contest the elections."

In a telephone interview, Gqozo denied speculation that recalcitrant security forces or the South African Government through seconded officers had forced him to take part in the Transitional Executive Council and the elections.

Gqozo said he decided to join after it occurred to him that the international community would "legitimise the outcome of the elections even if we stayed away".

"I made this positive and constructive compromise after frustrations about

With perhaps the exception of Mangope and Gqozo a new government will not be able to effectively emasculate the rest of the Freedom Alliance partners

promises from the National Party and the ANC that were never fulfilled," Gqozo said.

The same frustration was voiced by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi this week, who threatened to break bilateral talks with the ANC.

Gqozo said he had not considered leaving the FA but would instead lead his African Democratic Movement to contest regional elections in the Eastern Cape.

Unlike Gqozo, Buthelezi said he joined "opposition politics" and embarked on a "proactive mode instead of a reactive mode" should negotiations fail.

Despite protestations to the contrary, indications are that there are deep fissures within the negotiating alliance.

However, Kleynhans is adamant that such rifts will not diminish the threat posed by individual parties as they will continue to fight the ANC — the hatred of which was the reason for the formations

tion of the Freedom Alliance.

304A

Different IDs 'acceptable for election'

PRETORIA. — Five different types of identification documents will be acceptable for the April 27 election, the Department of Home Affairs has announced.

They are the green identity card issued in 1950, the blue identity document issued since 1972, all green identity documents issued since 1980, reference books issued to blacks since 1950 and identity docu-

ments issued by the TBVC states since their independence.

The department has asked people who already have a valid identification document not to apply for a new one at this stage as this may delay the provision of valid documents to those who need them for the election.

The department announced that certain of its offices in the Johannesburg area would be

open on Saturday mornings from January 22 to deal with identification applications and the late registration of births of people 18 years and older.

The offices are in Harrison and Market streets in Johannesburg and in Alexandra, Randburg and New Canada. — Sapa.

● Nyanga leads identity papers race in W Cape — page 5.

New centrist party sets sights on church groups

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The newly formed centrist African Christian Democratic Party is opening offices in all the country's nine regions.

Party co-leader and former Bryanston National Party division committee member Johan van der Westhuizen said the party had a strong Christian leaning. It was building on its initial membership of 3 000 community leaders.

Party sources indicated that church groups — including the powerful Zionist Christian Church — would be target communities of the new party, which is led by former NP, African National Congress, Pan-Africanist Congress and Azapo members.

In the 10-man leadership is Lennox Mlonzi, a founder member of the PAC when it broke away from ANC.

The party aims to gain 20 to 25 percent of the national vote.

"It's a party uncontaminated by the past," said co-leader and former Azapo second in command of its local government secretariat, Shiiko Ramaselele.

Others in the leadership group are the Rev Kenneth Meshoe of Vosloorus, Dan Kapeni Maluleke from Soweto, Nic Addison from Empangeni, Jack Stegman of Durban, Ron Pock from Port Elizabeth, Louis Green, formerly of the Western Cape ANC regional executive committee, and Lynn Conway, of Ladysmith.

Secret talks in effort to woo Alliance back

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The government, ANC and Freedom Alliance have had secret discussions in an effort to arrange another round of talks to resolve the impasse.

The move comes with 10 days left to the January 24 deadline for inclusive constitutional agreements.

Yesterday's meeting, which involved the three groups' chief negotiators, was intended "to see whether there could be any basis of commonality", according to Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

He said although no agreement had been reached, "certain positions" would be taken back to the various parties' principals for approval.

This is in spite of recent threats by some FA members

such as the IFP and the Afrikaner Volksfront to pull out of the trilateral negotiations.

And the Kwazulu government's Ben Ngubane was present at yesterday's talks, despite IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's statement this week that he saw no reason for his party and government to continue pursuing constitutional talks with the government and the ANC.

The government and the ANC have blamed the lack of progress on the FA's failure to give a firm commitment that the transitional process is acceptable to them, while the FA accuses the big two of merely trying to "string the FA along" to give the impression of having tried hard enough to accommodate the alliance's concerns.

Nyanga leads identity papers race in W Cape

DAVID YUTAR
Staff Reporter

APPLICATIONS for identity documents soared throughout the Western Cape in December, with the greatest increase in Nyanga, which had 13 times as many applications compared with a year before.

According to Department of Home Affairs Cape Town regional representative Pieter Schoeman, mobile units criss-crossing the Peninsula have had an overwhelming response from people wanting ID documents in time for the April 27 election.

A total of 15 mobile units are operating daily at sites in the greater Peninsula.

Mr Schoeman said his department was going all-out to "take the service to the people" in time to meet the April 27 deadline.

At one Nyanga unit alone, 45 000 ID documents had been issued in a month.

The department was hoping to process at least 40 000 applications in Nyanga this month, said Mr Schoeman.

He said units had had "no problems" with intimidation.

Mobile units operate daily in Cape Town, Bellville, Wynberg and Nyanga as well as at Worcester, Malmesbury, Paarl, George and Beaufort West.

There are eight units in Nyanga alone, issuing documents in townships and informal settlements from Brown's Farm to Khayelitsha.

The units move from site to

(304A) ARG 14/1/94
15 mobiles

handling

'overwhelming

response'

site, usually staying in a place for a week or two, depending on public response.

The service has been advertised regularly on radio stations and the department positions units in consultation with political parties, church groups and other community groups.

Often when the need arises a unit will return to a previous site.

Last year 446 089 identity document applications were processed by the mobile units in the Western Cape.

The largest number, 65 157, were processed in Nyanga. About 13 000 applications were processed in the township in the first eight days of this month.

Nyanga district Home Affairs representative Dirk Smit said his office, which like other mobile units, worked six days a week, was inundated with endless queues "from 7am until late at night sometimes".

He said the department was optimistic that it would be able to reach its goal of issuing documents to all potential voters in time for the election.

● For inquiries, telephone the department's Cape Town office on 462 4970.



RECHARGING: Former Minister
than most remember

Moves for trilateral talks

JOHANNESBURG. — Chief negotiators from the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance will meet in the next few days to arrange trilateral talks.

Messrs Roelf Meyer, Cyril Ramaphosa and Rowan Cronjé will meet informally to explore whether the political impasse with the Alliance can be broken.

Two rounds of trilateral talks at the

end of last year ended with Alliance negotiators agreeing to take a proposal to their leaders that would pave the way for further talks.

It also addressed the commitment required by the government and the ANC before they are prepared to discuss the changes to the constitution demanded by the Alliance.

The three sides gave themselves until January 24 to broker a deal. — Sapa

(304A) CT 14/1/94

Getting their X act together

SOSHANGUVE — Theo Cholo spent 14 years in prison for plotting to bring down the Government with bombs and guns. His purpose remains the same, but now his weapons are voting primers and posters.

"We are training to vote, training to overthrow the Government with ballots," said Cholo, a former ANC guerilla leader.

He spends weekends knocking on doors in So-shanguve, near Pretoria, explaining democracy to people who have never had a voice in running their country.

Cholo is one of hundreds of people across the country enlisted by political parties, civil rights groups and businesses to help prepare voters for South Africa's first multiracial election.

It is a monumental task in a climate of illiteracy and violence, further complicated by an apartheid-era bureaucracy that left millions of blacks without identification documents.

Cholo, freed from Robben Island in 1988, does his part by interrupting his neighbours at their washing, gardening and other chores to pass out bright yellow flyers with Nelson Mandela smiling on the cover.

Inside, photographs depict voters showing identification papers to election officials, having their hands marked with ink to make sure no one votes more than once, and casting ballots in private booths.

Mary Mgidi laughed when Cholo entered her yard, doffed his yellow cap and explained his mission. "To think I'm still in a position to vote!" she exclaimed in Zulu.

AS ELECTIONS draw near, frantic efforts are being made all over the country, by people from all walks of life, to educate the millions who have never voted before.

A flash course in democracy

ONE card shows a "whites only" sign over a voting booth. The second shows people of all races casting their votes. Ilona Tip, who uses the presentation in voter education classes, hopes people will embrace the second scene.

Other cards contrast political meetings open only to whites with multiracial gatherings, or scenes of books being banned with portrayals of South Africans using various publications to inform themselves about the April 27 election.

"Voting is a brick in the wall of democracy," Tip says. "Democracy isn't just voting. It's a whole process."

Her Independent Mediation Service of South Africa was established in the mid-1980s to intervene in labour-management disputes, and soon began organising union elections. Now it is conducting two-day voter education courses in preparation for South Africa's first multiracial election.

Tip's flash cards contrast the old order with hopes for a different future. The Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, church groups and professional groups have steered students to Tip, and her graduates train other voters.

Joan MacGregor, a lawyer who took the course, says she and other whites have almost as much to learn as neophyte black voters. "We have no conception of real democracy," she says. "We don't know what it means. We have little perception of working within for change." — Sapa-AP.

Mgidi has never been to school and cannot read. She does not know her age but is old enough to remember the days when blacks could not travel without passes.

Now she is being given the opportunity to decide the future of a government that only three years ago told her where

to live, where to work, even which public toilets she could use.

Blacks from all walks of life are enthusiastic about the chance to make history by voting. "It's very, very important for us," said Amar Rabaji, a lawyer in Johannesburg. "We have to create a new South Africa. Our people

have got to know how to vote to achieve that."

Cholo, now a union organiser and local ANC official, puts in a full day on the weekend, walking the dusty roads of his township, spreading out campaign posters on kitchen tables.

David Choba seemed surprised by Cholo's arrival, but stopped tending tomato plants to listen to him. "He's never voted before," Cholo said. "He's prepared to vote but he needs to be taught."

Choba was shy with strangers, but his 18-year-old son Andrew was eager for him to vote "so that the ANC can be our new government".

At another stop, an illiterate couple watched intently as Cholo carefully traced an "X" with his finger on their dining room table — the mark they will need to make on their ballots.

The Matla Trust, a private group that has conducted voting workshops for about 40 000 people, estimates that 26 million South Africans will be eligible to vote — 18 million of them blacks voting for the first time, and half of them illiterate.

Matla, believing radio is the best means of reaching illiterate voters, has been negotiating with State broadcasting officials about educational programmes. "These things should have started a year ago at least," said Barry Gilder, a spokesman for the organisation. At this point, no one can even say what the ballot papers will look like. They may feature photographs of leaders, and symbols for parties, as well as their names, Gilder said. — Sapa-AP.

Western Cape voter opinion polls already outdated: Political parties

ARG 15/1/94 (3041A)

POLITICAL events are moving at such a pace as the election draws near that opinion polls appear to be lagging behind some of the latest trends.

This is the view of political parties whose assessments of voter support differ from those of the pollsters.

The latest opinion polls are claimed by some party analysts to be off the mark as they do not reflect trends encountered by party workers in recent weeks.

Aspects of poll results reported this week in surveys conducted for the Institute for Multiparty Democracy have been disputed by parties, including the National Party, the African National Congress, the Democratic Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

DP leader in the Western Cape Henrie Bester told Weekend Argus yesterday the latest poll in this region did not reflect a new surge of support for the DP encountered by party workers and officials in recent weeks.

This trend, if it continued, could put the party in a far stronger position between now and the election on April 27, he said. A survey dated December 21 showed that the NP had shot to the front of the election race in the Western Cape and the ANC alliance was not far behind.

It showed that the NP and the ANC alliance held a huge lead over the DP, which had only 6,1 percent voter support

■ Opinion polls may not tell the whole story about changing patterns in South African politics — and some surprises may be in store in the election. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** reports.

in the region, compared to the NP's 35,5 and the ANC's 28,3. The Pan Africanist Congress was far behind, with only 1,9 percent support.

Two Freedom Alliance allies, the IFP and the Conservative Party, were reported to be least popular, enjoying only 0,8 and 0,7 percent support respectively.

About the time this survey was conducted the DP reported that its Western Cape constituency was continuing "to grow at an extremely fast pace".

Each month between 2 000 and 2 500 new members were joining the party, and about three new branches had been established, according to the November issue of the party's publication The Democrat. Confirming the growth, Mr Bester said that between December 20 and last Saturday, January 8, a DP team of 10 canvassers had been out in the Peninsula to recruit new members and promote support.

Internally audited figures of new membership applications resulting from the canvassing showed that 4 100 people in the areas visited wanted to join the party. Mr Bester said the DP team had found

"very little" support for the ANC among coloured people.

It had been found, also, that there was more support for President De Klerk than for the NP itself.

The results of a nationwide opinion poll released this week indicated that the ANC's support among voters had reached the two-thirds level for the first time.

Commentators said this would allow the movement to draw up almost all aspects of the constitution without consulting any other party.

A second survey in the same series found the ANC would have a narrow majority against the IFP in Natal.

The NP this week disputed the finding that the ANC would receive more than two-thirds of the national vote.

NP campaign manager Olaus van Zyl claimed support for the NP was increasing while the Freedom Alliance and the IFP were losing support.

He said in an interview with the New York Times that black voters had an "open mind" about Mr De Klerk, regardless of opinion polls showing only four-

percent support for the NP among black voters.

He said the NP could get 60 percent of the white vote, 70 percent of the coloured vote and 60 percent of the Indian vote.

The ANC this week criticised the poll results as misleading, on the grounds that the category of people who did not know which political party they would vote for had been treated as if they did not exist.

The figures would have been "fundamentally different" if the surveys had taken certain factors into account, including the number of ANC supporters without identity documents and the number of spoilt papers possible.

The ANC said it would achieve an outright majority in the election and become the single largest political party in the country.

The Western Cape survey showed that a near-absolute majority of 45,2 percent of coloured voters supported the NP, with 17,5 percent supporting the ANC.

DP supporters were found to be the third largest group — 3,6 percent.

The NP maintained its strong level of support among white voters, at 46,6 percent, and a mere 3,1 percent of whites supported the ANC. The DP was the second strongest, with 14,7 percent support.

The IFP drew three percent support among whites.

Democrats, PAC picking up crumbs

ARG 15/1/94 (304A)

WITH the polls showing the ANC enjoying 65 percent and the NP around 20 percent of the popular vote, there remain meagre pickings for the Democratic Party, Pan African Congress or even the Inkatha Freedom Party.

The consolidation and convergence of voters behind the two major players indicates their perceived strength. Voters are rallying behind strong groups in times of uncertainty with both the NP and ANC being successful in projecting an authoritative and patriotic feel to their respective campaigns.

And both large parties have come to be seen as reflecting the moderate centre of South African politics. The ANC has to a large extent shed its more radical economic stance while the NP has apologised for apartheid, managing to look like a modern, liberal party.

The poll results also reflect a very positive attitude towards the leadership figures of both the ANC and NP. Nelson Mandela has always been highly regarded but has now blossomed into a respected elder statesman.

He has also managed to shed some of his more unpopular stances, like calling for the voting age to be lowered to 14 or showing undue affection to international pariahs like the Libyan leader, Colonel Muhammed Gaddafi.

Mr Mandela is fast becoming the symbol of a post-apartheid South Africa. It is difficult to conceive of the next few years without him holding the reins of power.

Since his release his influence has been felt across the country, evidenced in his considerable pulling-power at rallies as well as in his rapport with those that attend. The ANC's "town-hall" style election meetings have seen Mr Mandela become a man of the people at a time when he ran the danger of being seen as aloof or distant.

■ The latest spate of political opinion polls all point to the virtual domination of South African party politics by two major parties. This week's Human Sciences and Research Council poll only serves to confirm the popular trend towards the African National Congress and the National Party at the expense of most of the smaller participants, writes DANIEL SILKE.

The ANC is also very fortunate in boasting a team of articulate regional leaders and administrative specialists.

The NP too have their personality drawcard: President De Klerk remains immensely popular as a political leader. While the NP has always been short on charismatic leadership, the role that Mr De Klerk will play in the coming election campaign will be vital to the success of the party.

While Pik Botha will no doubt be unleashed at election rallies around the country, the NP's second tier of leadership is extremely thin, thus leaving Mr De Klerk as the focal point of its election campaign.

Whether one likes the NP or not, Mr De Klerk endears himself to voters, who appreciate his personal risk at opening up the political process. The NP campaign will do well to dwell on his sacrifices in doing so.

The smaller political parties, however, are way behind in the leadership stakes. They are unable to compete with the public profile of a Mandela or De Klerk and will therefore struggle to captivate audiences or set the election agenda.

Recent polls show the IFP's Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi has lost considerable ground. This may be a reflection of his often belligerent and aggressive stance on participation in the election.

Many South Africans are becoming tired of spoilers. The continual political violence and resulting spiral of deaths has forced the political leadership at large to adopt a more conciliatory approach. Those perceived as seeking confrontation are now being given the thumbs down by voters and this is precisely where Dr Buthelezi finds himself. He would do well to embrace the peace process.

Dr Buthelezi does, however, remain one of South Africa's most identifiable and charismatic political leaders and, should his party adopt a new participatory approach, he may still be able to attract greater support, perhaps largely from more conservative whites or from a coalition with the Conservative Party itself.

Similarly, the PAC are struggling. Not only is it financially drained, but its once long-time friends in Africa are starting to refuse it assistance. Its poll results — around 3% of the vote — are not unlike those of the IFP.

The militant stance of the PAC and its lack of sufficient distancing from acts of terror are not endearing it to the voters.

Clarence Makwetu's often ambiguous messages on national television and his lack of a rallying cry leave the PAC weakened. Even in the townships "One Settler, One Bullet" is no longer fashionable.

However, the party will be heartened by polls that continue to suggest that it is a popular second choice to the ANC.

Should the ANC campaign flounder through internal conflicts or confused ideology, a sizeable body of disillusioned voters may yet support their more radical colleagues. The PAC may still be poised to attract radical and disgruntled ANC voters, although a successful ANC campaign may all but wipe out this group.

Finally, the DP needs to urgently take stock of its election priorities. It no longer holds an anti-apartheid monopoly and must provide a policy clearly differentiated from not only the ANC and NP but also the IFP. It will do the party no good to rest on its laurels from the Helen Suzman days.

Voters will be seeking specific reasons to support the DP and will question the value of a vote for the DP in the face of the more powerful National Party.

The last DP national congress resulted in some speculation about Dr Zach de Beer's personal ability to attract a cross-section of voters. The DP will need to develop new public personalities who will have the power to sway and swing voters in all areas.

The party possesses some outstanding talent and it will have to be employed along with the somewhat boardroom style of the party leadership.

All the smaller players face a major danger which could result in their marginalisation: On no account should any allow the election campaign to be monopolised jointly by the ANC and NP.

The forthcoming television debate between Mr De Klerk and Mr Mandela is already flashing a warning light in the eyes of the smaller actors. As yet, no effort has been made to involve the leaders of the DP, PAC or IFP in the broadcast.

At the very least, South Africa should be witness to a series of inclusive multiparty debates.

Other pitfalls remain. The ANC is receiving tremendous international backing and a passport to legitimacy even before it has been elected. This provides it with respectability and access to media resources far in excess of the other election participants.

Similarly, the NP remains the government of the day, albeit in a diluted form, and they will be able to set the agenda for the election based upon the privileged position they currently hold.

With the ANC and the NP running away with popular support, it is up to the smaller political parties to not only develop dynamic policies but to start making very loud and vociferous demands on a process that may yet ignore them.

■ Daniel Silke is research assistant for Professor Robert Schrire's Institute for the Study of Public Policy at UCT.

Ciskei pulls out of Alliance

304A
CT 15/1/94

THE Freedom Alliance suffered a blow yesterday when the Ciskei government withdrew from it, but it announced that talks between it, the government and the ANC would resume next Wednesday.

The Ciskei's military government told the Freedom Alliance at a meeting in Pretoria that it was pulling out of the Alliance to join the Transitional Executive Council.

The participants in next week's talks — "at which the quest for political solutions will continue" — remain hopeful that deadlock between them can still be broken in time for the agreed January 24 deadline, paving the way for the Alliance parties to participate in the April 27 elections.

"The leaders of the Freedom Alliance recommitted themselves to the negotiation process, with the aim of finding an all-inclusive political settlement for Southern Africa," they said in a statement after yesterday's meeting.

The government, the ANC and the Alliance held secret talks late on Thursday, chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said in a radio interview: "They were exploratory discussions to see whether there could be any basis of commonality."

While no agreement had been reached, he said, "certain positions" would now be taken back

Tri-party talks keep hope alive

to the various parties' principals for approval.

The government and ANC have been trying for months to reach a political settlement with the Alliance, which has rejected the interim constitution that will come into effect after all-race elections on April 27.

The Alliance, comprising the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana homelands, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP), the right-wing Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and Conservative Party, has demanded a stronger federal system than provided by the constitution.

Alliance chief negotiator Mr Rowan Cronje said in a separate interview yesterday that the meeting had been "constructive" and that the parties had reached a "basis of understanding" which would be taken for approval of leaders.

A surprise participant in the talks was the IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane, who turned up despite a

statement by IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi on Wednesday that he saw no reason for his party to pursue constitutional talks.

Chief Buthelezi warned that he would withdraw into "opposition politics" unless the government and ANC met his bottom-line constitutional demands for stronger federal guarantees than provided by the interim constitution.

Chief Buthelezi's statement followed similar remarks on Tuesday by AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, who said the end of the road had been reached in the negotiations.

General Viljoen accused the government and the ANC of not being serious in their efforts to reach a compromise.

Neither the AVF nor the CP were represented at Thursday's meeting. Mr Cronje dismissed speculation that this represented a looming split in the Alliance. Ciskei's decision to withdraw its membership from the Alliance was announced at the end of the five-hour meeting at Bophuthatswana's embassy in Pretoria.

The remaining Alliance leaders were at pains to stress Ciskei's withdrawal in no way affected Bisho's "commitment to the position of the Freedom Alliance and its demands for an improved constitution".

The leaders expressed "deep understanding" of Ciskei's position, but regretted they felt obliged to accept the withdrawal. — Political Staff, Sapa-AFP

Deadline set for DP candidates

CT 15/1/94
Political Staff

THE DP announced yesterday that the deadline for its candidates' lists for the election later this year would be mid-February after all nominees had been interviewed.

It said any DP member was entitled to nominate a candidate who must be a member of the party.

Party members could elect delegates to both the electoral colleges on federal and regional level, DP media officer Ms Annchen Doherty said. (304A)

She said the party's election campaign would get under way in earnest next month.

The deadline for the regional list is February 15 and for the national list, February 20.

Alliance grasps nettle of absolute deadline

DALE LAUTENBACH

Weekend Argus
Political Staff

THE absolute deadline of January 24 for a constitutional settlement has been grasped by the Freedom Alliance which, without Ciskei, will seek talks with government and ANC next week.

"Yes, this is it," acknowledged Kwazulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi after talks with fellow FA leaders in Pretoria yesterday.

Previous deadlines have come and gone but this time the FA seems to consider the January 24 target as the last.

"After that there will be just 90 days to elections," said FA chairman Rowan Cronje.

"I hope and pray," said Mr Buthelezi, placing the ball firmly in the government and ANC court as the parties which should move to accommodate the FA.

Crucially, the FA now considers its position to have reached what Mr Cronje characterised as "the bottom line".

The group is working from a document of its constitutional positions as they stood on December 19 last year.

Mr Cronje stressed that these positions — on issues from the powers and functions of regions to the number of ballot papers in the election — had been reached in negotiation with government. In other words they constituted the FA's compromise positions from which they will not budge they say.

The FA leadership met from 10 am yesterday and when they called in the Press at 2 pm, they appeared in relatively good spirits having decided to go ahead in trilateral talks with government and the ANC once more.

The decision hinged on a meeting on Thursday night between Mr Cronje and his Kwazulu colleague Ben Ngubane and government's Roelf Meyer and ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa.

It appears that what unlocked the stalemate in which talks had ended late last year, was the loosening up of a government-ANC demand that the FA should commit itself now to the understanding that, if agreement was reached, they would support the transitional structures, the constitution and the elections.

The FA insists that it should reach agreement first and then make the commitment and Mr Cronje, while not wanting to say in so many words that government and ANC had backed down, confirmed that the FA would not change this position.

General Tienie Groenewald of the Afrikaner Volksfront told reporters the government and ANC had indeed "dropped" their demand for an immediate commitment.

Mr Cronje did not expect the trilateral talks to begin before Wednesday next week and he thought too that it would certainly take more than one meeting to sort out an agreement if one were possible.

"We have no idea what the ANC's position on these (FA) issues are," he said. Government had "some clarity", he said.

It has been acknowledged that there is even quite substantial agreement between government and the FA on the powers and functions of regions and their financing but the ANC has not discussed present positions on these matters directly with the FA.

Further, one of the most intractable issues on the agenda still appears to be the issue of a volkstaat.

Mr Cronje named self-determination as one of the FA demands but the white far-right definition of self-determination involving a separate area in which whites remain dominant through differentiated citizenship is anathema to the ANC.

The stayaway factor

ARG 15/1/94 (304A)
'Bogus elections' will delay liberation, says NUM leader

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

AN unknown factor that could have a decisive influence on the results of the April 27 election is the stayaway vote.

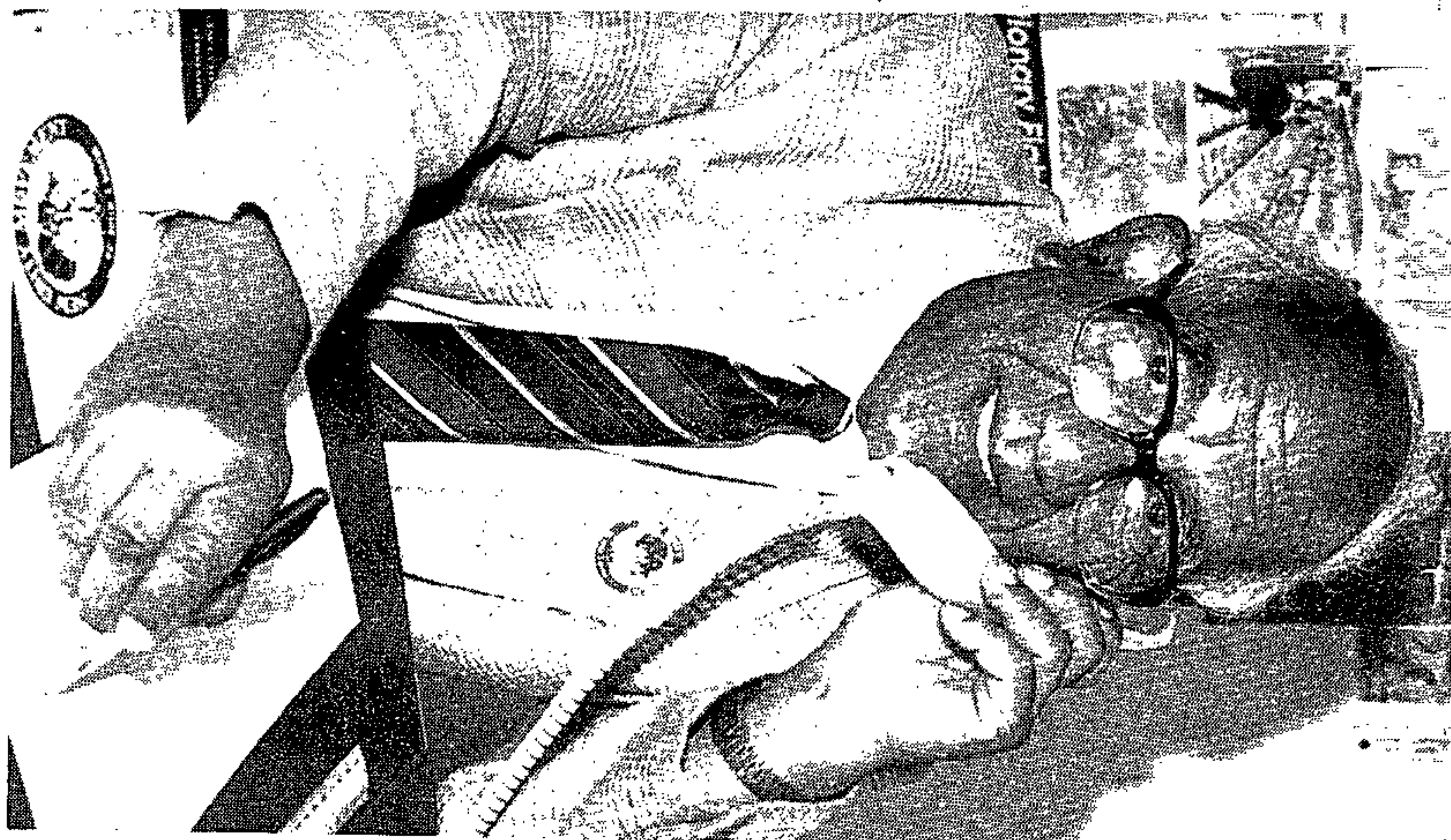
Various groups and individuals have indicated — for a variety of reasons — that they do not intend to vote in the elections.

One such group — claiming to have 4 000 active workers and widespread support in all four provinces — is the long-established New Unity Movement (NUM), which regards both the negotiated interim constitution and the elections as a fraud.

NUM leader Richard Dudley told Weekend Argus in an interview this week his organisation's message to voters was: "Don't vote."

"If you do you will contribute to putting people into power who will not serve your interests and who will obstruct the struggle of the masses for liberation."

Picture HANNES THIART, Weekend Argus
Dudley says the elections are a fraud.



As South Africa's April 27 elections

approach, attention is focused increasingly on groups of potential voters who, for various reasons, find themselves outside the political process. What will their role be? Weekend Argus looks at one such outsider movement.

did during the negotiations and wars in neighbouring countries such as Mozambique, Angola and Namibia.

Mr Dudley, a softly-spoken former educationist and school teacher who was banned in the 1960s under the Verwoerd regime, helped to launch the New Unity Movement in 1985.

It was a revival of the Unity Movement of SA, previously the Non-European Unity Movement, formed in 1943.

The NUM included important civic organisations, members of teachers' organisations, and federal organisations like the African People's Democratic Union of SA and the SA Youth Education Fellowship.

Their aim, as stated at the time, was a broader alliance of all the oppressed groups in the hope of establishing a mass organisation. Its programme of minimum, non-negotiable democratic demands and policy of non-collaboration contrasted sharply with the policies of the South African Communist Par-

ty (SACP).

Mr Dudley was well equipped for a leadership role by virtue of his teaching experience and an outstanding academic background. He obtained an MSc degree in chemistry and a Bachelor of Education degree at the University of Cape Town. While banned in the 1960s, he continued his studies and obtained a BCom degree. At the time of his retirement from teaching in 1985, he was deputy principal of the Livingstone High School in Claremont.

The New Unity Movement, at its ninth annual conference in Umtata at the end of last month, decided to launch a national campaign to boycott the elections. Its demand is for "a single, undivided South Africa and the building of one nation based on a common humanity".

The conference condemned the entire negotiation process as "a betrayal of the struggle for true democracy".

Where does the NUM fit into

South Africa's political spectrum?

Mr Dudley said NUM members were committed to fundamental change in South African society. And NUM, a liberation movement, stood for peace and did not advocate violence.

"We are an organisation whose priorities are based on the interests of workers, the landless people, and millions of rural poor, regardless of their colour or race," he explained. "In that sense, our position is certainly far to the left of the ANC, which is no longer a progressive organisation and will become part of the government."

"We are also further to the left of the PAC, which is more radical than the ANC and tends to slide back to a racist position under pressure."

The NUM, a non-racial movement, had much in common with the Workers' Organisation for Social Action, a party-type organisation under the leadership of Dr Neville Alexander.

One of NUM's distinguishing features was that it saw SA's problems in terms of the impact that world society had on this country over a long period. It also emphasised the need to build one South African nation. "In our view the major economic problems in South

Africa arise from the domination of our economy by world imperialism. We feel, therefore, our problems will never be resolved in a democratic way unless we break away from this imperialism," Mr Dudley said.

Who are the imperialists? Mr Dudley explained: "They are the powerful industrialised countries like those in North America, in the European Community and Japan. Their investments in South Africa make them the virtual owners of most of the important sectors of our economy."

On the question of his organisation's support and membership, Mr Dudley said various organisations were affiliated to NUM, which also had branches in all four provinces and in certain homelands. The basis of NUM's membership was acceptance of its programme and policy.

Its minimum programme was aimed at securing full democratic rights for all South Africans in "a united, non-racial, democratic South Africa".

The organisation was "totally opposed" to the kind of federalism built into the present constitution.

On the coming elections, Mr Dudley said: "We oppose the elections because we regard

them as being bogus elections. What the people are being asked to do is to exercise a vote to put into government the people who have been working out the constitution and various other measures.

"On the basis of our analysis, we believe the negotiations were instituted by the government under pressure from world imperialism."

The NUM is also highly critical of the ANC alliance.

Mr Dudley said most of the political thinking in the ANC was done by the South African Communist Party, which did not object to the ANC's bid to seek funds from the capitalist world.

The NUM's standpoint was that the tripartite ANC alliance had been funded by world imperialism to the tune of more than R1 billion.

"So they have, in fact, become a client of world imperialism," Mr Dudley said.

The NUM, on the other hand, was independently financed by its own members. It would accept foreign funds only from "persons and countries with a good track record and whose money is clean".

"So far, however, we have not been able to discover clean money on this planet," Mr Dudley remarked.



NAT UNDER ATTACK . . . Rocks Mseleku peers through a window shattered by five armed men who came looking for him at his house late at night last week. ■ Pic: BONGANI MNGUNI

'NP is just using us to get black votes'

By ZANELE VUTELA

NP ORGANISERS in Soweto claim they are being pushed aside in favour of MK commanders who have joined the NP.

NP organiser for Soweto Godfrey Vusi Zitha, and another organiser who asked not to be named, told City Press they were disgusted with the NP at the preferential treatment given to Joshua Nxumalo and Vronda Banda.

Zitha said since last April he had personally recruited 7 000 members and, together with five other organisers, had established eight NP branches in Soweto.

Zitha said most of his recruits came from Orange Farm because he had worked there as treasurer for the local civic association and had "a following" there.

He said every NP organiser was bound by an employment contract to recruit 200 people a month. This quota had to be filled in the first month and, in subsequent months, the organiser is paid R10 for every recruit.

Soweto organisers claim NP prefers MK officers

CIPress 16/1/94

As far he was concerned, he had been doing well, but at a meeting he was warned by senior organiser Bongani Mgomezulu - the man who recruited him to the NP - that he was falling short of his monthly quota.

"He said if I don't pull up my socks, I would be dismissed and hit squads would be sent to deal with me."

Zitha said NP organisers received no protection from the party. When they requested pagers in case of attack and cars to avoid using public transport, they were told it was too expensive.

When the NP decided to strengthen its recruitment drive, a steering committee was formed, said Zitha. "We had expected that, as people with experience in working on the ground, we would be involved in its establishment."

To their surprise, "Joshua Nxumalo was appointed regional organiser and steering committee chairman. Vronda Banda and some former Soweto councillors were also appointed".

He said steering committee members were issued pagers and cars "in no time".

NP spokesman for greater Johannesburg and Soweto Daryl Swanepoel told City Press that Zitha seems not have understood the reasons for the establishment of the steering committee.

Swanepoel said the committee had been established only a month for the specific purpose of "initiating the party's expansion programme in Soweto". The steering committee had now completed its brief, he said, and

last week a divisional council, comprising representatives from all Soweto branches, had been formed.

"Zitha had an opportunity to participate in this structure and he democratically elected, but he chose not to. That's why the party does not understand why this is now an issue."

Swanepoel said pagers and cars had been issued to the steering committee simply because the NP had evolved a completely new strategy for Soweto.

Zitha had accepted the position of a paid employee, not that of a politician. He had understood and accepted his terms of employment.

Swanepoel denied "with the contempt it deserves" Zitha's allegation that he had been threatened with hit squads. "He has mentioned this to me but we advised him that if he had any proof, he should go to the police to lay a charge."

Zitha is still an NP member. "But I'm no longer interested," he said. "I have a feeling that the party will treat us as it has always done. The NP is just using black people, just to get that cross on the ballot paper."

never directly funded the ANC, he said.

with staff working under difficult circumstances - an agreement with workers.

New poll agrees ANC will win overwhelming victory

TIM COHEN

THE second poll released within a week has indicated overwhelming support for the ANC in results that approximate those of the first poll in almost every respect.

Only small differences were recorded between the Marknor poll commissioned by the Sunday Times published yesterday and the HSRC Mark Data poll published last week.

The Marknor poll placed the ANC's overall support at 64.4% of the voting public, while the Mark Data poll found it to be about three points higher, placing it above the critical two-thirds level.

The Mark Data poll also recorded support for the NP at a slightly higher level by the same margin, estimating the party's support at 17%.

Support for the Inkatha, Freedom Party was also marginally

higher in the Mark Data poll at 6% compared with the 5.2% support recorded by Marknor.

Both polls were conducted nationwide in October and November last year, demonstrating the support for political parties before campaigning began in earnest.

Pollsters speculated that Inkatha's dramatic fall in popularity could be ascribed to its boycott tactics and growing disillusionment with the leadership of Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The results of the poll are devastating for the DP, which has lost half its white support and gained little from other races. Both polls suggest a support level of about 2% for the DP.

The major difference between

the two polls was the regional breakdown, with the Marknor poll estimating support for political parties according to the provincial boundaries that will apply in the election, while the Mark Data poll provided less specific information.

The Marknor poll suggested that the ANC would win absolute majorities in five of the nine regions, and would be by far the most popular party in two of the others.

It did not guarantee the accuracy of its findings for the Northern Cape region because of a small sample size.

The poll suggested that the PAC was the second choice of a large number of blacks while the NP would gain significantly should Inkatha and the CP decide not to take part in the election.

Cosatu ultimatum on election deal

ERICA JANKOWITZ

COSATU has given employers until the end of the month to reach a national framework agreement on voter education, election monitoring and free political activity before it takes unilateral action to force their hand.

Cosatu will also raise these matters with the Independent Electoral Commission.

Following a special executive committee meeting last week, Cosatu said it had been agreed 1 000 shop stewards should be released for election work. This number would be increased to 10 000 in the month before election.

Cosatu said employers had refused to release workers.

It condemned employers and especially Saccola for dragging their feet as they were "involved in other initiatives connected to the elections, including a multi-million-rand business fund".

Cosatu said 100 of its leaders would attend the ANC's list conference at the weekend.

understood that De Klerk is likely to tell

that regions, will have the power to

as was to be regretted

that regions, will have the power to



New policing strategy mooted

FW, Mandela finalise peace plan details

BIDON 17/11/94

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela meet at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today to finalise details of "the most comprehensive peace initiative" government and the ANC have devised in the hope of stemming township violence.

Both camps are keeping the meeting, the second in a week, under wraps. They refused to discuss details of the plan, which they said was too sensitive at this stage.

Mandela and De Klerk have issued instructions to their negotiating teams to keep details confidential until the plan is finalised. (304A)

Two key sources confirmed the meeting but warned that the final version of the plan "is not a dramatic humdinger that is going to solve the violence in one quick-fix, brilliant manoeuvre".

They refused to divulge details, saying: "Too much is resting on this. We have to ensure nothing gets in the way of the full agreement both parties are committed to setting up for the immediate period and on into the phase after elections."

The plan discussed by the two leaders last week was also discussed in Cabinet and at the ANC's national working committee and its national executive committee meetings last week.

The sources said the plan was a step-by-step initiative. It relied on building trust and co-operation between government, the ANC, the SAP, the SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the self-defence units and the internal stability unit. Community co-operation would also have an important role.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel

BILLY PADDOCK

has acknowledged that the internal stability unit needs to be reviewed. The possibility of incorporating members of other militias is being discussed. The peace talks have led to calls for the unit's withdrawal being put on hold.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday the number of internal stability unit members deployed in East Rand townships could soon be reduced. Government was considering alternative policing strategies in the area.

"We are considering the possibility of assigning certain tasks — not related to normal policing — to the SADF," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said the party would strongly oppose such a move, Sapa reports. He said Inkatha had made numerous complaints about soldiers being deployed in the area after "losing 10 of its members in December last year, when 3 000 bullets were fired at civilians in a single incident".

Inkatha MP Hennie Bekker said the proposal to reduce the unit's East Rand presence would be viewed as the "final abdication of the NP and government to the ANC/communist alliance".

In a separate development, Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said his organisation would not take part in West Rand peace talks brokered by the SA Council of Churches.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the proposed talks are aimed at reducing tensions

□ To Page 2

Peace plan

BIDON 17/11/94

in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal. A boycott of businesses in neighbouring Westonaria was called by the ANC and Azapo last month in protest at the presence of the internal stability unit and SADF troops in the township. (304A)

Ndlovu said the SACC was prejudiced against Inkatha, whose members it did not "regard as human beings". He added: "Churches affiliated to the SACC refuse to bury Inkatha supporters and to allow Inkatha to use their buildings for meetings."

Because of this "bias", Inkatha was not taking part in talks.

SACC spokesman Bernard Spong said Ndlovu's statement was to be regretted as the SACC was impartial.

□ Also at today's talks, Mandela and De

From Page 1

Klerk and their respective chief negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, will discuss negotiations with the Freedom Alliance and ways of drawing Inkatha into a settlement.

De Klerk is insistent that the final deadline for changes to the constitution is next Monday. He has to sign the constitution into law by the end of January to meet the 90-day deadline before elections.

De Klerk will meet King Goodwill Zwelithini this afternoon at the king's request to discuss the role of a Zulu kingdom and KwaZulu under the new constitution. It is understood that De Klerk is likely to tell him that regions will have the power to draft their own constitutions.

Only one week to D-Day for Alliance

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The Freedom Alliance — now without Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei — has only a week to reach last-minute constitutional agreements with the government and the African National Congress.

ARG 17/1/94
The Alliance, rocked first by Brigadier Gqozo's decision last week to participate in the Transitional Executive Council and by

his subsequent withdrawal from the Alliance on Friday, has until next Monday, January 24, to reach an inclusive constitutional deal with the two main political players. (304A)

Although the three groups held exploratory talks late last week, not much progress is believed to have been made.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje was fairly upbeat at the

end of that meeting but government and ANC negotiators did not share his optimism.

Three days of intensive negotiations in Cape Town last month ended with the three groups agreeing on January 24 as the final deadline for brokering an inclusive agreement.

Government sources said the ANC was reluctant to resume the three-sided negotiations.

French minister on three-day visit to SA

ARG 17/1/94 (304A)
 □ Juppe to meet leaders and see Franschhoek

JOHANNESBURG. — French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe has arrived in South Africa for a three-day visit during which he is to hold talks with some of the country's top political figures.

Mr Juppe is the first French foreign minister to visit South Africa in 18 years.

He will meet President De Klerk at the Union Buildings today and will also hold talks with his South African counterpart, Pik Botha, before touring Soweto.

Mr Juppe's visit takes place just before the Zulu

monarch, King Goodwill Zwelithini, is due to meet Mr De Klerk, and the French minister will witness the spectacle of tens of thousands of Zulus with traditional weapons marching outside the Union Buildings.

The talks between Mr De Klerk and King Goodwill will include discussions on the constitutional position of the Zulu monarch.

Tomorrow, Mr Juppe will meet African National Congress president Nelson Mandela and the organisation's secretary-general, Cyril Ramaphosa.

He will also meet Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi. He will address a news conference at the French Consul's offices in Johannesburg tomorrow.

Before leaving for Egypt on Wednesday afternoon, Mr Juppe is to visit Franschhoek, where Huguenots settled after fleeing religious persecution in France in the 17th century.

A French embassy spokesman said Mr Juppe's visit was intended to mark French support for the transitional process and to improve relations with South Africa. — Sapa-AFP.

AWB leader hails Natal supporters

The Argus Correspondent

MARITZBURG. — Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has done a "military assessment" of the organisation's Natal "forces" and has found them and the support for the AWB in Natal exceptional, claims the movement's Natal leader Nick Fourie. ARG 17/1/94

He would not say today how many people attended a camp near Manderstam, south of Maritzburg.

AWB members in camouflage, some with weapons, took part in the parades in the area as AWB flags flew. Volkstaat signs were pasted over road signs.

Mr Fourie said Mr Terre'Blanche wanted to see support for the AWB in Natal and preparedness for any events that might involve the movement.

"We are doing our final preparations for what is needed. The preparations are important. In spite of our very reasonable claims, we are being ignored."

A resident of the area said: "I am not a member of the AWB and did not attend. But if they can reduce crime we support them."

Maseru calm for second day after army factions clash

MASERU. — Maseru was calm for a second day running after Friday's clash between two armed factions of the mountain kingdom's defence force.

Sporadic firing was heard on Saturday night, but according to reports it wasn't serious.

The shots came from the Makoanyane military base, about 11km outside the capital, home of the faction whose demand for a doubling of army salaries led to the clash.

Residents nearby said yesterday that it appeared the shots had been fired into the air. There were no reports of injuries.

Members of the Royal Lesotho Defence Force's reccie unit — the faction which is believed to be loyal to the government — remained stationed in the mountains on the outskirts of Maseru yesterday.

Fears of a possible coup in the tiny enclave were quashed on Saturday with the help of South African Foreign Minis-

ter Pik Botha.

He flew in at the request of the Lesotho government, met separately with all the parties involved and brokered a truce.

But Mr Botha told his guests South Africa would not tolerate a Lesotho government which came to power by force, and vowed to bring it to its knees.

Lesotho and South African government officials confirmed the pay issue was believed to be a smokescreen for political opposition to the ruling Basotholand Congress Party, which swept to power in elections last year.

Mr Botha also met the leader of the main opposition Basotho National Party during his one-day visit.

The commander of the Lesotho Air Force, Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Majare — who was wounded in the skirmish — was flown to Ladybrand in the Free State with the help of the South African consulate in Maseru. — Sapa.

Star 18/11/94

'Toughest choice yet awaits Afrikaner'

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen — under growing pressure from supporters for decisive action — has warned that the nature of the struggle to achieve self-determination "may change in the near future".

In a statement issued yesterday, Viljoen said the next two weeks would provide clarity, but there were "strong indications that the Afrikaner will shortly stand before his

toughest choice of the century".

He rejected recent suggestions that his position in the AVF had been weakened and that he might quit the organisation.

Military role

A right-wing source said recent comments by Viljoen were simply an indication that he believed his political role might be ending.

"I imagine he was hinting towards a military role he might have to play," said the

source. (304A)

He added that there was "concern, discontent and frustration" among grassroots supporters at the lack of progress in negotiations with the Government and ANC.

They were saying to the AVF leadership: "I told you so ... there is no alternative to war."

He said the discontent could have spread to some in the "middle leadership" ranks.

Viljoen said in his statement that his role was not changing because of dissatis-

faction over his performance but because the ANC and Government were limiting the options open to Afrikaners.

The fact that the nature of the struggle could change soon was not his fault, but that of the Government and the ANC who thought they were dealing with people who "bark but don't bite".

He also claimed that the Government had shocked him by negotiating in a "spineless" manner with the ANC and had been dishonest in its dealings with the AVF.

Bilateral solution *Sowetan 18/1/94* 'not the right way'

By Mzimasi Ngudle and
Themba Molefe

A MEETING between African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk ended inconclusively yesterday with the two leaders referring the violence problem to multiparty consideration.

De Klerk told journalists after the two-hour meeting that all parties should be part of the solution to the violence gripping East Rand townships.

He said no final decision had been reached. "It is not a problem to be solved bilaterally," he said.

This means the Transitional Executive Council, which meets in full session today, will be asked to intervene and-or receive a full report from the two lead-

■ **RIGHT RALLY** CP faithful to

hear 'surprise of the day' from Ferdi:

ers.

(304A)
A TEC-appointed task force to look into the East Rand question is to report back today.

In another development, thousands of Conservative Party supporters will hear "the surprise of the day" from their leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg at a rally at Berea Park sports grounds in Pretoria today.

The Transitional Executive Council will also meet to consider, among other things, the report of a task group on East Rand violence.

Tomorrow, tripartite talks aimed at accommodating the Freedom Alliance

will be held between the Government, ANC and FA.

On Thursday, Herstigte Nasionale Party leader Mr Jaap Marais will address a party meeting at Berea Hall in Pretoria. The party's position on negotiations will be announced.

The ANC will also announce its national list of parliamentary candidates.

On the same day Mandela is expected to call for an end to the rent and services boycott during the summit of the Local Government Negotiating Forum at World Trade Centre.

Both the CP and HNP have indicated that they will not attend the summit.

Embassy, ANC round up SA voters in UK

Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The South African embassy and the ANC have each launched a major drive to get as many of the estimated 40 000 to 50 000 South Africans living in Britain at any one time to vote in the April elections.

The embassy is compiling a list of South Africans living in Britain

and the ANC is also building up a comprehensive data base.

ANC deputy chief representative in London Mr Mandela Langa said public meetings and a mailshot were planned to raise awareness of the pending elections and to develop interest in voter education.

The ANC's London office, he said, planned to raise £1 million

(about R5m) for the ANC's election campaign.

The response had been good so far and there was an "overwhelming willingness to help with voter education".

Senior embassy official Mr Gert Grobler said details had not been finalised but it was likely that South Africa House would serve as

the polling booth. This had been the case in the referendum, when between 3 000-4 000 white voters cast their votes.

Mr Grobler said it might not be legally possible to set up polling booths in Britain other than at the embassy, which was regarded as a sovereign part of South Africa.

Under SA electoral legislation,

no postal votes from abroad would be allowed. The legislation also provided that each foreign voting station would have international observers assigned to it.

Mr Grobler said the embassy was keeping in close touch with the British government and the Commonwealth Secretariat about the deployment of an observer mission and monitors.

Star 19/11/94 IEC on track to monitor poll

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

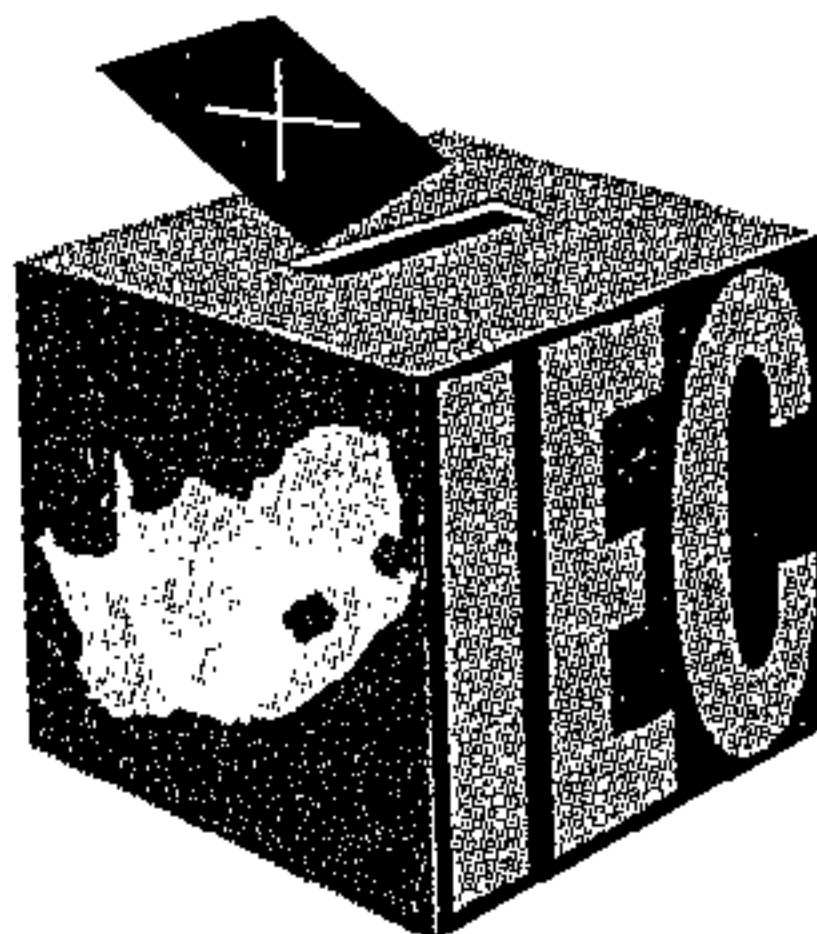
The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) burst into the public eye yesterday with the launch of its emblem, designed to symbolise its task of impartially managing the election process.

The IEC is charged with setting up the election, educating voters, monitoring the political campaigns and ensuring that parties adhere to an electoral code of conduct.

After the election, the IEC must also assess whether the poll was free and fair.

Speaking at yesterday's launch, IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler warned that if the voting process was disrupted in any particular area, the IEC would not hesitate to state this. "As a result, votes from such areas will not be counted in the eventual tally of votes," he said.

An essential part of the IEC's job would be to publicise the rules of the Electoral Court and regional and local tribunals, which would assess and judge alleged breaches of the electoral code and impose sanctions in terms of the IEC Act, Mr Justice Kriegler said.



INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION

The media have already heard a handful of complaints from political parties about opposition campaigns being in breach of the electoral code. However, none of these has yet been referred to the IEC.

Fines and jail sentences of up to two years will be imposed for breaches of the IEC Act. The Electoral Court will be chaired by an Appeal Court judge, two Supreme Court judges, a lawyer or magistrate, and a fifth person appointed by the Transitional Executive Council.

The IEC Act empowers the IEC to make regulations governing the nature and content of political advertising, and to enforce these along with the Independent Media Commission. (304A)

There are 11 members of the IEC, appointed by the State President on the TEC's advice. Five of the members are from the international community.

The IEC will begin its work in earnest when the political parties are officially registered, which will take place within 10 days of the election date being announced in the Government Gazette — possibly on Friday.

The colour of the new IEC logo is blue to symbolise the IEC's non-partisanship.

The emblem has a three-dimensional ballot box and voter's slip with IEC lettering on one side and a map of South Africa on the other.

Mr Justice Kriegler said the ballot box portrayed South Africa as a single entity and expressed the IEC's determination to fulfil its mandate.

The IEC's message, "Your vote is your secret", will be carried in languages appropriate to the different regions.

TEC to ask KZP police head about death squads

Star 19/11/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During will be requested to attend next week's meeting of the Transitional Executive Council, where he will be asked about a hit squad in the KZP ranks.

Speaking during yesterday's TEC meeting, SA Communist

Party chairman Joe Slovo said During would be asked for an explanation of the existence and operations of the hit squad.

The Goldstone Commission found last year that a hit squad within KZP ranks had killed nine people.

The TEC also resolved that it request the State President to appoint a commission of inquiry into the crisis in TPA hospitals.

It also appointed the five-member Special Electoral Court, which will adjudicate in disputes arising out of the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission. (304A)

The three members designated by the Chief Justice are Mr Justice J W Smalberger of the Appellate Division, Mr Justice J M Didcott of the Natal Supreme Court and Mr Justice P J

van der Walt of the Pretoria Supreme Court.

The TEC further appointed the Independent Media Commission (IMC), which will ensure all political parties receive equitable treatment by State-run media.

The IMC will be chaired by Mr Justice John Trengove, a retired judge.

Freedom Alliance's last chance for discussions

Final Constitution call

Star 19/1/94

(304A)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

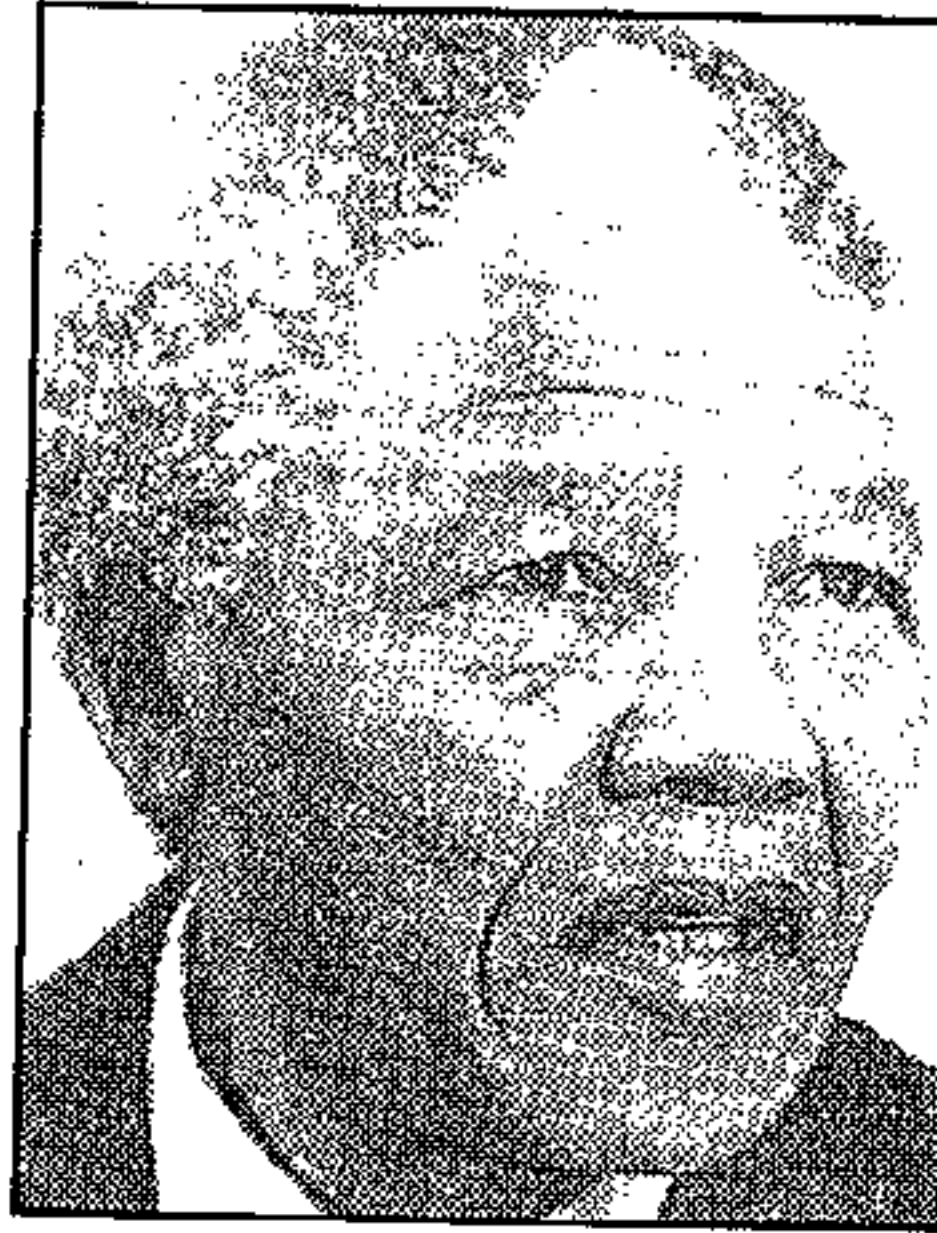
South Africa's prospects for a peaceful transition go on the line today when the Government and ANC meet the Freedom Alliance (FA) to discuss its demands for changes to the Constitution.

The Pretoria meeting, which follows a series of fruitless discussions between the three organisations late last month, takes place with less than a week to the January 24 deadline for agreements.

If a breakthrough is made, an emergency session of Parliament will be called next week to pass amendments to the Constitution.

There were mixed signals from within the FA yesterday on whether they were hopeful of a breakthrough.

KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi told French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé in Pretoria that he doubted the



Mandela . . . "bent on central dictatorship".

talks would bear fruit.

He charged in a memorandum to Juppé that ANC president Nelson Mandela was "bent on ruling this country from the seat of a central dictatorship".



Buthelezi . . . doubtful about outcome of talks.

But Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said last night that the impasse could be broken if there was a genuine commitment from all parties.

He warned that there were

elements in the FA who were saying there was no sincere effort by the Government and ANC to reach an agreement.

The talks may have been boosted by the progress made during Monday's discussion between President de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

A meeting last week involving top negotiators Roelf Meyer (Government), Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC), Cronje and Dr Ben Ngubane (KwaZulu) also made some progress on the vexed issue of an FA commitment to participate in the negotiation process, said a source.

Government sources were guarded yesterday but said they were hopeful that the bulk of the FA's demands could be accommodated. One added that success would depend on the alliance's flexibility on certain issues on which the ANC would find difficulty changing its position.

Boycott TEC, SA's public servants told

Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg has called on public servants to switch their allegiance to the AVF's own transitional authority. *Star 19/11/94*

The AVF was planning to implement its own transitional authority in defiance of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC), in Pretoria next week, Dr Hartzenberg told about 1 000 supporters in the city yesterday.

"We ask all patriots in the public service to switch their loyalty to the free Boer republic and make themselves available for service to the Boer republic," Dr Hartzenberg, who is also the leader of the Conservative Party said. *(30417)*

He said the free Boer republic would be established before the April 27 election. The territory of the republic would be determined through a referendum among Afrikaners. — Political Staff.

Elections fund starts up

WILSON ZWANE

THE Independent Business Elections Fund, established by a group of major corporations last month, comes into official operation tomorrow with the appointment of a policy-making board of directors.

This board, appointed by donors, will choose a secretariat at its first meeting to carry out its decisions. The secretariat will also ensure that all expenditure is assessed, justified and carefully monitored. 19/11/94

Murray & Roberts CE David Brink, who is a member of the committee entrusted with getting the fund off the ground, said yesterday money was being raised from 27 sectors.

"The response is very encouraging," he said. The exact amount raised so far would be known soon.

Among the fund's objectives is to support, reinforce and promote political tolerance, freedom of association and the secrecy of the ballot. (304A)

Nafcoc helps blacks into import-export trade

THEO RAWANA

THE import-export programme launched by Nafcoc in September had led to black businessmen linking up with markets in Europe, the US, Africa and the Far East, Nafcoc said this week.

Nafcoc foreign trade manager Edwin Moloto said the initiative, which moved black businessmen from the confines of retailing to markets abroad, had been instigated by the German embassy.

The embassy, flooded with inquiries from countries seeking contact with local businessmen, seconded an expert on foreign trade through the German Chamber of Commerce to run programmes in conjunction with Nafcoc for aspiring black exporters.

Moloto said the programme was in line with Nafcoc president Archie Nkonyeni's intention to get black businessmen involved in the import/

export trade, exposing them to foreign markets.

"At least 200 businessmen have gone through the scheme and the feedback is that they are doing well in their newfound trade," Moloto said.

The German chamber's Hans Riemann started the programme with seminars familiarising local businessmen with foreign markets, customs regulations, trade fairs and other issues, including GATT provisions.

In turn, foreign traders looking for partners in SA were taken through courses demonstrating the spectrum of trade in SA.

Moloto said: "The programme is not designed solely for Nafcoc members.

"All businessmen with an eye on the import/export trade are invited to benefit from this scheme."

Tough line against election disruptions

13/Jan 19/1/94

TIM COHEN

THE Independent Electoral Commission yesterday indicated it intended taking a tough line on any attempt to disrupt voting and would scrap votes at disrupted polling stations.

Commission chairman Judge J C Kriegler said at a news conference the commission had the power to declare an election or part of an election so disrupted that it would not be counted.

"Those who wish maliciously to disturb and disrupt the overall electoral process may merely find themselves in the position that in their own no-go areas, where they have maximum support, there will be no count in the eventual tally of votes."

The commission is responsible for the administration of the election, for voter education, for ensuring that it is free and fair and for certifying the result.

The Electoral Act empowers the commission to make regulations regarding the nature and content of political advertising and on the conduct of parties and candidates. It is establishing an election adjudication secretariat to co-ordinate the work of the electoral tribunals and the special electoral court.

The commission said no formal complaints had yet been lodged, although it was aware that some parties had indicated they intended to do so.

Asked whether the commission intended to have polling booths in the TBVC states, Kriegler said all the territories other than Bophuthatswana had indicated they would be part of the process. The commission had

no power in law to enter Bophuthatswana unless it joined the election process.

But it was the responsibility of the commission to ensure that as many as possible of Bophuthatswana's citizens, who are entitled vote, would be able to cast their ballots. Contingency plans were already being formulated to place polling stations around Bophuthatswana.

Commission vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke said it was likely that the election would be proclaimed soon, after which parties would have 10 days to register.

The proclamation would indicate the date and the number of days in which the election would take place.

The commission was making inquiries about funding for political parties, but no estimate of how much money would be made available was possible at this stage. Sapa reports that the electoral commission also launched its official emblem.

The dark blue, light blue and white emblem has a three-dimensional ballot box and voter's slip with Independent Electoral Commission lettering in bold type on one side and a map of SA on the other.

"Your vote is your secret" is written at the top in blue against a white background. Kriegler said the colours represented the commission's independence and non-partisanship. Blue also represented peace.

He said the ballot box portrayed SA as a single entity and expressed the commission's determination to fulfil its mandate.



Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge J C Kriegler and vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke address a news conference yesterday to update the public on plans to ensure a free and fair election. Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

'Repression threatens elections'

TEC, govt in showdown with Mangope

BIDAY 19/11/94

304A

PRETORIA — A political showdown is looming between Bophuthatswana's government, and government and the Transitional Executive Council.

The TEC has asked government to protest in the strongest terms against allegations of political harassment, deportations of SA citizens and the inhibition of free political activity in Bophuthatswana.

The protest will be sent to Bophuthatswana through Foreign Affairs officials, probably in the next few days.

ANC delegate Cyril Ramaphosa told the TEC last night: "A grave situation is unfolding in Bophuthatswana."

The TEC's aims, to create and promote a climate for free political activity and eliminate intimidation, were violated daily in the homeland.

"They are doing everything that militates against the objects of the TEC."

The TEC's decision to send the protest, as well as to examine the wider issue of self-governing territories' resistance to the council's wishes, follows yesterday's presentation of a Lawyers for Human Rights document titled "Pre-elections crisis in Bophuthatswana".

It said free and fair elections were impossible in Bophuthatswana. "Prospective voters are harassed and intimidated at all levels, political parties are not allowed to hold meetings. Independent organisations such as LHR are prevented from educating voters about the election, election posters are routinely removed (and) office bearers of political parties have been detained without charge."

ADRIAN HADLAND

The list detailing "conditions of extreme repression" was endless. If the situation was allowed to continue it would jeopardise the credibility of the elections in that region and throughout the country. "Not only do we run a very real risk of the entire election being declared invalid as a result of wholesale intimidation of voters in this area, but because voters have been denied access to voter education we foresee the spoiling of massive numbers of ballots."

Bophuthatswana has about 1.8-million potential voters, LHR said.

The document listed several examples of acts allegedly carried out by the Bophuthatswana government, including:

- Dr Thabo Rangaka, Bophelong Hospital's only qualified psychiatrist, was dismissed for political activities;
- Prof Roy Williams was dismissed and deported for political activities;
- Jaya Ruthnam and Charl Williams were deported for their role in the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum;
- Suzi Tthagasoane was dismissed from the Internal Affairs Department for being an ANC leader;
- International Human Rights Day celebrations were banned in December; and
- An election advertising campaign scheduled for Bop-TV was withdrawn on President Lucas Mangope's orders.

SACP TEC delegate Joe Slovo said: "We must act swiftly and surely short of letting the tanks roll in."

□ To Page 2

Bophuthatswana

BIDAY 19/11/94

From Page 1

Government delegate Dawie de Villiers approved the resolution to send a protest, but said the TEC's management committee and foreign affairs subcommittee needed to acquire and verify more information.

Sapa reports the Bophuthatswana government accused LHR of losing the last vestiges of its political neutrality and objectivity. Reacting to LHR's submission to the TEC, it said: "The Bophuthatswana government will be changed only by its own people at the ballot box."

Meanwhile, KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lt-Gen Roy Doring was asked to appear before the TEC on Tuesday next week to provide information and documents concerning the operation of his squads in his force.

The TEC also approved appointments to the special electoral court and the Independent Media Commission.

Judge I Mahomed of the Supreme Court's Transvaal Provincial Division and Advocate Jan Heunis of the Cape Bar were appointed by the TEC, while Judge J W Smalberger, Judge J M Didcott and Judge P J van der Walt were the Judge President's appointees to the court.

The Independent Media Commission will be chaired by Judge J Trengove and consists of Naman Magua, Raymond Louw, Willem de Klerk, Jenny Malan, Zubeida Jaffer and Libby Lloyd.

The TEC also established an interim party liaison committee to communicate TEC directives and resolutions to parties contesting the election.

The TEC agreed that until guidelines were established for the relaying of information by its seven subcommittees to the media, all subcommittee meetings would be held in camera.

Govt, alliance expect progress

GOVERNMENT and the Freedom Alliance are optimistic that today's meeting with the ANC could make substantial progress towards reaching an agreement on changes to the constitution.

It is also expected that last year's impasse, over the commitment that government and the ANC demanded from the alliance, could be amicably resolved. Good progress could result in today's meeting continuing tomorrow.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said yesterday that at Friday's informal meeting "we found a way of entering into real negotiations on the matters on the table". The commitment had not been raised.

"Effectively government and ourselves have reached a point approaching agreement on four of the six items on the agenda and if the ANC is prepared to move as far as government, then I am optimistic we

BILLY PADDOCK

will get a settlement," he said.

A senior government source said: "The possibility of reaching agreement is definitely there. We have handled far more difficult issues in the past and resolved these." But he warned against over-optimism, citing countless attempts in the past that had gone sour. Just because the commitment issue had not been raised on Friday it did not mean it had gone away.

It is understood that the ANC is still not happy about the alliance's position and feels that it (the ANC) has moved enough already by adopting a softer line on the commitment at the last meeting.

The ANC is concerned that the alliance is "leaving too many back doors open" to avoid committing itself to the elections.

□ To Page 2

Progress

The alliance says any agreement will still have to be approved by its members' executives.

The four issues that have been resolved, or where agreement is expected, are:

- Provincial powers and functions;
- Provincial financial autonomy, including taxation;
- Provincial power to draft their own constitutions; and
- Protection of provincial autonomy.

The two key sticking points were the alliance's demands, strongly motivated by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at his meeting with President F W de Klerk, for a two ballot system of voting in the elections, and the issue of self-determination.

The CP and KwaZulu were insisting on self-determination for their "nations" and, while it seemed that the KwaZulu demand would be accommodated, the CP's was ruled out. Neither government nor the ANC were prepared to concede to this. Meanwhile Constitutional Development

□ From Page 1

Minister Roelf Meyer said differences of opinion within the alliance, especially on self-determination, complicated negotiations on their participation in the elections and transitional structures.

Sapa reports that Meyer, addressing a breakfast meeting of Johannesburg businessmen, said: "It is still our intent at this late hour to see whether we can reach, as far as possible, an inclusive agreement on the constitution."

Government's approach was to convince the alliance that the interim constitution already addressed its concerns. He said the De Klerk-Zwelithini meeting had represented "a step forward".

He was optimistic that a new government, even if dominated by one party, would follow balanced policies. A future cabinet was constitutionally obliged to operate on the basis of maximum consultation and consensus.

● Comment Page 6

Commitment to free polls

By Lulama Luti

THE Independent Electoral Commission has committed itself to ensuring free and fair elections on April 27 despite the current violence gripping the country.

Commission chairman Mr Justice Johan Kriegler warned, however, that it was not the commission's task to maintain law and order.

(304A)
"The primary responsibility for law and order lies elsewhere and not with the commission," he said. "However, we are in close liaison with the Transitional Executive Council with regard to the implementation of such measures as to enable elections to take place freely and fairly."

To mark the beginning of this process, the IEC yesterday unveiled an emblem to be used during the run-up to elections and

during polling.

Set against a predominantly blue and white background, the emblem comprises a ballot box with a voter slip and has the South African map printed opposite the letters IEC.

Kriegler explained that the colour blue represented peace — a message which the commission wished to convey to voters as well as to assure them that the elections would be secure, reliable and fair.

To this end, the directorates of election administration, monitoring and a Special Electoral Court have been established.

In reply to a question, commission member Mrs Dawn Mokhobo said ideally all voters should be in possession of a valid identity document and added that if necessary staff issuing the IDs would be doubled.

FW for two more W Cape 'roadshows' before election

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

30411
ARL 19/1/94
PRESIDENT De Klerk is returning to the Western Cape for two more election "roadshows" next month to woo voters in the one region where the National Party has high hopes of winning.

These will be on February 18 and on February 25 and 26.

One of the visits will cover the west coast, but details are still being worked out.

At the end of December Mr De Klerk had a successful tour of the Overberg area.

He will also tour the Eastern and Northern Cape next month.

The president's whistlestop tours, centerpiece of the National Party's election campaign, begin in the Western Transvaal today and continue in the Eastern Transvaal, the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging area, the Free State, the Cape and Natal.

In April, shortly before polling day, Mr De Klerk will address election rallies in Cape Town, Durban, Pretoria, Johannesburg, Bloemfontein, Pietersburg and Port Elizabeth.

Meanwhile, efforts to draw the Freedom Alliance into taking part in the election and the new constitutional system appear to be heading for failure, say top government sources.

Another trilateral meeting involving the government, African National Congress and the alliance is being held in Pretoria today but government leaders had little hope that it would resolve differences.

They said the problems were the Conservative Party's insistence on a "volkstaat" and the "hardline" attitude of the ANC, which was reluctant to make concessions to the alliance.

The alliance wants the rights of regional governments to be entrenched in a new constitution.

Government sources say the intransigence of both the CP and the ANC may wreck last-minute efforts to reach agreement. The attitudes of Inkatha and lately Bophuthatswana have been more reasonable. Ciskei recently withdrew from the alliance.

The deadline set for the talks is January 24.

Alliance, govt 'hopeful'

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the Freedom Alliance are optimistic that today's trilateral meeting with the ANC could make substantial progress towards reaching an agreement on changes to the constitution.

It is also expected that the impasse reached last year, over the commitment the government and the ANC were demanding from the Alliance, could be amicably resolved. Good

progress could result in today's four-hour meeting continuing tomorrow.

Alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronje said yesterday that at Friday's informal meeting "we found a way of entering into real negotiations on the matters on the table", adding that the commitment had not been raised.

A senior government source said: "The possibility of reaching agreement is definitely there." (SOUTH)

AVF sets 'UDI' date

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront has decided to implement its transitional authority here on January 29 to lead the Afrikaner to freedom, Conservative Party leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg announced last night.

The decision was taken by the AVF yesterday, Dr Hartzenberg told a public meeting here.

Representatives of Afrikaners across the country would be invited to attend the occasion to sanction the body to plan and take decisions for

(258) the Afrikaner and to mandate it to "achieve our freedom before the April 27 elections".

He said although the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC were meeting today "we don't expect much to come from the talks".

Accusing the media of trying to drive a wedge between him and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, Dr Hartzenberg said they had a "hearty" relationship. — Sapa

● Alliance, (30/4A) govt 'hopeful' —

Page 2

CT 19/1/94

President 'need not be ANC man'

304A
ET 19/11/94

PRETORIA. — Mr Nelson Mandela says that even if his African National Congress wins the elections in April, it could be in the "national interest" for the head of state not to be a member of the ANC.

Speaking at a press briefing after talks with visiting French Minister of Foreign Affairs Mr Alain Juppe, Mr Mandela said it was not up to him to suggest who should be the next president.

"In our organisation we have men and women of real calibre and integrity who could fill the position," he said.

"It may be of national interest to have a president outside the ANC."

Asked about threats by the Freedom Alliance — and notably the Inkatha Freedom Party and the far-right wing — to boycott the

poll, he said: "We will continue until the very last moment to persuade them to come along with us."

Mr Mandela said it would be up to the Natal region to determine what recognition would be accorded the king under the new dispensation.

Opinion

At another press conference yesterday, ANC representative Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, referring to Monday's meeting between President FW de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelethini, said neither the ANC nor the Transitional Executive Council had been briefed on the discussions.

Mr Mandela, pointing at the National Party's strength, warned against putting too much faith in opinion polls that had put the

ANC well ahead in the electoral race.

"The NP may be illegitimate and corrupted, (but) they are an efficient political party."

The plan he had discussed with President De Klerk to address violence on the East Rand could be jeopardised if details were published prematurely as it involved a number of parties, Mr Mandela said.

However, measures could include a region's being declared a disaster area, involving the community upgrading programmes and turning hostels into family units (see page 2).

Mr Juppe said France was prepared to assist in training the National Peacekeeping Force. — Sapa

● ANC support 'tops 70%' — Page 5



Stars draw cheers from future voters

Staff Reporter

ELECTIONS in South Africa are the most significant event on the African continent since colonialism, says movie star Danny Glover.

Yesterday Glover, known for his roles in the Lethal Weapon series, acted more the politician, kissing babies and drawing cheers as he toured Mitchells Plain and visited a Woodstock clothing factory.

The actor is in the city to promote voter education.

He said he had been "incredibly inspired and encouraged by the spirit of enthusiasm and determination" that surrounded the issue of voting in the forthcoming election. (204A)

STAR VOTES... American stars Danny Glover (centre) and Delroy Lindo (right), who starred in Malcolm X, took part in a voter education programme at the Mitchells Plain Town Centre yesterday, along with other international celebrities.

Picture: AP

ARGT 9/11/94

Electoral commission will bite if goaded

304A

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has teeth and will bite if provoked.

That was the message from IEC chairman Mr Justice Kriegler at a Press conference to unveil the commission's emblem at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday.

The IEC has the power to declare the election — or part of the election in a particular area — to have been so disrupted that it was not free and fair, and then the votes will not be counted in the final tally, Mr Justice Kriegler said.

Thus, political parties which maliciously disrupt the elections in certain areas will find that in their own no-go areas — where they have maximum support — their votes will not be counted.

Gateway opens for South Africa

□ Important advantages to be gained from rejoining Commonwealth

**TOS WENTZEL and
MICHAEL MORRIS**
Political Staff

SOUTH Africa stands to gain great political and international stature and possibly important economic advantages by rejoining the Commonwealth.

But a government spokesman said today a decision to take up the invitation of Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku to rejoin the organisation was too important to be decided now and should be left to the new government to decide.

Welcoming the invitation, Chris Fismar, political assistant to President De Klerk, said the invitation was another indication of South Africa's acceptance by the outside world and of being seen as part of the international community again.

Speaking in London yesterday, Chief Anyaoku said: "The Commonwealth's 50 member countries drawn from all the continents and regions of the

world, will provide the new South Africa with a ready gateway to the wider world.

"By normalising its relations with the Commonwealth, South Africa will at a stroke be consolidating its relations with 50 other countries with influence and a network of relations in their respective regions."

John Barratt of the Institute of International Affairs said South Africa should not expect vast rewards from membership in practical or financial terms. But he noted that the

CANBERRA. — Australia today welcomed an invitation for South Africa to rejoin the Commonwealth.

"It is now clear that a very long chapter in the history of the Commonwealth and the history of South Africa is coming to a close," said the acting Foreign Affairs Minister, Gordon Bilney.

"It is a very welcome devel-

Commonwealth had educational and developmental programmes that would benefit the country.

He said the Commonwealth was a significant international body because it cut across all political boundaries.

"It is the only grouping of states that has members from the Third World and the First World, and membership is a very good means of keeping informed about developments."

Professor Barratt said all

opment that a black African secretary-general, the first African secretary-general of the Commonwealth, should have made formal an invitation to South Africa to rejoin the Commonwealth," he said.

Commonwealth Secretary-General Chief Emeka Anyaoku, a former Nigerian diplomat, formally invited South Africa yesterday to rejoin the international association.

the states of Southern Africa, except Mozambique and Angola, were members and South Africa could play a leadership role.

Membership would not mean being subservient to Britain once again.

South Africa could join without amending its constitution. Most Commonwealth states are independent republics and there is no suggestion of a constitutional role for the Queen.

● South Africa was one of the founder members of the

"There will need to be a successful conclusion to the (South African) elections," said Mr Bilney.

He added that some violence had to be expected.

Mr Bilney said Australia had played a leading role in the effort to bring South Africa back into the Commonwealth through the abolition of apartheid. — Sapa-Reuter.

Commonwealth, being one of the original "dominions" of this political union in the 1920s.

The others were Canada, Australia and New Zealand.

It was only after World War 2 that other former British colonies, the first of them Ghana, became independent and joined the Commonwealth.

When India gained independence it set the precedent of a republic being a member, though the head of the Commonwealth was the British monarch.

The then South African Prime Minister, Dr H F Verwoerd, was going to use this example when he went to the conference of Commonwealth heads in London in 1961 to make a case for South Africa's continued membership. He withdrew the application when there was strong resistance, especially from Canada.

Eventually trade between South Africa and many Commonwealth members was severely curtailed but trade links with Britain continued to flourish.

Australia welcomes move on S Africa

AKU 20/1/94 (3044)

C'wealth invites SA to rejoin

LONDON. — The secretary-general of the Commonwealth invited post-apartheid South Africa yesterday to rejoin the association after a break of 33 years.

"The Commonwealth's 50 member countries drawn from all the continents and regions of the world, will provide the new South Africa with a ready gateway to the wider world," Chief Emeka Anyaoku said here.

He invited South Africa, which withdrew from the Commonwealth in 1961 under pressure over its segregation policies, to heal the "family rift" now that it is becoming a non-racial democracy.

He made an impassioned plea for those leaders who refused to join in implementing the transitional process to lay aside their "partisan" concerns in the national interest.

Chief Anyaoku's speech at the annual dinner of the South Africa Club was a symbolic departure from the past as it was the first time that a Commonwealth secretary-general had addressed the club.

He noted with anxiety the refusal of some "important leaders" to join in the transition process, adding that the continued violence also posed a grave threat to the transition period.

Pluralistic

He believed the Commonwealth's contribution to the transition process lay in the fact that it had "an unrivalled wealth of experience in the management of pluralism". Many of its member countries were pluralistic societies and SA would be able to draw on this pool of experience.

Chief Anyaoku said, it was pluralism that lay at the heart of the South African problem and the country would not be able to realise its great promise unless it could manage its diversity creatively.

He called for a strengthening of ties between a democratic SA and the Commonwealth, saying that the key to the resolution of the country's problems would be its ability to reintegrate fully into the world community of nations.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela had told him he expected Commonwealth membership for South Africa to be one of the early foreign policy decisions to be taken by a democratic South African government. — Sapa-Reuter, Own Correspondent

Ferdi is the volkstaat president — CP paper

Star 20/1/97

■ BY KAIZER
NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg has been appointed "president" of the Afrikaner Volksfront's proposed volkstaat, according to the CP mouthpiece, Die Patriot, due to appear on the streets tomorrow.

The paper said the Afrikaner volkstaat's "transitional council" — to operate in parallel with the Transitional Executive Council — had appointed the AVF co-leader as first president of the yet-to-be defined area to provide for Afrikaner self-determination.

Reports today indicated that the CP-owned weekly said that the decision — taken at a special AVF meeting on Tuesday — coincided with the appointment of the first group of members of the volks council.

The Government and the ANC have condemned the establishment of the illegal "transitional council" and AVF co-leader General Constand Viljoen's threat this week that limited violence might have to be used for his organisation to reach its goals.

Viljoen said if a deadlock developed in the AVF's negotiations with the Government and the ANC by the January 24

deadline, then international mediation "on the scale of the Palestinian/Israeli solutions" might have to be sought.

If even this failed, limited violence would be a viable option. (304A)

He said the proposed AVF transitional authority to be set up on January 29 would try to get a mandate from Afrikaners to acquire for them a volkstaat, and if the people felt that the volkstaat had to be obtained "at all costs, then so be it".

"If there is no realism, there can be no satisfaction, and no peace. It would be irresponsible to disregard the ideals and aspirations of so many people in South Africa."

AVF prepared to seek mediation

Hope returns after trilateral meeting

Star 20/11/94

(304A)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday morning that a "bit of violence" may be needed to carve out a homeland.

But later in the day, hopes that dissenting rightwingers could be brought aboard the country's political settlement were lifted by a successful trilateral meeting.

The meeting was attended by the Freedom Alliance (FA) — of which the AVF is a part — the Government and the ANC.

After 3½ hours of talks at the Development Bank building in Midrand, delegates emerged with new hope.

They will meet again tomorrow, when they will receive a report-back from a technical committee looking at issues dividing the organisations.

Chief ANC negotiator Cyril

FRESH talks between Govt, FA and ANC bring new hope to the country's chances of a peaceful political settlement

Ramaphosa said the meeting had been very constructive.

FA chairman Rowan Cronje said participants had found a constructive way to address problem issues.

One senior politician said that for the first time he had "walked out of such a meeting feeling positive", and that the ANC had been in a particularly conciliatory mood.

The meeting came within hours of Viljoen's warning that "limited violence" was a "serious option".

Viljoen said that to prevent

violence if a deadlock occurred, the AVF was prepared to seek international mediation.

He told a media briefing in Pretoria that the mediation should be on the scale of the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks.

After the trilateral meeting later yesterday, Ramaphosa said the ANC had taken note of Viljoen's earlier comments.

However, the ANC believed that differences should be resolved in negotiations.

The technical committee — comprising three members of each of the organisations — will begin its crucial discussions this morning.

The "provisions for provincial structures", the issue of self-determination and whether voters should get a second ballot paper to indicate a regional preference are on the agenda.

Negotiators have until Monday — as agreed to in the last round of talks — to find a solution.

Civic executive resigns over boycott

Star 20/11/94

The Bekkersdal Civic Association executive committee resigned from office yesterday amid controversy over its recommendation to lift a boycott it organised and which has crippled most of Westonaria's businesses.

The committee advised the

community to lift the boycott last week to facilitate talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party, police and businessmen in the area. But at a mass meeting on Thursday night, the community chose to continue the boycott.

Although the members who

resigned could not be reached for comment, former chairman Rungu Mathambo said in a statement: "After serious introspection and analysis of the volatile environment and ensuing conflict, the executive has chosen to resign with immediate effect." — Staff Reporter.

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Parties report progress in Freedom Alliance talks with ANC, govt

LKS between government, the ANC and Freedom Alliance ended on a positive note last night.

Senior negotiators said at a joint news conference that progress had been made. A technical committee of three members from each party was set up to see if the Freedom Alliance could be accommodated in a constitutional settlement. The committee would meet today and report back tomorrow to the three parties.

A source at the meeting, held at the DeJongh Bank in Midrand, said the ANC had appeared to be conciliatory and willing to shift its position in some areas.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa described the meeting as constructive. "We believe we can now move forward and deal with the substantive issues. What is good is that all parties illustrated their willingness to negotiate," he said.

Government chief negotiator Roel Meyer said issues identified for further discussion were: provisions for provincial structures; self-determination covering the Zulus as well as an Afrikaner volksstaat; and a two-ballot system of voting. The three parties had agreed in principle that it was possible to tackle the issues constructively, but admitted that time was running out for an inclusive deal, Meyer said.

The government/ANC January 24 deadline was only days away. If a settlement was reached by Monday a special session of Parliament would be called to amend the interim constitution. A government negotiator said real negotiating would begin only in the technical committee, and said it was too early to talk even of a "possible breakthrough".

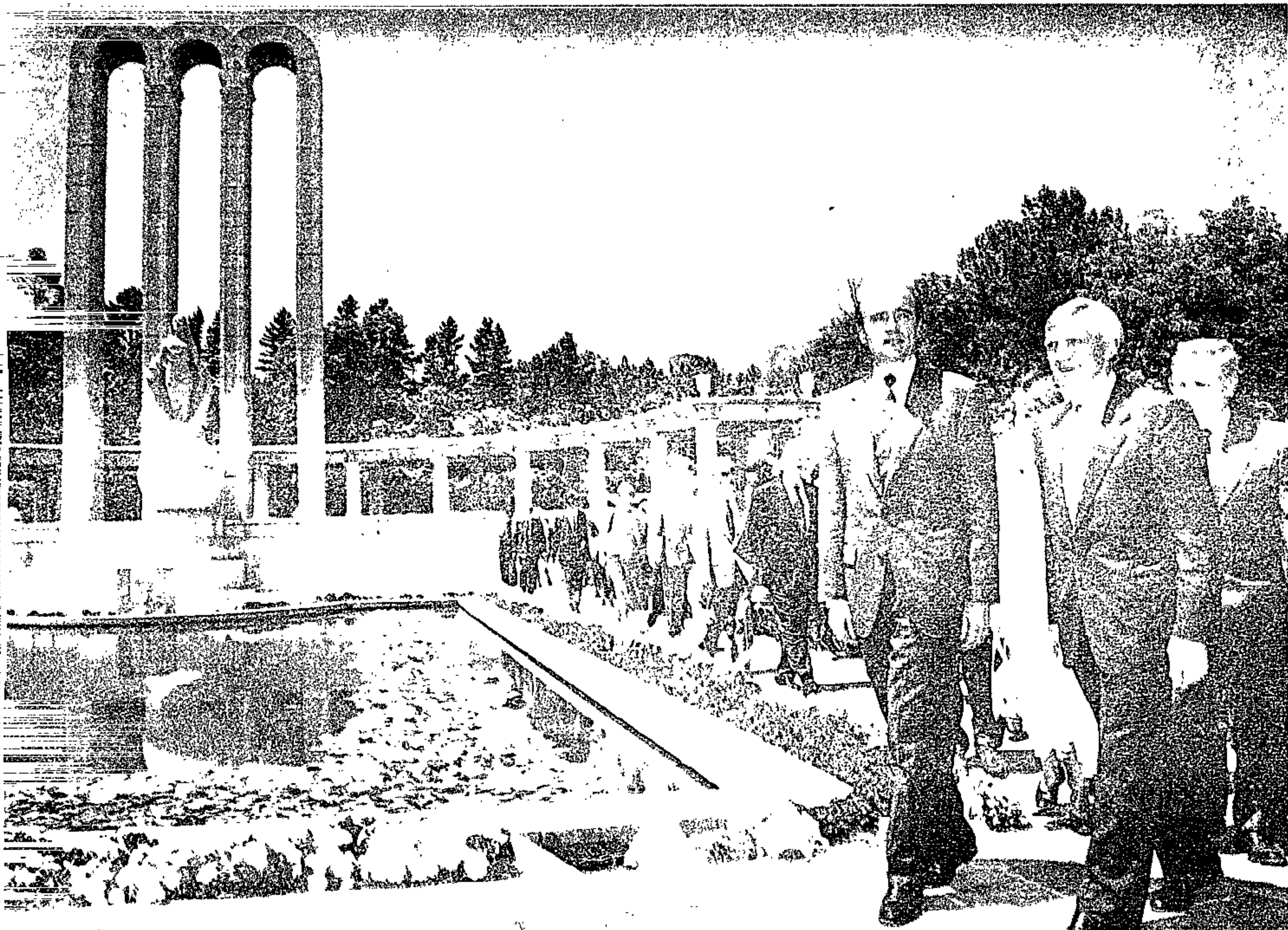
Ramaphosa said the ANC had taken note of Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen's statement that "limited violence" was an option to force a constitutional deal, but this had not been raised.

GAVIN DUVENAGE reports that Viljoen said negotiating was the Volksfront's preferred method to achieve its objectives, but limited violence might be needed to prevent large-scale violence born of the frustration of the Afrikaner's desire for self-determination.

The Volksfront was willing to call for international mediation in negotiations as it had become clear that SA's leaders had a

"pitiful" inability to talk to each other. CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said if a negotiated settlement was reached soon, a referendum to determine the boundaries of the volksstaat could be held before the end of February. It would be possible to hold a separate election in the volksstaat in conjunction with national elections.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said Viljoen's comments were regrettable. While he sympathised with minority fears, he would never contemplate a separate state. He had run out of ideas to draw the Inkatha Freedom Party back into negotiations.



WELCOME: French foreign minister Alain Juppé, left, and Public Enterprises Minister Dawie de Villiers, right, on a visit to the Huguenot Monument in Franschhoek. Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus.

'SA can count on support from France'

Staff Reporter

SOUTH AFRICA can count on the support of France during the transition to democracy, French foreign minister Alain Juppé said in Franschhoek.

Mr Juppé was speaking yesterday at the Huguenot Museum on the last day of his three-day visit to South Africa.

He paid tribute to the protestant French settlers who had

fled religious persecution in their home country and arrived in the Franschhoek Valley more than 300 years ago.

"The rejection of the Huguenots by France was one of the greatest mistakes in the history of my country because they could have contributed so much to the development of France."

Mr Juppé said the French

settlers had merged with other Europeans to form a nation who saw themselves as African.

He said that with the referendum in March two years ago South Africans had turned a "page on the past" and had decided to build a new nation for all.

He said France would re-

main watchful that the rights of all people in the new South Africa, including minorities would be respected.

Mr Juppé is the first French foreign minister to visit South Africa in 18 years and he held talks with government and opposition leaders to assess the kind of co-operation that could develop between the two countries.

(304A) ARG 20 11 94

PAC, government in talks — but rebellion is brewing

ARC-20/1/94 (3047)

HUGH ROBERTON
Political Editor

AS the government and the Pan-Africanist Congress begin negotiations in Pretoria today, a rebellion has broken out inside the PAC against the leadership's suspension of the "armed struggle" last week.

Opposition to the PAC leadership's decision could well render today's talks meaningless and could mean a resumption of terror attacks by the PAC's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Evidence of the rebellion has come from what appears to be a wide spectrum within the PAC and Apla, and includes:

- A denunciation by the PAC's central Transkei secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha of the leadership's suspension of the armed struggle — a decision which he described as a "sur-

render".

- Calls to various newspapers and news organisations by men claiming to be Apla commanders who have warned that Apla's violence will continue.

- An angry rejection of the leadership's decision by Fezeka Tyilana of the PAC Women's Union, at the funeral in Umtata yesterday of a 14-year-old youth, Siphiwe Sam — who was killed by police in a raid on a PAC meeting in Guguletu earlier this month.

- An attack on a police station in Durban by suspected Apla members within hours of the announcement by PAC president Clarence Makwetu that the armed struggle had been suspended. Three of the attackers — at least one of them a confirmed member of the PAC — were killed.

Today's meeting between the government and the PAC is

aimed at securing the PAC's participation in the Transitional Executive Council and the April 27 election.

But the PAC delegation is expected to face an early demand for assurances that they speak on behalf of all members of the organisation and that the suspension of the armed struggle can actually be enforced.

There is a growing fear among leading politicians that the PAC is in danger of disintegrating into an uncontrolled group of armed bands headed by warlords with private agendas.

While the senior leadership, under Mr Makwetu, appears willing to play a constructive role in bringing about a non-racial democracy, opponents of the PAC argue that the movement has a history of dissidence and that assurances given by the leadership are highly questionable.

Progress made with Alliance

CF20/11/94 (304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Progress was made in talks between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance yesterday.

Senior negotiators representing all three parties were upbeat when they addressed a joint press conference afterwards.

A technical committee comprising about three members from each side was established to see if the Freedom Alliance could be accommodated in a constitutional settlement.

The technical committee is to meet today and report back to a full meeting of the three parties tomorrow before reporting back to their principals.

A source at the meeting, held at the Development Bank at Midrand, said afterwards the ANC had appeared conciliatory and willing to shift its position in some respects.

Chief ANC negotiator Mr Cyril Ramaphosa said the meeting had been "very constructive".

Committee to look at specific problems

"We believe we can now move forward and deal with the substantive issues," he said.

The meeting had identified three issues for further discussion, the government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said.

These were provisions for provincial structures in a new constitutional dispensation; self-determination, which covered the demands for an Afrikaner "volkstaat" and Zulu self-determination; and the Freedom Alliance demand for two ballot papers instead of one.

The three sides had agreed in principle it was possible to tackle the issues "constructively", Mr Meyer said.

The parties admitted time was running out for an inclusive deal. The January 24 deadline is only days away.

If a settlement is reached by Monday a special session of Parliament will be called to amend the new constitution.

Mr Ramaphosa said the ANC had taken note of Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen's statement earlier in the day that "limited violence" was an option to force a constitutional deal.

However, the issue had not been raised at the meeting.

"We want to continue talking to the Volksfront. Constitutional problems can be resolved only at the negotiating table," Mr Ramaphosa said.

A government negotiator warned it was too early to talk even of a "possible breakthrough". — Sapa

DP chief warns of ANC majority

JOHANNESBURG. — It was important the ANC be prevented from gaining a two-thirds majority in the elections because it would then write a constitution as it saw fit, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting in Bryanston, Dr De Beer said the DP, and not the NP "with their

apartheid record", was the party which could win votes from the ANC. Even relatively few votes could be decisive.

Dr De Beer said the IFP was a party with a generally respectable policy, although it sought far greater powers for KwaZulu/Natal than were achievable in a normal federation.

He said there were many rea-

sons why the IFP should be part of the election process in "our interests and in those of the country".

"If it lay in my power I would do everything possible to persuade them to stand.

"After all, their absence from the election would only make the ANC relatively stronger.

"Given Inkatha's very strong

hostility to the ANC, I cannot imagine that it wishes to do that," Dr de Beer said.

Referring to recently published opinion poll results, Dr De Beer said among white voters and some coloured and Indian ones, there was massive misunderstanding of the voting system, leading people to say "we mustn't split the anti-ANC vote". — Sapa

Poll: Youths agree

PRETORIA. — NP and PAC youths agreed at an historic meeting yesterday that the April 27 election would be legitimate.

Both the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) and the NP Youth expressed their support for lasting peace and condemned violence.

"Azanyu declared their full support for the PAC's suspension of the armed struggle and the NP Youth

leader, Mr Dirk Bakker, complimented them on their support for the suspension," an NP statement said.

It added that the discussion at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park helped rectify incorrect impressions that existed between the two groups.

The leaders of the two groups will hold a follow-up meeting within two weeks, said the NP. — Sapa

(304A)

CT 20/1/94

APR 20/1/94 (304A)
R1-m for voter education

DURBAN — The German government has given R1 million for an extensive rural voter education campaign in Natal.

The project will be undertaken by the Democracy Development Programme (DDP), which is being funded by the Adenauer Foundation in Germany.

DDP director Rama Naidoo said that voter education had been neglected in the rural areas. — Sapa.

Prominent names on party's ^(304A) election list

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

PROMINENT city councillors, politicians and businessmen head the Democratic Party's preliminary Western Cape election list as the party moves to boost its vote share with a campaign five times bigger than any it has mounted before.

On the list are political veteran and former rector of the University of the Western Cape Richard van der Ross, businessman and former city councillor Herbert Hirsch, deputy regional leader Joe Marks, actor and director Peter Krummeck and DP Youth leader Colin Douglas.

There are also three city councillors on the list — Ian Iversen, Chris Joubert and Arthur Wienburg — and all but one of the party's Peninsula MPs.

They are regional leader Hennie Bester, Ken Andrew, David Curry, Colin Eglin, Roger Hulley, Dene Smuts and Jasper Walsh. Wynberg MP Robin Carlisle is not on the list, but party sources said this was not necessarily significant.

Other names would be added to the list and the national list was being drawn up separately.

This preliminary list consists of nominations from branches only. The candidates committee meeting over the next week will add to the list and candidates will be elected and "ranked" by an elected electoral college next weekend.

The nominees represent a "spread" of socio-economic communities across the Peninsula and Boland.

The selection of DP candidates culminates on February 20 with the release of its national list.

Candidates will be given geographical areas of responsibility and much of the campaign will be "candidate-driven".

The DP campaign goes into top gear with the launch of a media advertising blitz on February 6 and party strategists are confident its support levels will "increase steadily".

● Full list of names on page 4

Stone throwers stop De Klerk's visit to township

ARG 2/11/94 (304A)
POTCHEFSTROOM. — A stone-throwing mob led to President De Klerk cancelling a visit to Kokosi township outside Fochville.

As 1 000 National Party supporters gathered in the township they were stoned, allegedly by ANC supporters.

Police advised Mr De Klerk to call off the visit.

National Party officials said rain which started about the same time also played a part in the cancellation of the meeting.

Later, speaking to nearly 3 000 students at the University of Potchefstroom, Mr De Klerk described the ANC as dangerous and said its recently unveiled economic proposals were littered with Marxist socialism.

The organisation secretly wanted to replace one form of oppression with another, he charged. But, with an eye on his audience at the Afrikaans university, he also blasted the Conservative Party's Volkstaat policy as unworkable and impractical.

He told the students to forget polls which showed 70 percent support for the ANC, saying the NP's own surveys showed the party could win the election if it could garner the support of undecided voters.

A small section of the students hissed briefly when he started his address.

From the university, he went to a meeting of National Party organisers in the town's civic centre. The audience of about 1 500 was almost equally divided between blacks and whites.

Mr De Klerk said the people in the hall had come from different camps which had been torn apart by hate in the past.

Today he was scheduled to make three stops in Klerksdorp and Ventersdorp. — Political Staff, Sapa-Reuter.

Women hand reports to TEC

JOHANNESBURG. —

Over 1 000 women gathered on the steps of the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday to hand over research reports on women's issues to the TEC. (3049)

Data in the reports was gleaned from nationwide research commissioned by the Women's National Coalition (WNC). Copies of the reports were presented to the TEC by WNC co-convenors Dr Frene Ginwala and Ms Anne Letsebe. CT 21/1/94

Women from as far afield as Pietersburg and Klerksdorp attended the handover. — Sapa

C'wealth invitation welcomed

PRETORIA. — The South African government welcomed the invitation to rejoin the Commonwealth, Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Pik Botha said yesterday.

Commonwealth secretary-general Chief Emeka Anyaoku invited South Africa to rejoin the Commonwealth at the South African Club in London on Wednesday night.

Mr Botha said Chief Anyaoku had acknowledged President F W

de Klerk's bold initiatives which had opened the way for South Africa to return to the Commonwealth and other reputable international organisations. (304A)

"Attention will be given to procedural steps which could be taken before the elections to facilitate South Africa's return to these organisations.

"Membership of the OAU (Organisation for African Unity) for

example, is of particular importance to South Africa, as is that of the family of UN organisations."

Mr Botha said he had already discussed procedures to join the OAU with several African states and they foresaw no obstacles to its membership after the election.

"We are also interested in a close relationship with the 47 states forming the Francophone group of states," he said. — Sapa

Govt, PAC agree to continue talks soon

PRETORIA. — The government and the PAC agreed yesterday to establish three committees to meet next week to continue yesterday's "exploratory meeting".

A possible first meeting between President F W de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu was also raised "and may be taken further", a government spokesman said. (304A) CT 21/1/94

The two sides met for two hours at the offices of chief government negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer.

The issues discussed were whether there should be one or two ballot papers on April 27 and amnesty for members of the PAC's armed wing, Apla, in the wake of the PAC's suspension of its armed struggle.

Also discussed was the PAC's participation in the TEC and on the TEC sub-council on defence. — Sapa

Fri 21/1/94

→ cont.

Party divisions not set in stone

A likely future split in the ANC could spark a new centrist alliance

(304A) (44/48)

When one of the factions is extinguished, the remainder subdivide — Francis Bacon.

Winnie Mandela's dramatic political resurrection is a sharp and timely reminder that the ANC is far from homogeneous — if any reminder is needed in the light of all the contradictory policy statements by major figures. These contradictions won't be reconciled before the election. On the contrary, the ANC is engaged in the classic political exercise of a divided party ahead of an election: trying to be all things to all men.

Latest opinion polls (see *Current Affairs*) indicate that the ANC — divided or not — is heading for a big victory on April 27. Positive factors include its status as a liberation movement, the great (and deserved) charisma of its president Nelson Mandela and grave, maybe irretrievable, tactical errors by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The NP is showing no great political dynamism or unity of purpose and talk of transforming the party into "Christian socialists" with wide multi-ethnic drawing power has faded. The DP, despite its political integrity and sound policies, has been unable to break

out of its narrow constituency.

SA must brace itself for a spell of ANC triumphalism. Once this emotion is spent, the ANC-dominated interim government will have to address the business of govern-



ANC's Nelson Mandela ... great and deserved charisma

ment. This is when internal strains will come to the fore. To govern is to choose and the choice is between irresponsible populism and conciliatory centrism with an ear cocked to local business sentiment and — perhaps more important — to Western governments, international business and the IMF.

The new government's first need will be to restore law and order, an unpleasant task which can only be undertaken when the security forces are Mandela's police and Defence Force, not De Klerk's. Footloose elements in the townships will not be brought to heel without resentment.

Then there will be the distasteful task of telling the masses that there is indeed no Santa Claus, that facile redistributionism cannot provide instant redress for its deprivations and resentments. There will have to be a period of self-discipline and hard work, coupled with an understanding that private capital has to be made to feel secure if it is to invest and help build the new SA. When these perceptions percolate down to the rank and file, the ANC will face its real moment of truth in defining political loyalties.

To judge by the rumblings to date, this

will be a nasty showdown. Two questions present themselves: what form will the inevitable disaffection take and what proportion of the ANC's constituency will be driven to rebellion against the new-found pragmatism of the senior leadership?

The main factor holding the disparate elements together is Mandela's personal prestige. Were he to be removed from the scene soon, there could be an open split. If he lasts the five years of the interim government (by no means unlikely for an amazingly fit 75-year-old), the chances of containing the forces of dissent are not bad — given reasonable economic growth and job creation.

It would be wrong for the remaining parties to base their strategies on hopes of a split in the ANC. This would be negative, self-destructive defeatism. They should aim to mobilise the greatest collective electoral support, as the chances that pragmatism will prevail within the ANC are surely better if it obtains only a modest majority instead of 60% or even the two-thirds that would allow it to amend the constitution on its own.

This tough reality should concentrate the minds of other parties, not least Inkatha, which should be mobilising as much as possible of its potential constituency of conservative Zulus to become a major factor in the constituent assembly, instead of playing the Ulster option — a sure loser. This redirection of political energies appears incapable of achievement under Buthelezi.

The NP should reconsider the Christian socialist option, which has much to offer as a new image. A large coloured constituency may look on an ANC victory as little more than a Xhosa hegemony, but may still flinch at voting for a party which treated it so shabbily. The Nats should also address themselves with a lot more vigour to the Afrikaner Right.

If Buthelezi is an Ulster loyalist, Constand Viljoen and his motley army are mere Jacobites, fighting for the most lost of lost causes. They also need to be told that their purposes are best served by mobilising every last vote in April rather than indulging in political romanticism of the worst sort, most calculated to inflame anti-white feelings.

What the DP needs to emphasise most is not policies, but the absolute secrecy of the ballot. There must be a constituency — however indeterminate its size — of middle-class blacks who mistrust the populist trend within the ANC and might want to exercise a countervailing influence through voting for a genuinely nonracial party, provided there is no risk of retaliation.



Rightwinger Constand Viljoen ... a motley Jacobite army

have-nots: in more pedantic terms, the substitution of class for race as the major aligning factor.

This must be correct in principle and the guide to predicting any long-term party realignment. In the short run, other loyalties may survive, obscuring the long-term trend. For some time, politics will reflect a combination of class and ethnic forces — a constellation which is true of many countries.

The possible retention of Finance Minister Derek Keys and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals will reinforce the new government's centrist character. The failure of the Marxist model and the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a sponsor of Marxist policies all but dictate this outcome.

Only the Western-style free enterprise industrial nations can provide money and technical skills, not to mention a largely free-enterprise model for economic development. The retention of white skills as a major policy goal must also tilt the machine of government to moderation and pragmatism.

These are factors and arguments which could appeal to a large block of African

Fm 21/1/94

(304A)

The stronger other parties are, the better the chance that they can influence events if or when tensions within the ANC reach breaking point. Certainly it would be wrong to take for granted that current divisions in party politics will endure even for the first five years of the new era.

Some years ago, Conor Cruise O'Brien, in a prescient article in *Harper's Magazine*, foreshadowed the evolution of a post-apartheid SA. He postulated that post-apartheid politics would reflect a coalition of the haves of all races against the

urban opinion, increasingly middle-class and to an extent middle-aged. Equally, the interests of the Cosatu element of the ANC — who, by definition, are employed — will increasingly diverge from those of the unemployed (and, some would say, unemployable) radical urban youth.

When or how the split in the ANC will come about, no-one can tell. When it does, the chances are good for the formation of a genuinely centrist party comprising ANC moderates, the rump of the Nats and the DP, as there would then be a genuine convergence of policies on basic support for the free market with a strong element of welfare, and for nonracialism.

This outcome would also create a powerful opposition to the Left, through an accretion of support for the PAC or in other ways. This need not be a bad thing under proportional representation, provided the Left could be contained to, say, a quarter or even 30% of representation. Coalition politics would then operate as it did in western Europe in the days when communist parties were Stalinist and politically untouchable and condemned to permanent opposition.

The worst case, of course, would be if the



Keys



Stals

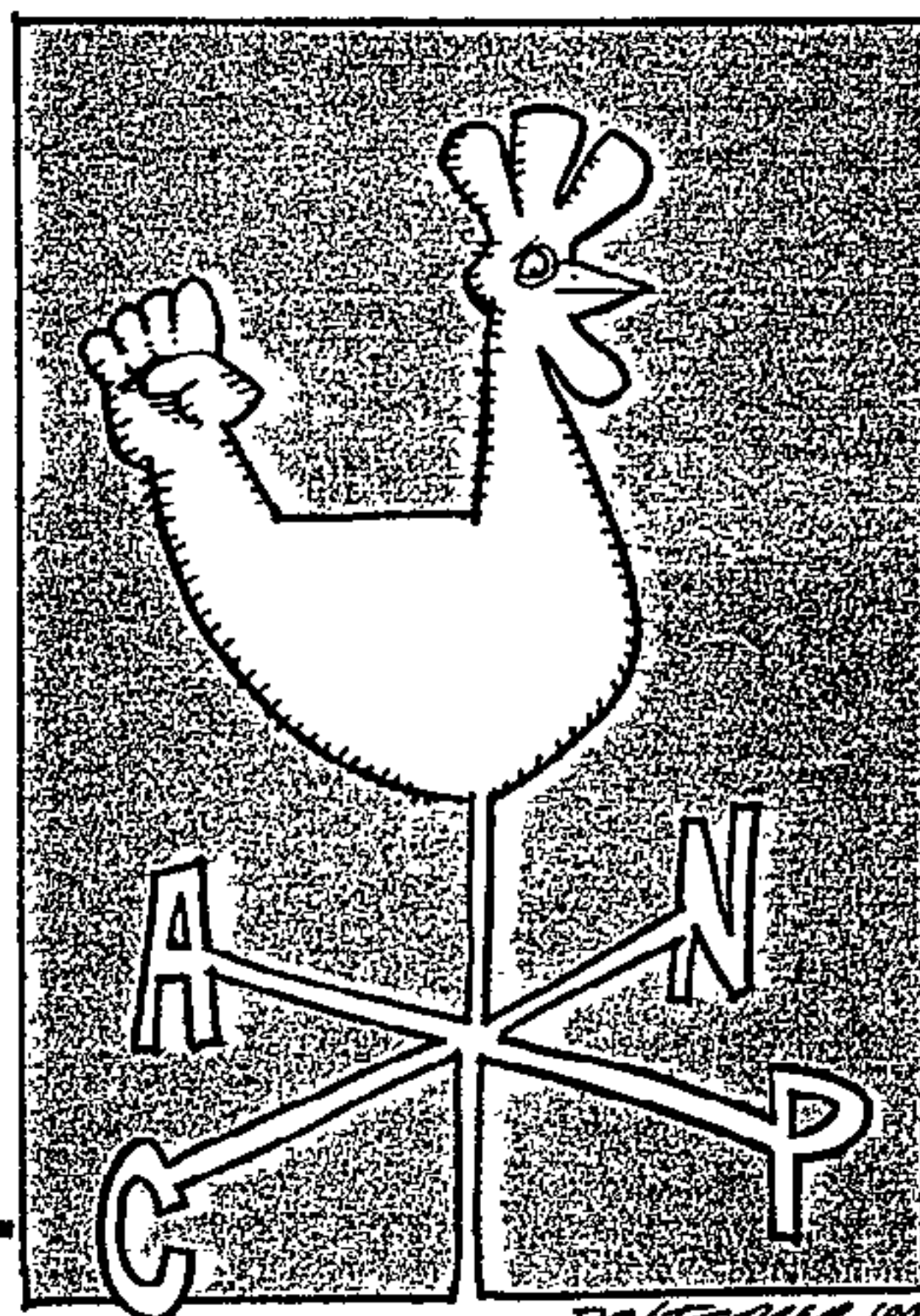
economy falls so far short of satisfying expectations as to trigger either a radical takeover of the ANC, or defections to the PAC on such a scale as to endanger the ANC's grip on power. This may sound far-fetched, but the capacity of urban youth for disillusionment cannot be dismissed.

It is because of this danger that Western-style liberal free market values could be more at risk in the second election, scheduled for 1999, than they will be this April.

One of the regrettable authoritarian aspects of the new constitution is its entrenchment of party machines and failure to allow parliament to reflect the factional realignments that must surely develop over the next five years.

Come the 1999 election, though, and this straitjacket will be loosened. The line-up of contenders could look very different. With an eye to survival, parties and individuals elected to the 1994 parliament will be using the next five years not only to advance their causes but to prepare for this realignment.

It may look as though we're on the eve of an era of politics as monolithic as the era we're just leaving. But as so often in politics, appearances will surely be misleading. ■



20 FEBRUARY 94

P.T.O.

FW is seen to 'condone' child labour

By Quentin Wilson

304A

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk apparently forgot his "new" National Party card about human rights during a one-day political roadshow on Overberg farms in December.

While trying to impress farmworkers on a farm near Riversonderend, the visiting NP leader took time to shake the hand of a child, knee-deep in mud, harvesting onions.

While warning against the "tyranny" of a "communist-dominated ANC", De Klerk did not notice that he was silently condoning child labour by his gesture. The boy, no more than 10 years old, works on the farm for R12 a day.

When asked whether this amounted to NP hypocrisy, a spokesperson for the state-president's office admitted it was a "difficult matter to comment on".

"I can't say exactly what happened but if there are complaints from the farmworkers, they have every right to take it up in an industrial court. Workers have the right to complain," he said, refusing to give his name.

Meanwhile, the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) and the ANC have capitalised on their rival's electioneering blunder.

"It has exposed De Klerk and the NP for what they really are," said Mr Cameron Dugmore, ANC regional organiser for the Western Cape, "While they profess to have changed their colours, this proves they cling to their old ways. De



South 21/1-25/1/94

ISNT CHILD LABOUR SWEET? FW de Klerk seems to see nothing wrong with this child being part of the rural workforce

Klerk showed the NP are unconcerned about child labour and workers' rights.

"I am disgusted at the opportunism displayed by the NP and the

failure of De Klerk to comment on what is clearly a contravention of basic employment law."

Mr Viva Mtai, Fawu's information and research officer, was equal-

ly outraged.

"We are shocked that De Klerk has shown he condones child labour," Mtai said, "While he tried to win votes from farmworkers by telling them about how the NP has changed for the better, he has shown his true colours. This is the truth behind De Klerk's smiling face."

'Choose me — I'm a coloured'

By Quentin Wilson

South 28/1 - 1/2/94

MR PATRICK McKenzie, National Party MP for Bonteheuwel, believes he should become the NP's candidate for the premiership of the Western Cape. Why? Because he is coloured, he says.

In his bid to secure the top spot in the provincial government after the election, McKenzie has unwittingly snubbed the predominantly white leadership of his party by saying it is time "for black people to rule the country". (204A)

Though most NP candidates in the election are certain to be white, McKenzie maintains that because "we coloureds have been on the receiving end of oppression for so long, it is now our time to lead".

McKenzie said he saw no contradiction between wanting blacks to rule the country and working inside a party controlled by whites.

He also does not have a problem with standing for the political party whose policies removed him and his family twice from their homes in terms of the Group Areas Act.

He joined the NP in June 1991 after 22 years in the Labour Party.

"People have approached me saying they want the top leadership of the NP in the western Cape to be coloured," McKenzie said. "It is a fact that the western Cape is the home of coloured people and so it is our place to now make our contribution against discrimination, having being heavily oppressed ourselves for so long."

"It could be seen as an ethnic view, but I see it more as being a black view."

Also in the race to be the NP candidate for the Western Cape premiership is law and order minister Mr Hernus Kriel.

While McKenzie insists he and Kriel are "friends" and "colleagues", he has also been openly critical of Kriel's decisions — particularly the minister's decision last year to order a raid on a house in the Transkei which resulted in the slaughter of five youths.

"I cannot support the killing of children and I have never condoned what happened in Transkei."

CHOOSE ME: Patrick McKenzie — practising his victory dance for April?

However, I am open to the findings of the commission looking into the matter," McKenzie said.

The NP should be moving to a

decision within the next two weeks as to who their shadow Western Cape prime minister will be.

McKenzie says party representa-

tives will vote on the matter "by the end of the week" and the final decision will be taken by President Fw de Klerk soon afterwards.



AVF hardliners snub ANC offer

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Hardline elements within the Afrikaner Volksfront have rejected a tentative deal reached on Friday between the ANC and AVF.

Speaking at an ANC rally in Stilfontein yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said: "We made them (the AVF) an offer to the effect that on April 27, as we vote, the Afrikaners can vote for the idea of a volkstaat and that the whole question of whether it should be a volkstaat or not will be decided after the election by a constituent assembly."

Mandela, however, said the

AVF leaders had been given a mandate to continue negotiations with the ANC and Government. These talks continue in Pretoria today. (AP) 304A

Friday's offer appears to revolve around the participation of the AVF in the April election and the inclusion of a constitutional principle on the self-determination of all South Africans.

This means that after the election, the right wing would be able to continue negotiations with a constitution-making body for its white homeland.

Speaking at the launch of the ANC's election manifesto on Saturday, its chairman

Thabo Mbeki said any agreement reached with the AVF and the Freedom Alliance should be consistent with creating a nonracial and non-sexist country.

"We believe those arguing for a volkstaat should participate in the election and use the constitutional instruments emerging out of the election to promote the idea of a volkstaat," he said.

The demand for a white homeland could not be met if force was used, Mbeki said.

Talks between the Government, ANC and FA continue in Pretoria today after the deadline for reaching an inclusive agreement was postponed for

a third time on Thursday.

On the talks with the FA, Mbeki said some had suggested that the ANC should "call the FA's bluff, but the leadership of the ANC has decided that was not the correct way to proceed".

After the negotiations last week, ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said the ANC's proposals were not rejected out of hand by the FA. Its negotiators, he said, had asked for more time to consider the proposals over the weekend.

Government and ANC negotiators have stressed that today's round of talks would be the last attempt to reach an agreement.

Govt, PAC down to detail

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have agreed to establish three working committees as soon as possible to look at ways of addressing the organisation's concerns, sources have confirmed.

The decision, taken at a meeting between the two parties in Pretoria yesterday, now paves the way for a possible meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and President de Klerk.

Yesterday's meeting, which dealt with the PAC's demand for a two-ballot system in the April 27 election and an amnesty for the PAC's leaders and cadres, came a day before another round of trilateral talks involving the Government, ANC and Freedom Alliance.

The PAC yesterday revealed it intended to take disciplinary ac-

tions against those of its members who have spoken out against the PAC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Dr Peter Mayende said his organisation had obtained an undertaking from the leadership of Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commanders to ensure adherence to the suspension of the armed struggle.

Opposition to the decision has come mostly from some PAC and Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) leaders in the Transkei and some parts of the Cape.

The organisation this week also got support from the leadership of its youth wing, Azanyu, which agreed to the suspension of the armed struggle.

The announcement made at the end of a meeting with the National Party Youth at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday, means that the PAC leadership has managed to take the majority of its youth along with it on this issue.

Star 21/1/94

Mob forces FW to cancel visit

Potchefstroom — A stone-throwing mob yesterday led President de Klerk to cancel a visit to Kokosi township outside Fochville. (304A)

As 1 000 National Party supporters gathered in the township, they were allegedly attacked by ANC supporters.

Police advised De Klerk to call off the visit, which he did.

According to National Party officials on De Klerk's "North West" election roadshow, rain at about the same time also played a part in the cancellation.

Later, speaking to nearly 3 000 students at the University of Potchefstroom, De Klerk described the ANC as "dangerous". He said the organisation secretly wanted to "replace one form of oppression with another" and its policy was littered with "Marxist socialism". — Political Correspondent.

Star 21/1/94
DP 'is stronger than polls say'

Cape Town — There was a solid constituency in South Africa of all races who believed in human dignity, equal rights, personal and economic freedom and the rule of law, and only the Democratic Party could secure these aims, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday. (30/1/94)

In a statement announcing the party's election action plan, he said: "The recent wave of pessimism about the DP's future, resulting almost entirely from a series of public opinion polls which show the party's support at a low ebb of about 2 percent."

He believed the result at the end of the April elections would show the party to be much stronger than this. — Sapa.

'New local govt system pivotal'

Star 21/1/94

■ METRO STAFF

South Africa's new two-tier system of local and metropolitan government has a pivotal role to play in post-apartheid reconstruction and in balancing local and metropolitan interests.

This is the view of Ian Davidson, chairman of the Johannesburg City Council management committee and the Major Cities Association.

Davidson yesterday addressed about 2 000 delegates at the national summit on local government at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park.

Painting a picture of the future of local government, he said the viability of South Africa's

urban centres depended on the ability to maintain cities as centres of economic activity and development.

"Metropolises are the engine room of our economy," he said.

South Africa's urban areas had a history of fragmented development and conflict. "We urgently need to pool scarce resources of finances, skills and leadership; politically integrate our racially fragmented metropolitan areas; and provide the widest possible participation in decision-making," he said.

"Government must not only be effective — it must also be close to the people."

He said metros would consist of some members representing councils and others elected

directly by voters on the basis of proportional representation to ensure maximum resident participation and accountability.

Legislation was clear on issues such as metro sources of revenue, bulk supplies of water and electricity, ambulance and fire brigade services, public transport and metropolitan recreation facilities.

Constituent local councils would retain all powers not given to the metro.

Davidson said he soundly favoured from a metropolitan tax base in the form of current RSC levies; a levy on bulk services they provide; contributions from constituent local authorities and transfers from provincial and central government.



Ian Davidson ... metropolises are the engine room of our economy.

NP roadshow heads northwest

THE second of the NP's election roadshows began last night with President F W de Klerk's whistle-stop bus tour of what will become the northwest region.

The "bands and balloons bus bonanza" is expected to visit everything from mining communities to township community halls in three days.

De Klerk is planning to meet a range of community leaders and to address several public meetings.

His first stop was the mining town of Fochville and neighbouring Kokosi township. He was also to address students at Potchefstroom University last night and to meet Ikageng community leaders in the Potchefstroom banquet hall.

He was accompanied by NP regional leader and State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter and MP Andries Beyers, who won a critical election for the CP in Pot-

TIM COHEN

chefstroom in 1991 before defecting to the NP late last year. **BIDAY**

The loss of the Potchefstroom election is widely believed to have inspired the calling of the 1992 referendum. **211194**

It was also during that election campaign that De Klerk's public meeting in Ventersdorp resulted in chaos after shooting broke out between security force members and right-wingers. **(304A)**

The full itinerary for the trip has not been released by the NP for security reasons, but organisers say it will include visits to fresh produce markets and township halls.

It is the second of about two dozen bus trips by De Klerk, and emphasises the extent to which the NP campaign will be relying on the President's popular appeal.

AY, Friday, January 21 1994

Youngsters expect war during elections, poll finds

CAPE TOWN — More than two-thirds of SA's white and black young people aged between 16 and 25 believe political violence will degenerate into outright civil war during the April elections, a new poll has found.

A Markinor survey commissioned by Reader's Digest polled 300 black and 300 white young people in major metropolitan areas in August on issues such as politics, security, education, morality and the economy.

It found that although blacks and whites were polarised on politics and security, more than 90% of whites and 87% of blacks expected violence to increase in the short term.

Four-fifths of black people and 22% of whites distrusted the police. Of those aged 18 to 25, 89% of whites and 80% of blacks planned to vote in the elections — a voting bloc representing one-sixth of all votes.

The poll indicated a major difference in support for political parties. The ANC drew support from 67% of blacks and 1% of whites, while the

EDWARD WEST

NP drew support from 31% of whites and 1% of blacks.

One percent of blacks and 11% of whites would vote for the Inkatha Freedom Party, while 8% of blacks and 0,4% of whites would vote for the PAC. The CP attracted no black votes, but was supported by 20% of whites.

The SACP attracted 1% support from blacks and none from whites. Azapo attracted 0,4% support from blacks and no white votes. Eight percent of blacks and 18% of whites did not know what party to support.

The majority trusted the church as an institution over politicians and all other institutions.

The poll showed that over two-thirds of economically active blacks and just under one-fifth of whites were unemployed.

On education, 55% of whites and 48% of blacks had confidence in the current education system, but 89% of blacks and 73% of whites felt schools provided no future direction.

More than 80% overall wanted more vocational training, while 60% of whites and 81% of whites wanted greater subject choice.

The greatest agreement was found on morality issues, with 93% of whites and 90% of blacks taking a tough stand on hard drugs, while 73% of whites and 67% of blacks were against the use of dagga.

The majority was against abortion and would prefer not to have a child out of wedlock, yet nearly two-thirds saw nothing wrong with unmarried couples living together.

Only 1% believed that fighting AIDS should be the aim of the new government over the next five years.

Young whites had more faith in big business being able to resuscitate the economy than blacks — 75% as opposed to 60%.

Both groups supported the need for a growing market economy, while 87% of blacks and 89% of whites felt South Africans would have to work harder and become more productive to compete on a global scale.

SABC postpones full screening of ANC's history

THE SABC will not screen the final two episodes of the ANC documentary Hold Up the Sun before the election, says the corporation.

The announcement came a day after the Broadcasting Complaints Commission had rejected the NP's complaint that screening the series on the ANC's history would give the organisation an electoral advantage.

The SABC said the decision not to screen the final two episodes "applied to the 90 days preceding the April 27 election". However, the third programme in the five-part docu-

THEO RAWANA

mentary would be screened this Sunday, it said.

TV1 GM Brenda Koornneef said the decision had been taken by the SABC board "in consideration of a completely fair balance between all political parties".

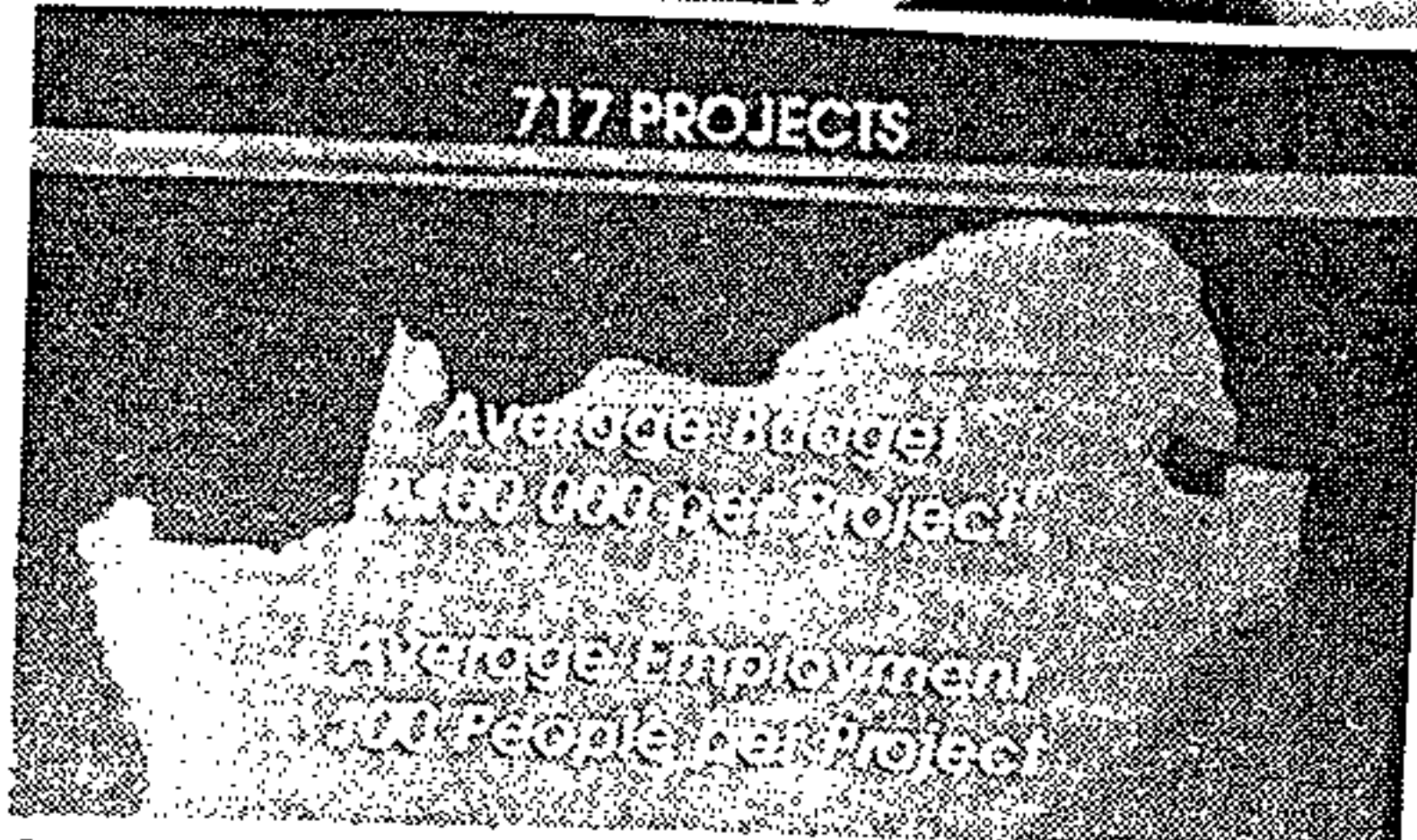
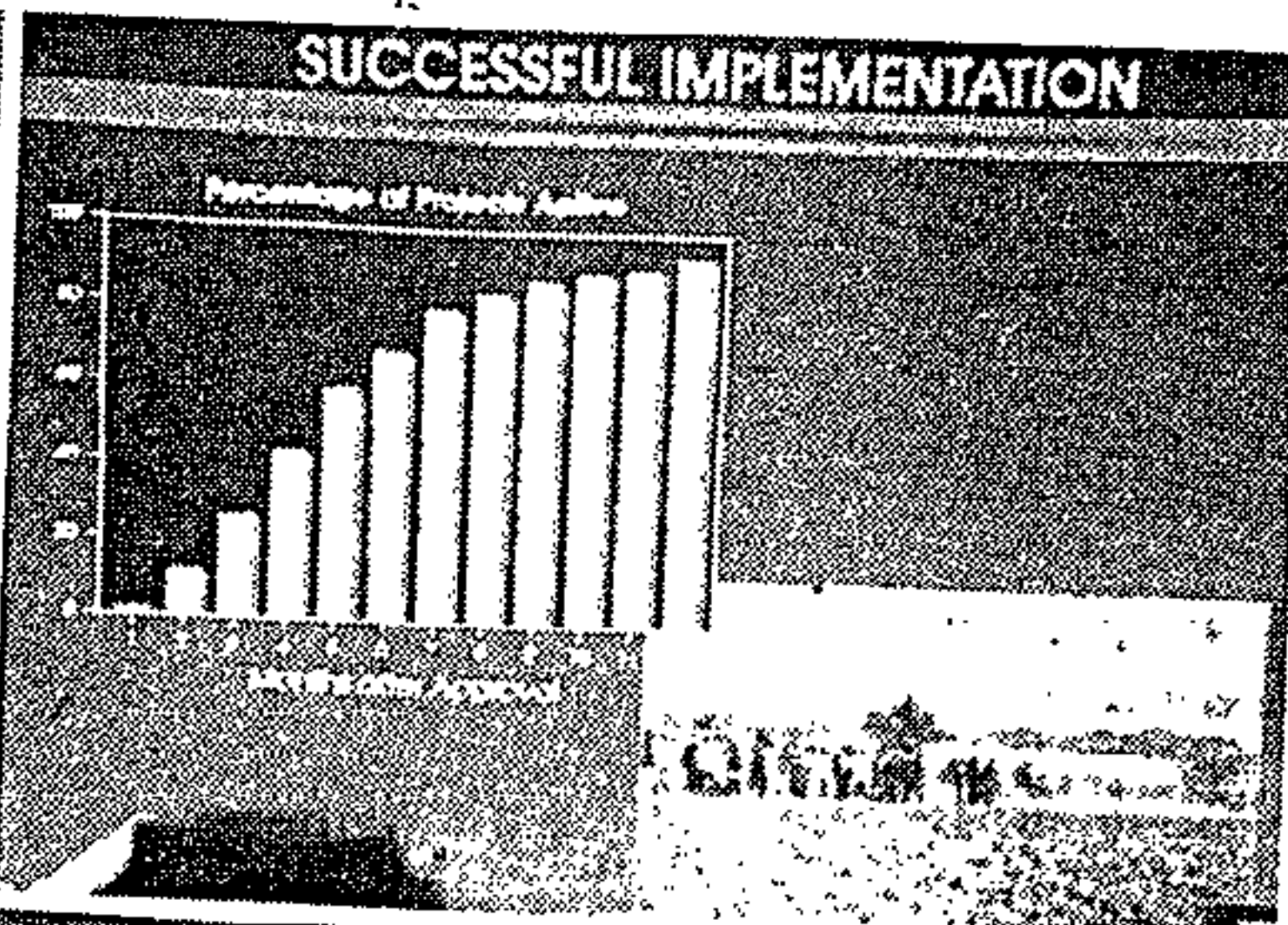
"The decision to withdraw the series was taken despite very positive findings by the Broadcasting Complaints Commission which confirmed our view that this is a historical documentary programme depict-

ing the full black liberation struggle and an important contribution to the levelling of the playing field."

She said the commission had accepted TV1's intention to broadcast a panel discussion programme to allow different views to be expressed about Hold up the Sun after the final episode was screened.

TV1 would rescreen all five episodes after the election, she said.

The NP said the fact that the SABC board had backed down on the programme showed it was giving preferential treatment to the ANC.



Prof Lieb Loots of the University of the Western Cape and IDT development director Sholto Cross address a news briefing in Johannesburg yesterday on the progress of IDT rural development projects and future plans.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

Parties strive to beat talks deadline

BILLY PADDOCK 21/11/94

THE ANC, government and the Freedom Alliance worked hard to find an agreement yesterday as Monday's deadline loomed to amend the constitution to the alliance's satisfaction (204A) (304A).

The parties will continue talks today.

The committee was set up on Wednesday following a round of successful talks between chief negotiators on how to tackle the six demands of the alliance.

These are the provisions relating to the autonomy of regions, the double ballot and self-determination.

Sources said yesterday that the four issues relating to regional autonomy could "probably be resolved". But there were strong question marks over the double ballot and self-determination, particularly in the form that the CP wanted.

A government spokesman said the chief negotiators might meet again tonight to look at the progress of the trilateral technical committee, set up this week to deal with the matter. They would meet again on Monday.

At the same time Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi poured cold water over the negotiators' optimism, saying that he had little faith in the last-ditch negotiations.

Addressing KwaZulu Police recruits at a graduation ceremony in Ulundi, he said: "We may as well brace ourselves for the long and hard road ahead of us."

He said he held out little hope that anything concrete would come from Wednesday's talks.

He repeated his threat that if the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) tried to move into KwaZulu territory without the police commissioner's permission, it would be regarded as an invasion that would be resisted.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi said the TEC would be able to implement rulings in KwaZulu territory only by force.

The KwaZulu government would not safeguard the lives of SA security forces if they were deployed in the territory without permission from the KwaZulu Police commissioner.

KwaZulu did not recognise the TEC's authority. The TEC could make "as many rulings on KwaZulu as it likes" but it will not be able to implement those rulings, except by force, he said.

Buthelezi said the TEC's request for the deployment of SA forces in KwaZulu amounted to "interfering in our internal affairs and compromising the sovereignty of KwaZulu".

Last year the TEC requested that the SAP be deployed in four violence-ridden areas of northern Natal/KwaZulu which were policed by the KwaZulu Police.

See Page 8

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chefstroom in 1991 before defecting to the NP late last year. (304A)

The loss of the Potchefstroom election is widely believed to have inspired the calling of the 1992 referendum. (211194)

It was also during that election campaign that De Klerk's public meeting in Ventersdorp resulted in chaos after shooting broke out between security force members and right-wingers. (304A)

The full itinerary for the trip has not been released by the NP for security reasons, but organisers say it will include visits to fresh produce markets and township halls.

It is the second of about two dozen bus trips by De Klerk, and emphasises the extent to which the NP campaign will be relying on the President's popular appeal.

NEGOTIATIONS Head to head

Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi has again cast doubt on the chances that his party and others in the Freedom Alliance will contest the April election. (MB) (304A)

The alliance recently appeared to be optimistic about closing the gap between itself and government and the ANC — especially after Ciskei's announcement that it would, in principle, take part in the Transitional Executive Council and make troops available for the National Peacekeeping Force.

However, Buthelezi poured cold water on the outlook when, on Monday, he conveyed to French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe his doubts that a constitutional agreement will emerge by the January 24 deadline.

The deadline is crucial as it gives parliament time to amend the constitution to accommodate the demands and interests of all representative groups before President F W

de Klerk officially proclaims the election in the first week of February. Parliament is unlikely to sit again after the proclamation.

Buthelezi's memorandum to Juppe sets out Inkatha's and the alliance's reasons for staying out of the transitional process.

Government spokesman Izak Retief expresses surprise at Buthelezi's comments, particularly as they came ahead of the tripartite summit involving the alliance, ANC and government later this week.

The same day, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer told Johannesburg businessmen government still intends, even at this late hour, to see whether an inclusive agreement on the constitution can be reached. Meyer concedes that the process is complicated by differences within the alliance — especially on self-determination.

The difficulty government and the ANC seem to have is establishing clearly the alliance's bottom line for participation. Its list of demands appears to fluctuate with every meeting.

Meyer says issues on this week's agenda include: the powers, functions and taxing powers of provincial government; provision for regional constitutions; the integrity of the provincial structures; self-determination; and the question of separate ballot papers for national and regional elections.

Another issue popped up after Monday's meeting between De Klerk and Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini in Pretoria. Though the king stressed that his stance is apolitical, it chimes remarkably with Inkatha's. Zwelith-

ini, who was accompanied by Buthelezi, attacked the single ballot system, which will prevent a regional voice from emerging.

He also stressed that majorities in the rest of SA have no right to decide the future of the Zulus and that the new constitution is unacceptable as it offends Zulu sensibilities by expunging the name KwaZulu.

The king concluded with a veiled threat: "The ballot box is a real instrument for testing the will of the people, but it is not the

final test. That will always be found in their ability or inability to resist that which they reject as fundamentally wrong. It is my fervent hope that we will not finally face a competition between the ballot box and the ability of the Zulu people to resist and finalise the matters I have raised."

Backing these sentiments was a gathering of about 45 000 Zulus bearing traditional (and some modern) weapons — in clear contravention of the Peace Accord.

Meyer appears unfazed. He believes satisfying Zulus'

desire to uphold their kingdom will not be "too difficult" as there is consensus across the political spectrum. He adds: "Government's approach is to convince the alliance that the interim constitution already addresses their concerns."

That presupposes that Buthelezi and the alliance intend to participate in the election. Most analysts believe they will and that they are still engaged in a game of brinkmanship which will continue to the last moment. If not, SA faces an even rougher ride before and after the election. ■



King Goodwill

Cracking the whip

The MPs who will be elected to the National Assembly and nine provincial legislatures on April 27 will be dependent on party bosses for their positions. Unlike the current parliamentary system, they will be forced by law to vacate their seats if they resign from or are expelled by the party on whose list they were elected.

Under the current system, MPs are elected in their personal capacities even though they may campaign on party platforms. They can cross the floor to a rival party or resign from the party under whose banner they were elected and sit as independents without having to give up their seats.

Party banner

This system has been criticised on the grounds that MPs are elected because they stand for particular policies and should resign from parliament and recontest their seats if they quit the party whose policies they supported when elected. But not compelling them to do so at least allows them a certain degree of independence.

The new system effectively stifles dissent completely. In fact, MPs — particularly juniors (in terms of placing on the party lists) — will need to be ultra-cautious not to offend party bosses and risk being expelled. This is likely to result in even more sterile debate than has been the case under successive ultra-strict National Party governments.

One consolation is that party leaders will not be able to completely manipulate the replacement of MPs who quit or are expelled. For example, there may be a temptation in the future to create a vacancy for a rising star who was not on the original list or

not high enough up to be elected. However, in terms of the interim constitution vacancies must be filled by the next available person on the party's original list.

The system of having only one ballot paper also creates a situation inconsistent with the sort of democracy negotiators at the World Trade Centre were hoping to achieve. In spite of claims that the provinces will enjoy considerable autonomy, the interim constitution does not allow voters to make different choices for the national assembly and provincial legislatures.

For example, a voter may believe the ANC will do best as the national government and will want to vote accordingly, but that the DP will make a better provincial government than the ANC in, say, the western Cape. However, the interim constitution allows for only one choice at both levels of government.

The names, symbols and a photograph of the leader or the leader's nominee of all parties contesting the elections at both levels of government will appear on all ballot papers — even if the party is contesting seats in only one provincial legislature.

Provision is made for parties that do not want to contest seats in the national assembly or in one or more of the provincial legislatures to declare their support for another party, in which case all their votes will be allocated to the other party.

For example, a party with strong support in the KwaNdebele region but nowhere else in the country may wish to contest seats only for the northern Transvaal provincial assembly. It could then declare its support for a party contesting the national and all other provincial elections and any votes it may get in elections for seats other than the northern Transvaal provincial assembly will go to the party it nominates. ■

THE ELECTION

FW 21/1/94

Reading the bones

(304A)

Results of the latest political opinion poll by Markinor on behalf of the *Sunday Times* confirm earlier indications that the ANC is heading for a landslide victory on April 27.

But is it really?

Veteran election forecaster Harry Laurie believes polls in SA are "without doubt" unscientific when judged against strict criteria. In an article in last Sunday's *Rapport*, Laurie says he does not believe it is possible to compile a reliable sample in many areas.

While it seems likely the ANC will achieve a majority in the election, he does not believe it will win two-thirds of the vote — as forecast by both the *Sunday Times* poll and an HSRC poll conducted late last year (*Current Affairs* January 14).

According to Laurie, it is unlikely the polls are accurate to within one or two percent (as is generally claimed) — or even to within 10%.

Nevertheless, the *Sunday Times* poll indi-

cate that the ANC could win 64,4% of the vote followed by President FW de Klerk's National Party (15,8%), Mangosuthu Buthe's Inkatha (5,2%), the white Right (3,9%), the Democratic Party (2,6%) and the Pan Africanist Congress (1,7%). Just under 5% of respondents were uncommitted or did not answer.

It also shows that the ANC would win outright majorities in all but three of the nine provinces. The three are Natal, western Cape and northern Cape. The poll was conducted among a representative sample of 2 655 people last November and claims to have a margin of error of between 0,9% and 2%.

Among the more significant findings were that the ANC has the support of 43% of the electorate in the western Cape compared with the NP's 33% and only 6% for the DP. Significantly, it showed that the ANC could command 46% of the vote in Natal compared with 21% for the NP and only 19% for

Inkatha. The HSRC poll conducted among 2 100 people last October and November pegged Inkatha's support in Natal at 23%, compared with 51% for the ANC and 19% for the NP.

However, following the turnout of an estimated 40 000-50 000 Zulus in Pretoria this week in support of King Goodwill Zwelithini, the polls may be seriously underestimating backing for Inkatha.

The HSRC poll also indicated the ANC had the support of 67% of all voters compared with the NP's 17%, the CP's 3% and 2% each to the PAC, the DP, the AWB and other rightwing groups.

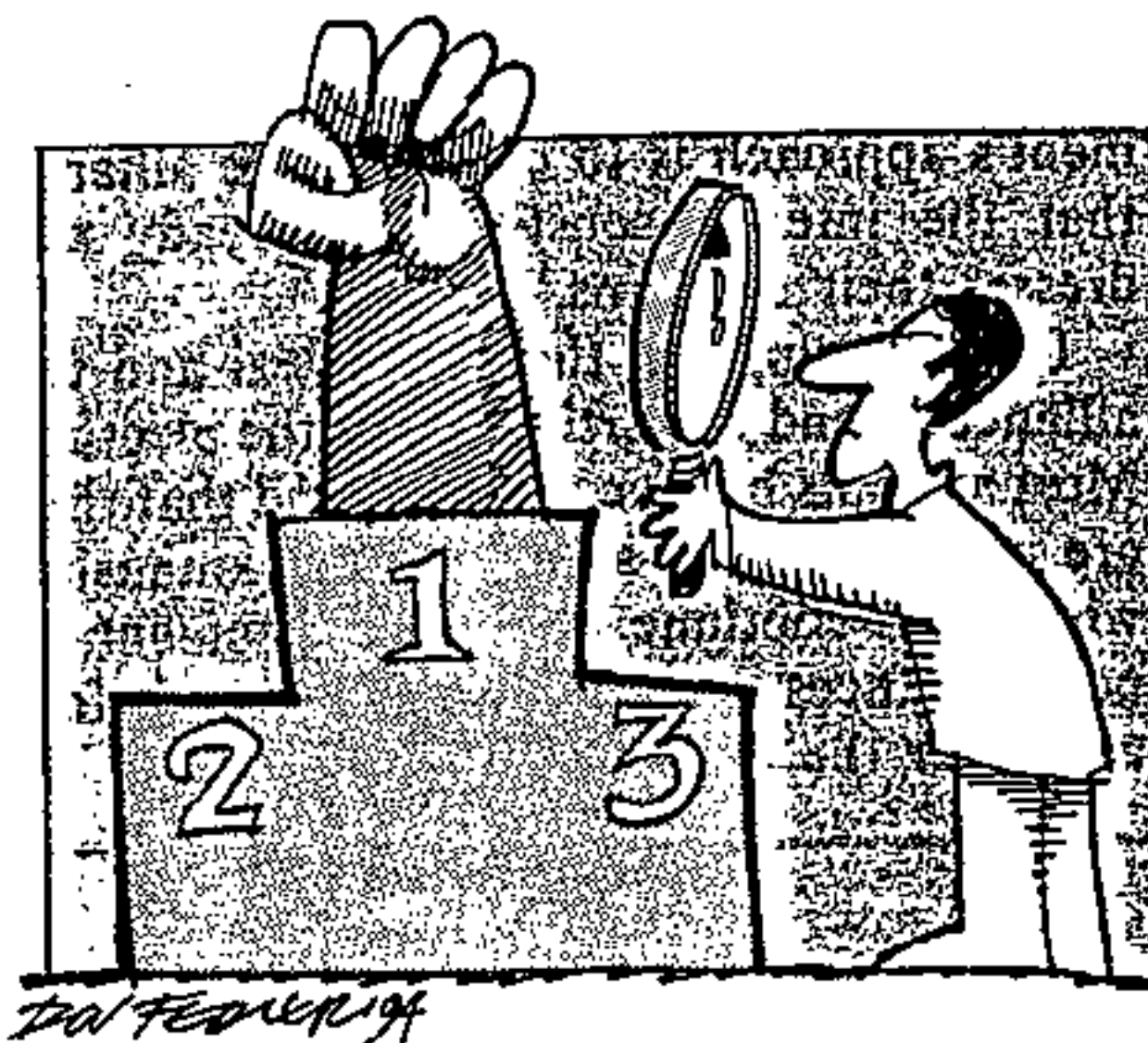
To confuse the issue even further, another poll conducted by Market & Opinion Surveys in the western Cape in November and December on behalf of the Institute for Multiparty Democracy, gives the NP 35,5% of the vote in the province, the ANC 28%, the DP 6% and the white Right 1,3%. The undecided group totalled just over 14% (*Current Affairs* January 7).

The forecasts of strong support for the ANC are obviously good news for the organisation, as it faces increasing internal tension over its election lists. Names of successful nominees were due to have been published after a final selection conference in Johannesburg last weekend, but were withheld after complaints from some Patriotic Front parties aggrieved at being given too little representation.

Even if it does exceptionally well on April 27, the ANC is unlikely to win more than 260-280 seats in the 400-member national assembly and 270-290 seats in the nine provincial assemblies that will have a total of 424 members.

Seats for the national assembly will be allocated on the basis of a 200-name national list and nine regional lists with a total of 200 names. This means that anyone whose name appears at around number 130 or below on the national list and in the bottom 40% of the regional lists has only a borderline chance of being elected.

With thousands of aspirant MPs to satisfy from a wide range of allied organisations, compounded by the need to ensure a racial, tribal and gender balance, compiling the lists has been one of the most difficult tasks faced by the ANC since its unbanning. ■



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PAC and Govt talks 'positive'

Sowetan 21/1/94

NEXT WEEK Meeting agrees to form

committees to take exploratory talks further:

PROGRESS WAS REPORTEDLY made in Pretoria yesterday to bring the Pan Africanist Congress back into the transitional process.

The Government and the PAC agreed in their meeting to establish three working committees to meet as early as next week to take yesterday's "exploratory meeting" further.

A possible first meeting between President FW de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu was also raised "and may be taken further", a Government spokesman said afterwards. The two sides met for two hours at the offices of Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer.

The issues discussed were: Whether there should be one or two ballot papers on April 27. The PAC, like the Freedom Alliance, wants one for the national government and one for the provincial government; Amnesty for members of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in the wake of the PAC's suspension of its armed struggle; The PAC's participation in the Transitional Executive

Council. The PAC announced it would join the body only if there was joint control over all the country's armed forces; and the PAC's participation on the executive council sub-council on defence. Some executive council participants have argued that PAC representation on the sub-council would meet its demand for proper joint control over the armed forces. The Government's departments of defence, justice and constitutional development will, together with PAC representation, form the three working committees.

"The most important thing we want to discuss with the Government is the question of one ballot or two ballots," PAC negotiator Mr Gora Ebrahim said afterwards.

The PAC had consistently favoured two ballots, he said.

Earlier, a PAC delegation held talks with Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee in Pretoria. The PAC delegation included general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai. The talks with Coetsee were connected to the PAC's announcement that it had suspended its armed struggle. — Sapa.

14 Voter education

TEC keeps a check on the changes

South 2/11 - 25/1/94

We've all heard talk of the TEC, but what is this body and what are its powers? SOUTH will look at the TEC over the coming weeks.

RECENTLY the Transitional Executive Committee met in Cape Town for the first time.

The TEC, also known as the "Council", is not a new government.

The old government of FW de Klerk and his cabinet stays in place until a new government is formed after the elections. (The cabinet is made up of the various ministers, such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and so on.)

During the elections all South Africans will vote to choose a new government. The TEC will stay in place until this has happened.

As soon as the new cabinet is installed after the elections, the TEC will cease to exist.

The TEC will have no power in the TBVC states unless the governments of those homelands choose to recognise it under their own laws.

The same applies to all the new laws about elections and the interim constitution.

Transkei and Venda have said they will become part of South Africa again. It is not yet known what Bophuthatswana and Ciskei will do.

But all the laws apply to the other homelands, like KwaZulu, which did not opt for "independence".

The time between now and the elections is called the "transitional period". Transition means a change from one form to another.

South Africa is changing from apartheid rule to a democratic gov-



MORDED BY THE MEDIA: Politicians at the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in Cape Town last year had to contend with a great interest from both the local and international media.

ernment. The TEC is called "transitional" because it will see us through this time of change.

Although the TEC is not the government it has some very important powers.

It must work with the government to make sure that the people of South Africa are free to make their choice for a new government.

It must work with the government to:

- stop intimidation;

- make sure that all political parties are able to hold meetings anywhere they want to;

- make sure that all political parties can talk to people and try to persuade them to vote for them;

- make sure that women can fully take part in the discussions about a new government during the elections and in the organisations set up to run the elections;

- make sure that the present government or any homeland govern-

ment or any government department does nothing that will give an unfair advantage to any particular political party in the elections.

The TEC will comprise representatives from every political party or organisation which took part in the negotiations at Kempton Park.

Each body can nominate one person to represent it on the TEC.

A party that has not been in the negotiations but wants to be in the TEC can apply to join.

All the parties wanting to be represented in the TEC must renounce violence as a means to achieve political ends.

Every party in the TEC must commit itself and all its organisations and armed forces to bringing about free and fair elections.

A party can be suspended by the Council if it refuses to keep to its undertaking not to use violence or if it refuses to comply with any provision of the TEC Act.

Parties strive to beat talks deadline

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC, government and the Freedom Alliance worked hard to find an agreement yesterday as Monday's deadline loomed to amend the constitution to the alliance's satisfaction (204A) (13)

The parties will continue talks today.

The committee was set up on Wednesday following a round of successful talks between chief negotiators on how to tackle the six demands of the alliance.

These are the provisions relating to the autonomy of regions, the double ballot and self-determination.

Sources said yesterday that the four issues relating to regional autonomy could "probably be resolved". But there were strong question marks over the double ballot and self-determination, particularly in the form that the CP wanted.

A government spokesman said the chief negotiators might meet again tonight to look at the progress of the trilateral technical committee, set up this week to deal with the matter. They would meet again on Monday.

At the same time Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi poured cold water over the negotiators' optimism, saying that he had little faith in the last-ditch negotiations.

Addressing KwaZulu Police recruits at a graduation ceremony in Ulundi, he said: "We may as well brace ourselves for the long and hard road ahead of us."

He said he held out little hope that anything concrete would come from Wednesday's talks.

He repeated his threat that if the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) tried to move into KwaZulu territory without the police commissioner's permission, it would be regarded as an invasion that would be resisted.

Sapa reports that Buthelezi said the TEC would be able to implement rulings in KwaZulu territory only by force.

The KwaZulu government would not safeguard the lives of SA security forces if they were deployed in the territory without permission from the KwaZulu Police commissioner.

KwaZulu did not recognise the TEC's authority. The TEC could make "as many rulings on KwaZulu as it likes" but it will not be able to implement those rulings, except by force", he said.

Buthelezi said the TEC's request for the deployment of SA forces in KwaZulu amounted to "interfering in our internal affairs and compromising the sovereignty of KwaZulu".

Last year the TEC requested that the SAP be deployed in four violence-ridden areas of northern Natal/KwaZulu which were policed by the KwaZulu Police.

● See Page 8

NEWS FEATURE Electoral Commission faces tough task

Sowetan 21/1/94

What the judges and staff will do

304A

■ ELECTORAL ACT Powerful legal watchdog is restricted by existing laws:

By **Lulama Luti**
Political Staff

IN a country plagued by violence, a high level of political intolerance and continued decline in the respect for human life, the Independent Electoral Commission's task is not going to be an easy one.

Headed by Mr Justice Johan Kriegler as chairman and advocate Mr Dikgang Moseneke as deputy, the IEC was established in terms of the Independent Electoral Act of 1993. It comprises 11 members.

The commission has been charged with the task to organise, supervise and conduct free and fair elections. It also has to ensure that people's votes are secret and secured.

This includes promoting conditions conducive to free and fair elections and determining and certifying the results of the elections.

It will also be the duty of the IEC to certify what extent these elections had been free and fair and to conduct voter education.

Three directorates

In pursuit of these objectives, the IEC has established three directorates with specific assignments. These are:

- The Directorate of Election Administration;
- The Directorate of Election Monitoring; and
- A Special Electoral Court (SEC).

The SEC will comprise five members chaired by a judge of the Appeal Court and two judges of the Supreme Court to be appointed by the Chief Justice.

The fourth member will be an advocate-magistrate-academic lawyer-attorney and the fifth member, not necessarily legally trained, will be appointed by the Transitional Executive Council.

The SEC will have the power to remove members of the IEC from office, to hear appeals against and review decisions of any electoral appeal tribunals.

It will also have the power to review any decision by the IEC, but in regard to how the decision in question relates to the interpretation of law.

The chairman of the SEC will decide whether or not to hear any appeal and all matters must be dealt with within three days of that decision.

Also provided for in the Electoral Act is the establishment of electoral tribunals (ETs), whose main function will be to adjudicate and to decide on alleged electoral irregularities.

These tribunals will be presided over by an attorney or an advocate, or a magistrate, or an academic lawyer with five years experience.

There will also be electoral appeal tribunals (EATs) to hear appeals from the ETs. The EATs will have the power to review, confirm or overturn ET decisions and sanctions.

Of notable importance, the Electoral Act also empowers the IEC to make regulations regarding the nature and content of political advertising and to enforce these together with the Independent Media Commission.

The IEC has been broadly empowered

‘The IEC has been broadly empowered to make regulations on the conduct of all persons, parties and candidates where it either promotes or hinders a free and fair election’

to make regulations on the conduct of all persons, parties and candidates where it either promotes or hinders a free and fair election, or any matter required or permitted to be prescribed in terms of the Act.

Criminal breaches of the various provisions in this section carry fines or jail terms of up to two years.

The primary roles of the Election Monitoring Directorate are to:

- Appoint monitors and their functions;
- Register and regulate observers;
- Facilitate the role of international observers;
- Investigate infringement of the Electoral Code of Conduct or any breach of the laws governing the election;
- In conjunction with the police and the National Peace Keeping Force, issue search warrants, subpoenas, and seize items, pursuant to the investigation of alleged offences;
- Mediate in disputes between political parties; and
- Issue warnings on possible infringements of the rules governing the election.

Identity documents

Among the issues that the Election Administration Directorate will look at include, determining the number of voters, co-ordination with the Home Affairs Department on the issuing of identity documents, planning for the identification of voting stations.

The IEC asserts that its planned voter education programme will not be a duplication of existing ones.

Its focus will be on co-operation with organisations currently involved in voter education. To this effect, the commission will provide IEC-approved material to be used in such projects.

Speaking to newsmen this week, Mr Justice Kriegler pointed out that the IEC did not have powers to stop those campaigning against the elections from doing so.

These campaigns, however, should not be in contravention of the provisions of the Electoral Act.

Citing Bophuthatswana as an example, he said the IEC would not have the power to forcefully go into the homeland should it proceed with its position of non-participation in the elections.

However, the IEC has come up with contingency plans for those Bop citizens who would want to vote. These plans include the provision of polling stations outside the homeland where such citizens would be able to cast their votes.

Commission cast

The Independent Electoral Commission

Chairman: Mr Justice Johann Kriegler

Deputy chairman: Advocate Dikgang Moseneke

Special Electoral Court member judges

Judge I Mahomed

Advocate Jan Heunis

Judge JW Smalberger

Judge JM Diddcott

Judge PJ van der Walt

The Independent Media Commission

Chairman: Judge J Trengove

Commission members

Namane Magua

Raymond Louw

Willem de Klerk

Jenny Malan

Zubelda Jaffa

Libby Lloyd

Countdown to elections begins

Sowetan

21/1/94

By Political Staff

■ CAMPAIGN KICK-OFF Parties

will announce their lists next week:

(304A)

POLITICAL PARTIES across the spectrum have launched their election campaigns with others poised to announce their parliamentary candidates next week.

The African National Congress and Pan Africanist Congress have indicated their election lists will be made public between next Tuesday and Thursday at the latest.

On the other hand, the leadership of the Azanian People's Organisation meets in Cape Town today for a two-day meeting.

Meanwhile, senior-members of the Black Consciousness Movement are to address at least seven rallies and workshops countrywide.

The main focus of the BCM strategic planning session will be to consolidate the organisation's anti-election campaign, according to national organiser Mr Fundile Mafongosi.

The rallies include a demonstration

against Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer at the Eldorado Park Civic Centre at 3pm tomorrow.

Other rallies are planned at Pietersburg's Workers Centre at 10am; Zamdela Community Hall, Vaal at 2pm; Njoli Square, Kwazakhele, Eastern Cape, at 10am; Pholang Secondary School, Interland Section, KwaThema, at 2pm; all on Saturday.

Rallies

Sunday will see rallies at the Sobantu Lutheran Church in Natal at 2pm and another at 13 10th Avenue in Alexandra at 3pm.

An ANC spokesman confirmed yesterday that the National Executive Committee was busy finalising the national list last night.

However, he pointed out that obvious duplication between the national and regional lists would require candidates to choose on which list they wished to remain.

A final list could therefore be expected around Tuesday next week, the spokesman said.

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu has said the organisation will announce its candidates' list and election manifesto by Thursday next week.

Also, State President Mr FW de Klerk began the NP's whistle-stop tour of the proposed nine regions yesterday to boost the party's election campaign.

The NP holds its federal congress on February 2 at the end of which it is expected to announce its manifesto and list.

FW: Cut ANC down to size

(304A) Own Correspondent

CT 21/1/94

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk told Potchefstroom University students last night that they must cut the ANC "down to size".

He accused the ANC of disrupting schools and causing hundreds of thousands of black scholars to fail their exams.

The first-year students, who were given the option of attending the meeting, gave Mr De Klerk a standing ovation while one black student promised the university's continuous support for "you and your party".

De Klerk said the NP could still become the biggest party if it could convince undecided people to vote for it and gain the support of those who said they were ANC members but didn't believe in the party's ideas.

He sharply criticised the ANC's reconstruction and development conference proposals, describing them as the same policies that bankrupted half the world.

Of the CP, he said although its policy sounded good, it could never work, and those students with an emotional attachment to the idea of a volkstaat should have the courage to face facts.

Mr De Klerk is planning to meet a range of community leaders and to address several public meetings over the next three days, including visits to fresh produce markets and township halls.

Gaye Davis

A WESTERN Cape Democratic Party leader suspended for alleged financial malpractice now faces damaging new claims — that he once worked for the security police.

Articulate and energetic, Jeffrey Leonard founded the Atlantis branch of the DP and was elected to the DP's regional executive in August last year. He was seen and heard at DP meetings, and one looks around for coloured people who are seen and heard. DP Western Cape leader Henrie Bester said this week.

"We became a bit concerned on

DP man 'was a police spy'

learning there were several warrants out for his arrest for debt."

The "final straw" came when it was alleged Leonard had pocketed R530 given him by an Atlantis resident to pay off her rent arrears and his party membership was suspended.

According to police, he is now in Malmesbury prison for debt.

This week several activists who operated in the region in the late 1970s said they could positively identify Leonard as the same man they discovered spying on them and receiving cash payments from known security policemen.

Former activist and returned exile, Patric de Goede, told how he and others once confronted Leonard after becoming suspicious and finding in his briefcase documents and photographs of themselves lifted from albums kept at the Kullis River farm where they were staying, and which Leonard was visiting.

De Goede said Leonard had country within days. De Goede said Bester was this week "shocked" to hear the allegations. But his concern goes further: in recent months, at least two DP workers — he declined to identify them — reported being approached by security policemen with requests for co-operation.

Bester believes a pattern is emerging: "I have no doubt that the National Party intends pulling out every stop (in the election campaign) and if this means it stooping to use the security apparatus I have no doubt it would do so," he said.

"If these allegations about Leonard prove true, we will definitely go to the Independent Electoral Commission."

SA 'must broaden foreign horizons'

■ At a time when South Africa has been invited to rejoin the Commonwealth after an absence of 33 years, we should be taking advantage of the potential for other new breakthroughs in international contacts, says SA Foundation deputy director Desmond Colborne.

ARG 22/1/94
DAVID YUTAR

Weekend Argus Reporter

SOUTH Africa should set its horizons far beyond just rejoining the Commonwealth, says South African Foundation deputy director Desmond Colborne.

Mr Colborne was speaking after the recent invitation to South Africa to rejoin the Commonwealth and the visit to this country of French Foreign Minister Alain Juppé, the first French foreign minister to visit South Africa in 18 years.

Mr Colborne, Paris director of the SA Foundation for 26 years, has a special interest in South Africa's relations with France, Italy and Holland.

He expressed optimism about this country's future relations with France, adding that we should "overcome our characteristic national introversion" and look towards not only "stepping back into the comfort of the old days" by rejoining the Commonwealth, but also to contacts with European countries as well as East Asia — "a growth area growing at a record-breaking pace".

Mr Colborne said South Africans should "be delighted about rejoining the old club since South Africa at the time of Smuts was instrumental in establishing the Commonwealth in the first place".

"But without undervaluing the Commonwealth we should be imaginative and broaden our horizons.

"New clubs and new blocks" had come into existence in the world since we were ejected from the Commonwealth in 1961."

On his recent visit foreign minister Juppé invited South Africa to participate in the Franco-African summit in Paris in November.

Recently a group called *Patronat* representing 15 million French companies and members of the Paris Chamber of Commerce "with a multi-million rand budget" visited this country.

Alliance urged
to enter final

talks with 'give
and take' spirit

ESTHER WAUGH

Weekend Argus Political Staff

(30/4/94) ARG 22/1/94

AFRICAN National Congress leader Nelson Mandela has appealed to the Freedom Alliance to approach the last-ditch negotiations with "a serious spirit of give and take."

He said solutions acceptable to all South Africans should be found.

"We take the demands they have presented very seriously. We are determined to address them to the best of our ability."

"We therefore take the negotiations very seriously and approach them with an open mind to find mutually acceptable solutions," he told the ANC conference on reconstruction and development.

The three-day conference which began yesterday in Johannesburg, will be the organisation's last major conference before the April election.

Mr Mandela said an election victory would enable the ANC to "take a great leap forward".

"But this will be a dangerous leap unless we have the vision, the programmatic framework, the strength and the will to bring about fundamental change," he warned.

Mr Mandela said the greater the ANC's victory in the election, the better would its capacity be to transform the country. But, he added, that the more decisive the victory, the more violent the resistance would be to change.

He said the ANC's Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) needed more work but had laid the basis for far-reaching change.

Mr Mandela added: "The reality, however, is that as much as our political liberation was not easy to achieve, (it will also) not be an easy walk to arrive at the point of the socio-economic upliftment of all the people in our country."

FW warns Mandela



Picture: Argus Group Picture Service
☐ FW CAMPAIGNS: President FW De Klerk warned the ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela for not disciplining his followers on his election tour of the Western Transvaal where he also assured supporters that problems by the rightwing would be manageable.

ANC told to look
after its followers

RUSTENBURG. — President De Klerk yesterday admonished African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela for not disciplining his ANC followers, some of whom, he said, were implicated in township killings.

Intimidation was the biggest threat to the April 27 election, Mr De Klerk said.

Speaking near here during his election tour of the western Transvaal Mr De Klerk said the issue of intimidation was the biggest challenge facing the electoral commission and Transitional Executive Council.

On the threat of violence from the rightwing, Mr De Klerk said he still hoped for a positive outcome to the negotiations with the Freedom Alliance.

But if there was a breakdown in talks "I don't believe for a moment that all who might vote for the Conservative Party and its allies would like to become involved in violence".

Any security problems created by the far right would be manageable, he said.

"The government will throw in everything at its disposal to ensure that peace is maintained."

Mr De Klerk did not believe that a clash with the rightwing would derail the election.

On the ANC, he stated suggestions that the election was about liberation and the NP's past policies, saying blacks had already been liberated and the campaign should be about the future.

If it was about the past, the NP would have raked up ANC atrocities, pictures of innocent people killed in a Pretoria bombing and ANC member Robert McBride's bomb attack on a bar which claimed three lives.

Asked why he was not visiting black townships during his road show, he said there was a problem in townships because the ANC did not control its followers.

Mr De Klerk did not want an incident in a township during this early period of the campaign.

"We are careful not to play into the hands of wild elements by creating incidents that will be bad for the whole election campaign."

Threats of election violence worry UN

MIKE LITTLEJOHN

Weekend Argus Foreign Service

30419
ARLT 22/1/94

NEW YORK. — The United Nations General Assembly has called on parties that boycotted the negotiations that led to the transition arrangements in South Africa to change their stance and participate in the elections.

In a resolution that is a follow-up to last week's Security Council decision authorising international monitoring of the electoral process, the world body also expressed "grave concern" at the threat of ongoing violence.

All parties were called upon to "promote the full participation of all South Africans in the democratic process in all parts of South Africa by exercising restraint and by refraining from acts of violence and intimidation."

The authorities in South Africa were called upon to protect the rights of all citizens to organise and take part in peaceful public events and political rallies, run for election

and vote in all parts of the country, including the homelands, free of intimidation.

Professor Ibrahim Gambari of Nigeria, who formally introduced the resolution, termed it an act of encouragement for those who wanted peace and a signal to others that they should reconsider their attitude in the common interest.

He said the UN must "stay with the South Africans in this critical last lap of what has been a very difficult and tortuous journey towards their freedom."

The South African delegation seats were empty, but Ambassador Vernon (Jim) Steward was known to welcome the assembly action, which was taken by consensus.

The UN presence in South Africa is due to be greatly expanded at the end of February and in March as it is considered insufficient only to have observers on hand during polling. The operation is expected to cost some R128 million, a little less than half of South Africa's arrears in UN contributions.

CAREER OPPORTUNITIES IN
ADT & DESIGN

EQAM

ANC colours cause row at Unisa voter education centre

THABANG CHILOANE
Weekend Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA— The University of South Africa (Unisa) has launched a voter education centre and has found itself in the centre of a storm.

For the launch of the programme, members of the Unisa Voter Education Centre (UVEC) used black, green and yellow on posters, which brought an angry reaction from several Unisa staff members complained and alleged Unisa was aligning itself with the African National Congress by using the same colours as the ANC.

The National Party joined the fray yesterday by issuing a statement urging Unisa to investigate the situation immediately and to make public whether any political party was favoured by voter education programme.

A university like Unisa, with such a proud academic history, should not leave a question mark on the possible of favour-

itism of a particular political party in its official programmes, the statement said.

However, Unisa rector, Professor Marinus Wiechers said during the launch of the programme yesterday, they needed colours that would attract attention and the colours used on the posters did what they were meant to do.

He said the posters were put out on Thursday and yesterday morning.

More than 60 calls were received from people about the posters.

"No political party owns any particular set of colours. It is unfortunate that some people took exception when this particular set of colours was used", said Professor Wiechers.

The colours on the posters would be changed every week to suit every political party.

UVEC has been launched countrywide using alumni students and staff to reach the widest possible constituency.

UVEC is a joint short-term

initiative of the principal, staff and past and present students of the university.

The services of UVEC will rely heavily on the support of volunteers and will be provided free of charge.

Activities to be undertaken by UVEC include the provision of information concerning the election on campus and at the regional offices and voter education workshops to staff, students and members of the community.

Training and support for anyone wanting to qualify themselves as voter education trainers and voter education counselling services for individuals will also be offered by UVEC.

The song A Vote For You was composed especially for the voter programme and is hoped it would be used for the publication of the programme.

Two members of Unisa staff have been seconded to the administrative coordination of UVEC activities for the duration of the programme.

NP tries to win the west

Star 22/11/94

Heat on as FW attacks Mandela

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

PRESIDENT de Klerk yesterday launched one of his most direct attacks yet on Nelson Mandela, charging that recent comments by the ANC leader had been irresponsible and lacked balance.

De Klerk was speaking to journalists during his North West election roadshow, which yesterday plunged into the conservative heartland — but skirted Ventersdorp, the scene of bloodshed and deaths at a De Klerk meeting there two years ago.

Asked while travelling on the media bus about Mandela's allegations that his government had a role in township violence, De Klerk said he was not concerned "because there is no factual basis for his attack". But what did "bother" him was that a man of Mandela's stature made such attacks.

De Klerk said ANC self-defence units were killing people on the East Rand and instead of acting against them "he (Mandela) attacks me".

"I think it is irresponsible. I would have expected him to act with much greater balance, especially in the light of the complicity of his own organisation in the shooting and killing in the East Rand," he said.

De Klerk's outspoken comments mark one of the few occasions where he has attacked Mandela directly, and signal a turning up of the election heat. Other themes during yesterday's plethora of engagements on the roadshow were, however, more familiar to those following the colourful entourage.

He continued to blast the ANC for intimidating potential NP supporters in the townships and for its link with the SA Communist Party. There was also considerable emphasis on the fact that votes cast in the April 27 election will be secret.

The watchword for De Klerk and his entourage, on a sweep through what will later this year become the North West region, has been caution. Visits to potentially troublesome sites — including a black



ON HAND: Schoolchildren hold hands as they wait for President de Klerk to come to a rally on the farm Dwaarsfontein yesterday during his three-day swing through the western Transvaal. ● Photograph: JOAO SILVA

taxi rank in Klerksdorp yesterday morning — were unannounced and rightwingers who might have hoped to confront him in Ventersdorp would have had to locate two private farms where he was hosted.

De Klerk has also yet to visit a black township on the North West campaign — which finishes today — and says the ANC is keeping him and NP organisers out of townships. On Thursday's opening day of the roadshow, a meeting scheduled for Kokosi

township in Fochville was called off after NP supporters were dispersed by a stone-throwing mob — which NP officials claimed were ANC supporters.

A foreign journalist who arrived at the venue unaware of the cancellation was apparently also assaulted, but not seriously injured. However, De Klerk was rapturously received in Klerksdorp's coloured suburb of Alabama.

Cheering schoolchildren, their parents and members of an old age home had lined the street outside

THE Government appears poised to act against Radio Pretoria, with President de Klerk warning that it is "duty bound" to apply the law.

His comments to journalists during his North West election roadshow yesterday follow a court finding that the station's broadcasts are illegal.

The president said that after being informed of the court ruling he had given orders for detailed action plans to be drawn up.

Asked whether he was prepared to use security forces to close the station, De Klerk said he would prefer to convince its operators to abide by the law. But he added: "The law will be applied — we can't allow one party to have a privileged position."

● See Page 4

the local community centre to welcome De Klerk. Having earlier visited a fresh produce market in Klerksdorp, De Klerk felt moved during his Alabama speech to describe the ANC as a "sick pumpkin" — the SACP providing the ailment — and the CP as "sour". He then travelled to a farm in the Ventersdorp district. About 40 km from the town itself, he addressed farmworkers, some of whom admitted they had been lured to the venue by the prospect of a day off and free meals.

Mobile units roam Cape

for quick IDs

■ New ID documents for voters are being processed by mobile units at a rate of knots by temporary Home Affairs workers. Weekend Argus Reporter



Khayelitsha queue: Potential voters wait to apply for ID documents at the Home Affairs offices in Khayelitsha.

HOME Affairs officials are working long hours to ensure that thousands of potential voters in Peninsula townships have ID documents in time to make their mark on April 27.

Crucial to this effort are the department's seven roving mobile units which process ID document applications.

The units, controlled from the department's Nyanga office, visit townships in terms of a programme devised in conjunction with political parties and other organisations.

Communities in Khayelitsha, Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga and Mitchell's Plain have benefited from the registration drive.

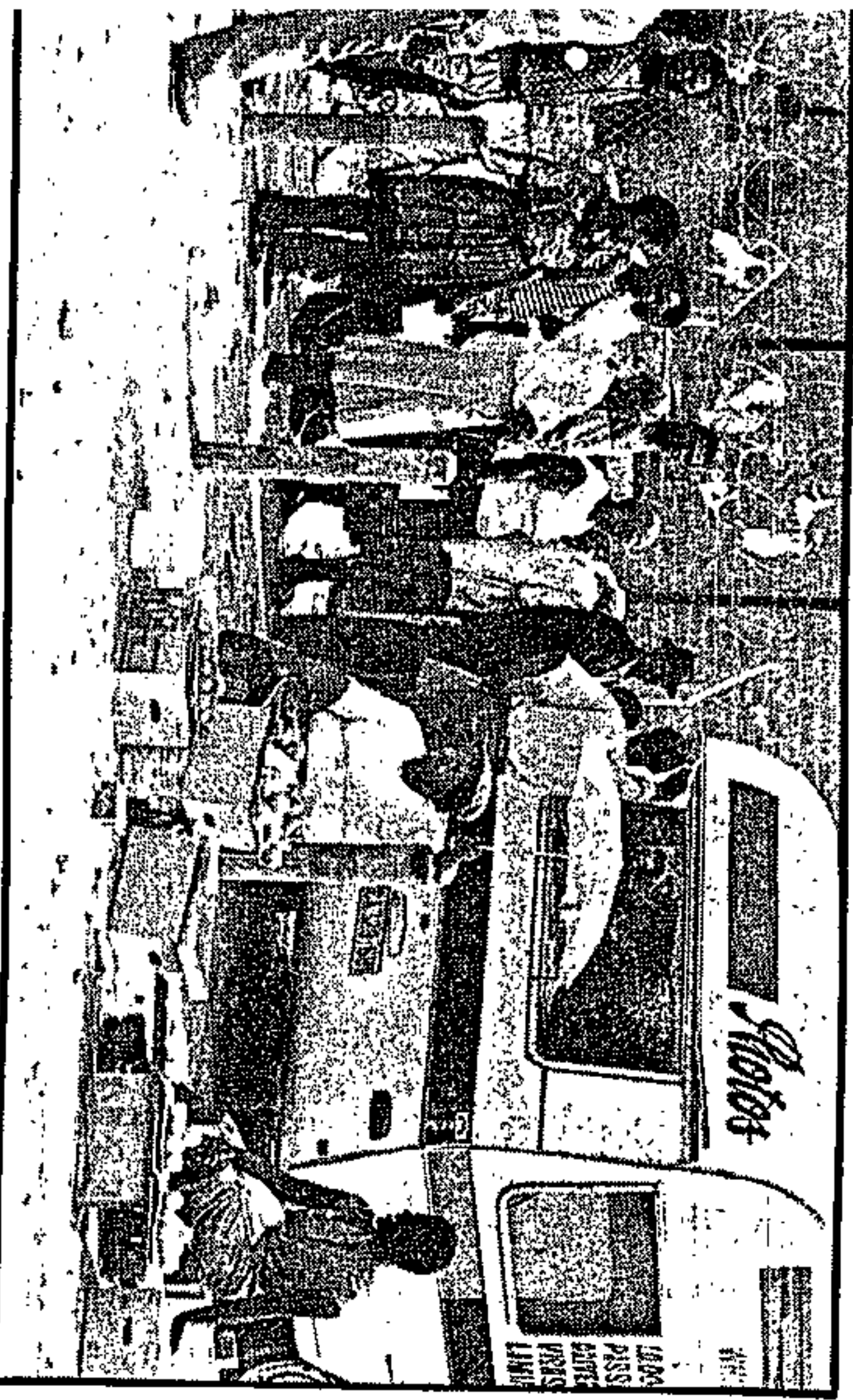
The units are housed in caravans and equipped with cameras, photocopyers and generators to allow for the speedy completion of applications. Each one has a director



VOTER PHOTO: Matilda Gqada prepares to take Guguletu resident Elia Lebeyaya's ID document photo at a Home Affairs mobile unit in Airport Industria.

and nine specially employed temporary workers to deal with the paperwork and photography. day, which means that the Nyanga office receives about 2 000 ID document requests daily.

"They each handle between 200 and 250 applications a day," he said. "These take between six and eight weeks to process. With just one unit, it would be impossible to finish the work," he said.



Mobile unit: ID document-seekers wait to have their photographs taken at the Home Affairs mobile unit in Airport Industria.

APR 22/1/94

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Pictures: DOUG PTHEY, Weekend Argus.

We'll declare a volk state next week - and just try to stop us, warns Viljoen

ARMY WILL BACK US, SAYS RIGHT

DESMOND BLOW

DEFENCE Force soldiers would not support the government in a clash between the state and the Volksfront, General Viljoen claimed this week. Viljoen warned that the AVF could declare independent Afrikaner state by the end of next week and that if the government tried to prevent it there would be such chaos that there would be no election on April 27. He said steps to assemble a provisional right-wing government had already begun.

'Limited violence'

In an interview with Associated Press the retired general, who was chief of the SADF from 1981 to 1985, warned that when the crunch came soldiers in SADF would not support the government. Viljoen said a decision to declare independence would come around January 29, when delegates meet in Pretoria. He said the right wing was considering "limited violence" to match its "limited objective", but offered details. Viljoen said the government must not respond with force. "It can easily lead to polarisation of the Defence Force. If that happens, then there will be such chaos. Then there will be no election." Do you think that the Defence Force will turn against their own people if they believe in their case?" he asked.

Conflict

Viljoen, who remains in regular contact with the state, said the right wing already had sufficient influence "to force the declaration of a white homeland if the government decides to act against us, and



Three PAC dissidents suspended

By MOSES MAMAILA

THE PAC, wracked by dissent over its decision to suspend the armed struggle, has clamped down on members dissatisfied with the decision. In a surprise move, three senior officials, including publicity director Waters Tobo, were suspended yesterday. A PAC statement said the three had violated the party's policy by communicating directly with the media. The other suspended officials are Transkei regional secretary Mfanelo Mkhizha and Azanian National Youth League PAC member Chagrin Mthembu. The three came out

openly against the PAC's decision to abandon the armed struggle and its moves towards participating in the forthcoming elections. The suspensions were announced by PAC general secretary Benny Alexander. The suspensions come in the wake of the PAC's announcement that those opposed to the abandonment of the arms struggle are free to leave the organisation. PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzi-vhanani said yesterday: "Some decisions which might be popular within the PAC membership might not be in the inter-

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By DESMOND BLOW

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Conflict

Viljoen, who remains in regular contact with the military, said the right wing already had sufficient "muscle" to force the declaration of a white homeland.

"If the government decides to act against us, and against the cause for which we stand, then they will have to scratch around to find willing soldiers," he said.

Viljoen said he was trying to avoid conflict at all costs, and that he supported continued negotiations with the ANC and the government - but he also emphasised his followers would never back down.

Although the Volksfront wanted a sovereign homeland for Afrikaners, Viljoen said ideally he would like to see a republic that included constituent states for its anti-ANC allies, the Zulus and Tswanas.

Mandela has refused the right's call for a "volkstaat". But he has acknowledged that concerns of leaders such as Viljoen must be addressed through negotiation and has admitted that the ultra-right is a powerful force.

Dr Jakkie Cilliers of the Institute for Defence Policy said on Friday that while the army might experience problems calling up white reservists, he believed it would remain loyal to the government.

304A



EDYTH BULBRING visited the offices of the Transitional Executive Council this week and found that the first thing the new South Africa has taken from the old is an obsession with security and secrecy.

THE symbol on Pretoria's Saambou building, which houses the Transitional Executive Council, depicts two stick figures intertwining hands.

Appropriate, you might think, for a multi-party body ensuring South Africa's first all-race elections are free and fair.

But it is not. For what is unfolding at the TEC is a secret struggle over the exercise of power. The TEC holds only one public meeting a week.

When in session, the politicians sit on the 13th floor. Journalists and diplomats watch proceedings on screens located on the second floor. When the TEC decides you have heard enough, the screen goes blank.

The only journalists allowed beyond the second floor are those with a special security pass.

But such is the obsession with security and secrecy that even a simple inquiry as to which offices are located on the fourth floor is met with the response: "I am not liable to tell you."

A month ago, before their move to the Saambou building from the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park, negotiators and officials had a different attitude.

Then, they were more than careful to ensure "the process" as they termed it, was supported by the constituency that would live under the new government.

The doors to party offices and the negotiating council were open and accommodating politicians thronged corridors to chat, lobby and to compromise.

That process, which sealed a new constitution satisfying the power aspirations of the ANC and National Party, ended with tears and embraces. But it also sounded the gong for the election and the struggle for power now unfolding at the Saambou building.

Theoretically, the job of the 19 parties represented on the TEC is to ensure no one party has an advantage over another during the election and that individuals will participate freely.

But the one thing that is no secret is that the ANC and the government run the show. Their competition for electoral support, while trying to ensure fair play, makes it a difficult task. It is not made easier by the appointment of partisan staff who jostle for control.

The NP, backed by the resources and power of 45 years in government, has the biggest advantage. It is not in its interest to concede its privileged position to the ANC, but it has to be seen to be ensuring a fair contest.

The ANC, on the other hand, is intent on undoing anything it perceives to be to the advantage of the National Party and is revelling in the power it has acquired through the TEC.

Security and secrecy mask fierce rivalry between TEC power players

Issues raised by the ANC dominate the TEC's agenda but this does not mean the NP is allowing the ANC to ride roughshod over it.

One example was the government's response to a request for names to staff the new peacekeeping force. The Defence sub-council was given a list of Internal Stability Division members by the SAP. When this was later discovered, the names had to be rejected.

Another was the request by the Law and Order sub-council for a critical assessment of the potential for conflict in the regions in the two weeks before the elections. It received a one-and-a-half-page response from the SAP in the Eastern Cape which was unusable.

These conflicts are not made public. They happen on the 12th and 14th floors, in sub-councils which conduct their work in camera.

As well as being an instrument to curb possible government advantage in the election, the TEC also provides an election propaganda platform at its Tuesday public meetings, which are exploited by the ANC.

This week Cyril Ramaphosa, at his most lugubrious, took advantage of a report on the breakdown of community life on the East Rand to lay the blame squarely at the government's door.

Evidence to the TEC on Kwazulu hit-squads, by Kwazulu commissioner of police Roy Daring, was deemed by SACP chairman Joe Slovo to be in the "public interest".

He squashed suggestions by NP negotiator Dawie de Villiers that the Law and Order sub-council would be more equipped to manage this evidence behind closed doors.

The relationship developing between the government and the ANC in the TEC signals the kind of government the country can expect after an election.

The Saambou logo on the building with its one-way glass, refurbished offices and unanswered switchboard is only visible from the outside.

On the 20th floor, where Mr Ramaphosa and Mr Meyer have their offices, the view of the obviously scurrying blobs far below is awesome.

ANC in line to win most W Cape seats

By NAZEEM HOWA

IF voting trends identified by the recent Sunday Times "Pulse of the People" poll continue until the April 27 general election, the ANC will have a majority at all levels of government in the Western Cape. *S Times*

However, it will be important over the next three months which way undecided voters swing. All major parties are finalising strategies to target this vote. *[Cimetro]*

According to the poll, the ANC will win 18 seats in the 42-member House and the National Party, 14 seats.

The Democratic Party (DP) is likely to win two seats, with one seat each going to the Afrikaner Volks Front/Conservative Party (AVFD/CP) and the Pan-Africanist Congress. *23/1/94*

The poll found there were enough

undecided voters to account for a further six seats — and this could see the ANC's position challenged.

The ANC will win four senatorial posts out of 10 in the Western Cape parliament. Three senators will come from NP ranks and one from the DP. Undecided voters will account for the remaining two seats. *(304A)*

According to initial estimates, 21 Western Cape representatives will sit on the 400-member national assembly.

The poll also found that the ANC would win nine of these positions and the NP, seven. The AVF/CP and DP would each gain one post, while undecided voters accounted for another two seats.

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ANC can gain from 11th-hour inclusions

By MIKE ROBERTSON

DURING the last days of talks at the World Trade Centre, negotiators agreed to insert into the constitution a provision that allows provinces to write their own constitutions provided they are approved by a two-thirds majority. *S1 Times*

It was a concession agreed to by the ANC in the hope of drawing Inkatha back to talks. *23/1/94*

Ironically, the Sunday Times poll shows, the ANC is likely to be the biggest beneficiary of the late inclusion.

If present patterns of support survive the campaign, the ANC will get 67,9 percent of the vote in the Eastern Transvaal. This would enable it to write a provincial constitution on its own.

Trailing far behind, the National Party should get 9,6 percent, the AVF/CP 7,3 percent, the PAC 4,8 percent, Inkatha 4,3 percent and the DP 1,2 percent. *(30/4/94)*

Votes cast in the province will determine membership of the provincial legislature, the province's representatives in the National Assembly and the Eastern Transvaal representatives in the senate. *(2/5/94)*

The poll forecasts the ANC will get 21 of the 30 seats in the provincial legislature. The NP will get three, the AVF/CP and PAC two each and the IFP one. Undecided voters will determine the allocation of the remaining seat.

Members of the legislature will elect 10 senators to represent the province in Parliament. The ANC can expect to get seven senators and the NP, AVF/CP and PAC one each.

Fourteen members of the National Assembly will be elected from Eastern Transvaal party lists.

If patterns of support shown in the poll persist, the ANC will get 10 of these seats and the NP, AVF/CP and PAC one each. The allocation of the final seat will be determined by undecided and non-committed voters.

BRACHED for the SITUES 23/1/94 BATTLOT

By CARMEL RICKARD

NO wonder Judge Johann Kriegler wears a neck brace — as chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission he needs all the support he can get. He wears the brace for an intermittent spine problem, but the image is apt.

From its World Trade Centre headquarters, the IEC and its staff must reach across the country, co-ordinating, monitoring, training and setting in place all the structures essential for the election.

To do so, the IEC has been given extensive powers. But perhaps none is as important as its power to declare whether the elections have been “substantially free and fair”. Once this decision is made and announced, no other body in the country has the legal power to challenge or overturn it.

If its decision approving the election, or ruling that it was not “substantially free and fair”, is to gain wide acceptance

**‘Free and fair’
are the key words
in commission’s
intricate brief**

for the election, it must be obvious.



The commission must ensure a reputation for scrupulous fairness.

That, no doubt, is one reason Judge Kriegler was chosen to chair the IEC. During his career at the Bar he accepted cases from all corners, with an advocate's practice that was even more politically varied than usual.

For example, he mounted a highly successful defence of Breyten Breytenbach, then charged with terrorism for allegedly trying to escape from jail. Just as spirited was his successful defence of Eugene Terre-Blanche, also on terrorism charges.

Now he must ensure that no one — from Breytenbach to Terre-Blanche — can find any reason to challenge the impartiality of the electoral process.

Ten other IEC commissioners serve with Judge Kriegler. They must act independently regardless of their personal opinions; they must work full-time for the commission, giving up their normal work for the duration of the IEC's life. And after the elections they may not accept political office in the new parliament.

The five full-time international observers who will also join the IEC face similar restraints. Considering the commissioners' power over the process, the reason

for example, they must administer the new State Electoral Fund, intended to be shared equally among the significant parties to help with their campaigns. To qualify for part of the fund, parties must prove they have at least two percent public support. The IEC must scrutinise the opinion polls on which the parties base their claims of support and, if necessary, organise its own opinion poll.

Alternatively, parties can ask for funds if they produce the signatures of 10 000 supporters — but they will receive only half the amount given to parties with the proven backing of at least two percent.

The IEC must also ensure that the vote is secret, protecting the privacy of both individuals and communities. Judge Kriegler has given an undertaking that it will not be possible to identify how the majority in a particular village has voted, for example, because ballot boxes will be mixed at centralised points.

The IEC may move voting stations or even close them down during voting if it decides that a free and fair election in that area is impossible due to intimidation or violence. It also has the power, against which there can be no appeal, to disqualify all or some of the votes cast in

LOOKING FOR SUPPORT . . . commission chief Judge Johann Kriegler this week

an area and even to disqualify votes from those already cast in favour of any party.

Among its more obvious powers, the IEC must administer the election, set up polling stations across the country and in some overseas centres, ensure that ballot boxes and papers arrive at the voting stations in time, that they get back safely and the votes are properly counted.

It must register the parties, ensure that voters in every part of the country are properly trained, draft a code of conduct for observers and ensure that accredited observers adhere to the code; train local monitors and liaise with those from overseas. It will also act against violators of the code, which all parties must adopt when they register for the elections.

In all this work, the IEC will rely on the many staff it is hiring and training. Other bodies will help too. These include an inter-party liaison committee where the IEC can communicate directly with all the parties and check proposed nominations for sensitive posts with them.

An international advisory committee

of "wise heads" is to be appointed by the Transitional Executive Council to help the IEC.

Within the IEC itself the work has been parcelled out to several departments including the administration directorate; an election monitoring directorate and an election adjudication secretariat. Election tribunals will be put in place to handle election-related disputes. An appeal tribunal will provide another forum to raise such problems, while a special election appeal court of five members, headed by an Appellate Division judge with two Supreme Court judges will be the final appeal on all such questions.

The Goldstone commission will also be helping the IEC by enlarging its investigation facilities to deal with election-related violence and intimidation.

But as Judge Kriegler has frequently emphasised, even with all this power and assistance, the IEC alone cannot ensure the elections are free and fair. The political parties must support him and share this responsibility, otherwise the elections are bound to fail.

ANC, NP pin poll hopes on leaders

From page 1

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are set to play key roles in the Western Cape election campaigns of the National Party and the African National Congress, with both parties planning to exploit the personal popularity of their leaders to capture votes.

Initial indications are that the parties will opt for election strategies modelled on United States presidential campaigns, with personalities, not issues, likely to be the major focus over the next three months.

According to a recent independent Markinor poll commissioned by the Sunday Times, the ANC is likely to win a landslide victory on April 27. However, the poll found that the Western Cape would be most closely contested with only 10 percentage points separating the NP and ANC. The ANC drew 43 percent support and the NP, 33 percent.

The two parties are finalising election strategies which will put the two leaders in the forefront of an all-out bid to woo the key coloured vote on April 27.

Political analysts believe it will be the party that draws the most coloured support that will emerge victorious in the Western Cape. There appears to be little doubt that the ANC-led alliance will secure majority support in the black community and that the NP will dominate the white vote.

The ANC-led alliance and the NP are putting the finishing touches to election strate-

By NAZEEM HOWA

gies targeted at the region's coloured communities. The strategies will involve personal appearances by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

At stake are 21 seats in the National Assembly and 42 in the Western Cape parliament, as well as those of 10 senators who will represent the region.

Of particular concern to the ANC alliance is Mr de Klerk's popularity among coloured voters. Well-placed ANC sources have confirmed that Mr Mandela will be used to woo coloured voters.

According to the Sunday Times "Pulse of the People" poll, Mr de Klerk is by far the most popular political leader among potential coloured voters in the Western Cape.

It found he had the support of almost 50 percent of these voters, while Mr Mandela had the support of 17 percent.

However, Mr Mandela is the most popular leader overall in the region. He has the support of 44.1 percent of voters, while Mr de Klerk has 37.1 percent.

The poll confirmed the ANC and NP's belief that their national leaders would be the most powerful weapons in their Western Cape election strategies.

Mr de Klerk recently took to the campaign trail in the region, with a meet-the-people swing through the rural areas. So far, two further appearances have been planned for him.

The ANC is arranging Mr

To page 2

CRUISE C

★ Dream cruise b
expensive fiasco

STORM IN A



★ New bra fashion
to business b

OLYMPIC

★ Cape ready to c

HOT HC

★ Met selectio

Mandela's first 1994 visit to the Western Cape, during which he is to address a major public meeting.

African National Congress insiders are concerned about how the NP will exploit the chequered background of Dr Allan Boesak, the alliance's candidate for the regional premiership.

Although the NP has not yet named its candidate, concern has been expressed about the effect the party's front-runner in the premier stakes, Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel, could have on support in the coloured community. Mr Kriel is seen as one of the hawks in the NP. Another contender for the post is Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring. Sources within the NP believe he will enhance the party's chances for victory in this region. Mr Meiring is regarded as being more liberal than Mr Kriel.

Although the ANC has stated publicly that it expects to win 60 percent of the votes in the Western Cape, insiders are worried about whether it will capture more than 50 percent.

Majority

According to the Sunday Times poll, no other political party enjoyed significant support in the Western Cape. The Democratic Party was supported by only about six percent of those polled.

Researchers believed the only reason the ANC did not fare as well in the Western Cape as in the rest of the country was that black voters were not in the majority.

Of those questioned in the Sunday Times poll, 44.1 percent said they wanted Mr Mandela to lead all South Africans, 37.1 percent said Mr de Klerk and 3.9 percent said DP leader Zach de Beer.



NO ANC PLEASE ... but Katlehong IFP youth leader Jeffrey Sibiya will welcome any other party

Picture: MARTIN POPE

Hostel battle lines drawn as poll looms

SI Times 23/11/94

By GILLIAN BESTER

30/4A

THE excitement of preparing for the country's first non-racial democratic elections is passing thousands of people by.

In the Inkatha-held hostels of the East Rand, there are no voter education classes, no rallies or fierce political arguments in the shebeens.

Unless the IFP's demands to the government and the ANC are met, the elections quite simply will not happen here.

Katlehong's Inkatha youth leader Jeffrey Sibiya put it plainly: "We have got nothing to do with the elections because we are not going to contest them."

South Africa's archaic system of migrant labour has spawned hostels

near every major industrial site, homes for thousands of men who left their families in the rural areas to look for work in the cities. Over the years, the hostels were further segregated into IFP or ANC-dominated strongholds.

In the East Rand, they became fortresses to which Inkatha supporters and persecuted Zulus fled for protection when ethnic trouble flared.

The allegiance of the Katlehong hostel dwellers is clear. IFP graffiti adorns the stark, bullet-battered walls and residents proudly wear tattered T-shirts bearing Buthelezi's image or Inkatha's colours.

But Mr Sibiya said he would welcome any political party — except the ANC — which wished to come to Katlehong's troubled hostels of Kwesine, Buyafuthi or Mazibuko to talk to residents.

"We don't have a problem with people coming from other sides. But if the ANC comes here I will order my people to kill them," he added.

However, Mr Sibiya made it clear that if people decided to vote they would no longer be able to live at the hostel.

Few residents in ANC-supporting hostels will

dare to abstain from the polls, while the residents of Inkatha-dominated hostels will have no choice but to abstain.

A Markinor poll for the Sunday Times predicted that 52 percent of hostel residents throughout the country would vote for the ANC while 29,4 percent would opt for Inkatha. The National Party would attract 3,9 percent with the PAC close on its heels with 2,9 percent.

But the poll has little concern for Inkatha. "We are not worried about figures and statistics. It is clear that the aim of this election is to do away with Kwazulu and the hostels," said Mr Sibiya.

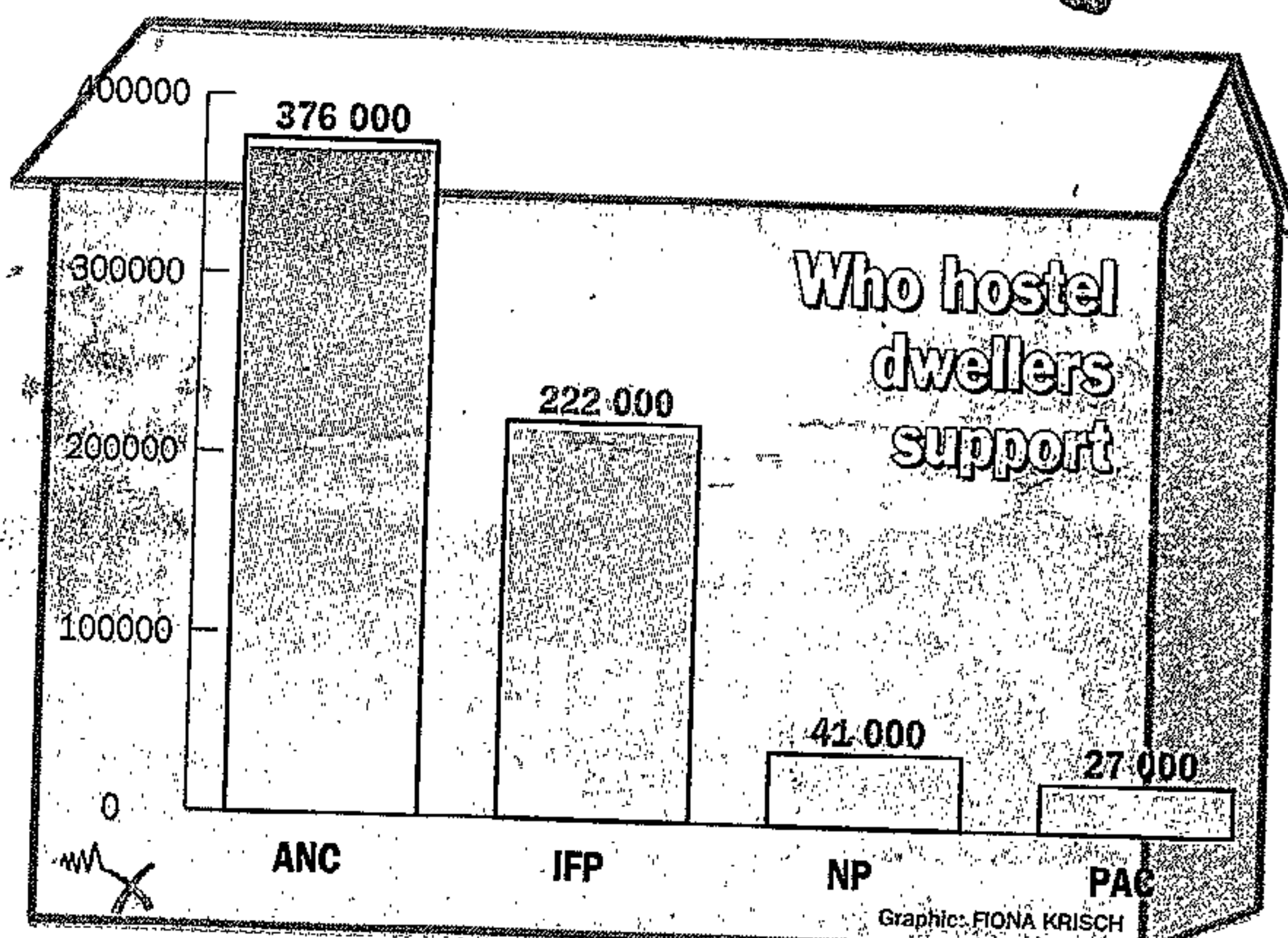
He said Inkatha was making its own preparations for the elections by reinforcing its numbers with trained soldiers.

"All the old men and wives will be taken back to

Natal so just the young men and soldiers will be here," he said.

Only in ANC-dominated Selby hostel, which has been part of a peace plan with neighbouring IFP-hostel Jeppe since last year, are there any signs of hope for free and fair elections in the hostels.

Resident Alpheus Rampau said anyone in the hostel would be able to vote for any party, even the IFP, without fear.



Graphic: FIONA KRISCH

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

THE F W de Klerk election machine coughed, spluttered and then kicked into life as the National Party's campaign roadshow took the bemused voters of the Western Transvaal by surprise.

That was the intention. This week, the NP showed it had learnt its lesson — traditional town hall meetings with the attendant risks of heckling and teargas were shelved in favour of unannounced blitzes on places where hands could be shaken before the cameras.

The spin doctors — those behind the scenes carefully managing the campaign — the journalists and the president's men found themselves working on the same strange project — manufacturing the perfect image of the politician among the people.

But the first stop yielded nothing. The roadshow bus ferrying the media to Fochville on Thursday night arrived too late to capture the moment. It was up to chief spin doctor and presidential aide Chris Finner to inform the media of an event cancelled because of ANC stone-throwers, the rain and an unpunctual president.

Later that evening in Potchefstroom, it all came together. A hall filled with first-year students arranged in blocks and dressed in the dazzling colours of their hostels chanted competitively for the president's attention.

Mr de Klerk reminded them that he had started his studies at Potchefstroom University exactly 40 years previously.

Then he produced a line he would repeat in every speech for the next two days: "I'm not here as president, I'm here as leader of the NP."

The strategy: to bolster the party's fortunes with the president's popularity. By the time he left the stage after addressing NP organisers later that even-



WOOLING THE VOTERS... F W de Klerk gets down to the nitty-gritty of campaigning among farmworkers in the western Transvaal

Picture: JUAN KUUS

FW's roadshow of surprises

ing, the full roadshow strategy had begun to emerge.

The ANC would be visited by the spectre of its SACF ally and the militant oddballs in its leadership.

Opinion polls restricting the president's popularity. NP support to around 15 percent would be dismissed as indicators of intimidation in favour of

"our research" which proved the NP could win an election.

And then the president would reach out personally at the end of his speech with the emotional appeal: "Here is my hand — take it."

On a dusty street in Krugersdorp's coloured area of Alabama, a woman shook

his hand and then held up her own to her friends and shrieked: "I'm not going to wash it. How can I wash it now?"

But exactly how many of the schoolchildren, farm workers, teachers and housewives who touched the president would be moved to vote for the NP on April 27 remained un-

certain. The spontaneous eruption of joyous support for Mr de Klerk in Alabama confirmed opinion poll findings that the NP would dominate the coloured vote, but confusing signs were to come.

One planned gathering of a few thousand farm workers on the farm

Dwarsfontein outside Krugersdorp looked like a picture-perfect party rally, but underlying the apparent revelry were sinister suggestions of press-gauging.

The few workers who talked freely told journalists they were given the day off, promised a free meal and transported to

the venue. Half a dozen of the farmers at the event were CP supporters, there because they would rather have their workers join the NP than the ANC, said defeated CP MP Andries Beyers.

Later, on the media bus, the president was asked if ANC president Nelson Mandela would have the same sort of access to voters on farms.

"First, he would have to find an ANC farmer to help him," Mr de Klerk beamed mischievously.

The president's mirth was soon to be cut short. His next stop, on the farm of long-time party supporter Helmut Stacker, proved a roadshow disaster.

In place of cries of "Viva De Klerk" were uncompromising stares and faces set in resignation.

DP chiefs in merger talks

304A

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC Party officials are engaged in talks with a group calling itself the Liberal Voice with a view to forming an alliance to fight the April 27 elections.

The Liberal Voice, a group of about 50 people lead by Johannesburg free-marketeer Leon Louw, claims to be within days and "one small hitch" of concluding a deal which would give its candidates places on the DP election list.

DP federal chairman David Gant said on Friday that after holding a "positive and constructive" meeting with Mr Louw he had drawn up proposals for the formation of an alliance which he suggested be called the Democratic Party Alliance.

The proposals were being studied by the DP leadership and members of the Liberal Voice movement.

A meeting would be held this week at which Mr Louw was expected to provide concrete evidence of this backing and that the candi-

dates he mentioned would be prepared to stand for an alliance.

At an earlier meeting DP leader Zach de Beer and southern Transvaal leader Tony Leon were present when the Liberal Voice suggested it be guaranteed places in the top 10 of the DP's list of candidates. The proposal was rejected by the DP, one of whose members said it was designed to serve individual agendas.

DP federal chairman Ken Andrew said his party had always believed its role was to "build the democratic centre in South Africa", and that alliances and mergers were a feature of this approach.

"However, I think one is at a stage where the people involved with Leon Louw need to provide the DP with the names of their candidates and supporters who are prepared to go public," Mr Andrew said.

Yesterday Mr Louw declined to provide the Sunday Times with the names of candidates or the financial backers of the party. He believed the "people of considerable emi-

nence" which the Liberal Voice would field could bring an extra 200 000 to 300 000 votes to the DP.

This figure was partly based on the number of books sold by Mr Louw and his wife, Mrs Frances Kendall, and the membership of their Free Market Foundation.

Meanwhile, Dr Denis Worrall, one of the three original leaders of the DP, announced this weekend that he would not be putting his name forward as a candidate in the elections.

Dr Worrall said his international business interests had expanded rapidly in the past two years. He could no longer pursue these interests as well as an active political career.

He added that his decision not to stand did not affect his support and loyalty to the DP.

"I believe a good performance by the DP in the coming elections is very much in the country's interests, and I've told Zach (de Beer) that I am very keen to assist in the election campaign."

Tea cups rattle at FW's roadshow in the wild west

By THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Reporter

CIPWES 23/1/94

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk's three-day NP campaign in three conservative western Transvaal towns ran into trouble on Friday when ANC youth shouted him down in Rustenburg, accusing Inkatha of intimidating people into voting for the organisation.

This followed an enthusiastic welcome by blacks and whites.

Youths responded to the president's criticism of the ANC with slogans and revolutionary songs, but an NP spokesman later dismissed the incident as a "storm in a tea-cup".

De Klerk's roadshow started at Potchefstroom University on Thursday, followed by a black taxi rank in Klerksdorp, a fruit market and the coloured township of Alabhama on the outskirts of the town.

De Klerk also wooed black schoolchildren, farmers and workers in Ventersdorp and Rustenburg.

The bulk of his speeches at the 11 meetings he addressed attacked the ANC, which he described as a "dangerous party that cannot be trusted with ruling

our country".

He also launched a scathing attack on ANC leader Nelson Mandela for "making a wonderful speech and preaching tolerance and democracy while doing very little about the SDU youth and the ANC youth who are killing their opponents like chickens".

He deliberately avoided going into Ventersdorp which is considered to be AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche's stronghold. The town holds bad memories for De Klerk after AWB supporters engaged the police in what became known as the "Battle of Ventersdorp" in which two people died and scores were injured. (304A)

He told journalists accompanying him that he was not afraid of campaigning anywhere in the country, including the rightwing stronghold and the townships.

He said the ANC should not be allowed to intimidate people and get away with it. The NP was prepared to "take the bull by the horns" and challenge the ANC in its backyard.

■ The NP has hired London-based electioneering experts Lowe Bell to guide their campaign. The firm has worked for the British Conservative Party.

Goldstone gets more muscle to tackle election intimidation

By CARMEL RICKARD

SCORES more "untouchables" are to join the ranks of the Goldstone commission police investigators to follow up complaints of election-related violence and intimidation.

The Independent Electoral Commission, which is responsible for ensuring that the elections are free, fair and as peaceful as possible, has asked the Goldstone commission to enlarge its investigation unit to take on election-related complaints.

Sixty additional South African police will be seconded to the special units in addition to the existing 13 police officers whose work has won them the title of the "untouchables" after the American crime busting agencies of the 20s and 30s. Twelve more international police experts will also be added, bringing the total of foreign members of the unit to 17.

A joint control room will be established at the Goldstone commission offices in Sandton, and senior members of the Goldstone commission, in liaison with the IEC, will monitor complaints to decide which matters the commission should handle.

Commission chairman Judge Richard Goldstone said the additional staff would allow a special investigation unit to be set up in each of the nine geographical regions around the country — at the moment there are only five. Each unit will include international police experts and independent attorneys. A special mobile 10th unit will be equipped for quick response in any part of the country, or to help any of the other nine units. (304A) (552)

He added that, as with the first 13 "untouchables", the names of the 60 police chosen to join the commission would be published before the appointments were confirmed to allow the public to raise objections.

Explaining the IEC decision to ask the Goldstone commission for help, Judge Johan Kriegler said: "We would rather use the tried and tested units of the Goldstone commission, which have credibility with the communities and the police."

He said the IEC would also monitor security force actions if they were relevant to the elections. "We will monitor the whole process. If security force intervention is inimical to free and fair elections, we will have to deal with it."

Judge Kriegler said there would clearly be grey areas and it might be difficult to decide when a crime was election-related and when it fell within the domain of the Goldstone commission. The new structures would enable this confusion to be resolved immediately a complaint was received, he said.

He said the IEC also hoped to use its monitoring structure to anticipate when an incident was likely to flare up, when retaliation was likely in response to an earlier event, and when mediation or other forms of conflict resolution could be employed to prevent further violence.

Today crucial to bringing Alliance on board for poll

(304A)
Political Staff

TODAY will prove critical to hopes for a late agreement that will bring at least some members of the dissenting Freedom Alliance on board a political settlement. **ART 24/11/94**

If general agreement is reached in a meeting between the alliance, the government and the African National Congress this afternoon then the next few days will see a frenzied spate of talks to tie down details.

But if negotiators fail to find common ground, the chances of the FA members boycotting elections must be extremely high, increasing the prospects for violence during the election campaign and on polling day.

Talks sources were last night generally optimistic.

After reporting back to their principals, members of a technical committee of the three sides are meeting again today to try and hammer out details of an agreement, especially on guarantees of the powers of regional governments.

Double ballot, self-rule are 'key to talks'

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.—Demands for a double ballot and self-determination for Afrikaners are the thorniest issues at today's crucial negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, government and ANC.

Sources said neither the ballot nor self-determination were dis-

cussed by a working committee set up by the various parties to prepare for today's meeting.

"Only constitutional changes in regard to the powers and autonomy of provinces have been looked at by the working committee," a source said.

All three parties re-affirmed yesterday that today was the deadline

for broad agreement to bring the Alliance into the transition. Details would be finalised later.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday there was agreement that if "no broad basis of agreement was reached today, there is no need to carry on talking".

Alliance chairman Mr Rowan

Cronje said he had always regarded today as the deadline.

On demands for Afrikaner self-determination, the ANC says it won't agree to a white homeland. The ANC is also committed to a single ballot for both parliament and regional legislatures, while the IFP and Alliance insist on two ballots.

The government initially also wanted a double ballot but eventually gave in to ANC pressure on the issue.

The ANC believes a double ballot will confuse an unsophisticated electorate which might be inclined to think a second-choice party should be entered on the second ballot slip.

(304M) CT 24/1/94



C'wealth confident of turnout

CT 24/11/94
Own Correspondent

LONDON. — The number of people voting in the April elections was likely to be sufficiently high for the Commonwealth and international community to find the elections legitimate, Commonwealth Secretariat political affairs assistant director Dr Moses Anafu said in an interview.

The Commonwealth planned to have about 100 observers in SA to monitor the elections, bringing the total international force to over 2,500.

Dr Anafu said the cost of the exercise was estimated at about £250,000 (about R1.25m) which would come out of a special fund to be set up with voluntary contributions from Commonwealth countries.

He said the Commonwealth team would be working closely with those from the United Nations, the Organisation of African Unity and the EC.

The international observers would be posted throughout the country and would monitor all aspects of the elections.

Jeers and cheers for natty Roelf Meyer

JOHANNESBURG. — "Bloody racist," spat a black woman at the minister from the white minority government.

"Bloody blacks," yelled a mixed-race woman in reply.

Insults — and some fists — flew when the National Party took its election campaign to a mixed-race township.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer, the government's chief negotiator in peace talks and one of a new

ARG 24/1/94
young breed of party reformers, carried a message that the old party was dead.

It had been reborn, he said.

His weekend visit stirred deep racial waters whose currents will have a marked effect on the election on April 27.

An audience of about 400 mixed-race people, designated coloured by apartheid's rigid race laws, cheered Mr Meyer, 46, and waved flags in support of the party that had listed them as third class citizens.

But a vociferous group of about 50 blacks and coloureds heckled Mr Meyer and scuffled with screaming supporters who hurled insults back. Some fists flew but most of the sound and fury was vocal.

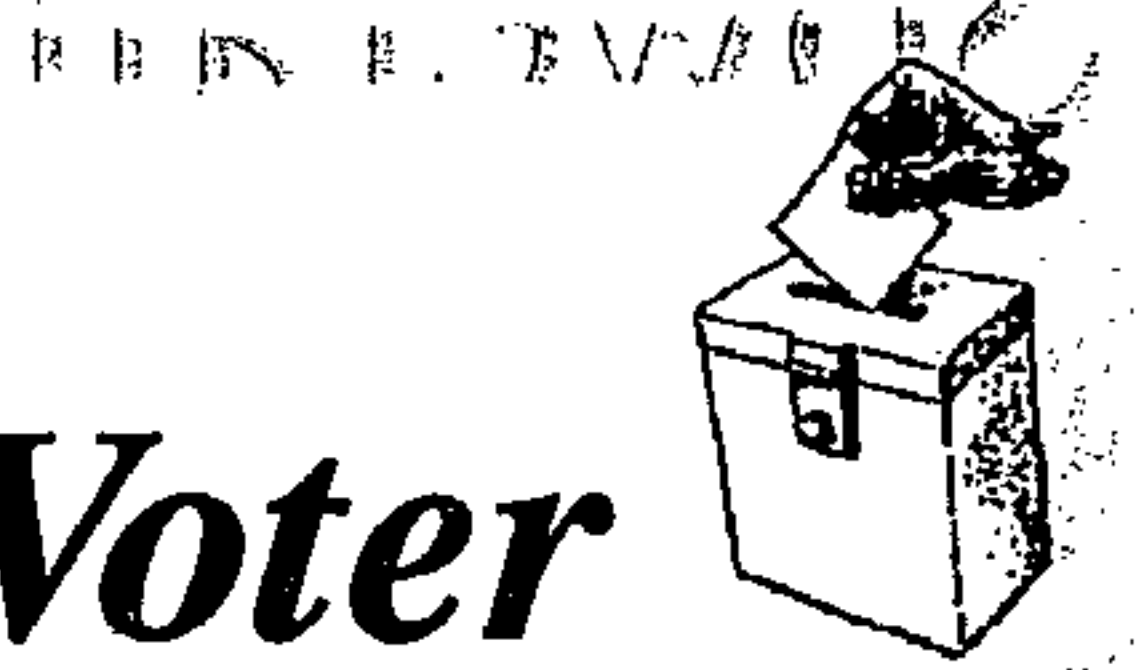
Mr Meyer arrived at the meeting on Saturday in a gold, armour-plated Mercedes, flanked by security men.

In a smart business suit, he strode smiling past T-shirted demonstrators from the ANC and the Azanian Peoples' Or-

ganisation. They brandished placards saying "Voting for the NP is like sleeping with the enemy" and "To forget history is to repeat it".

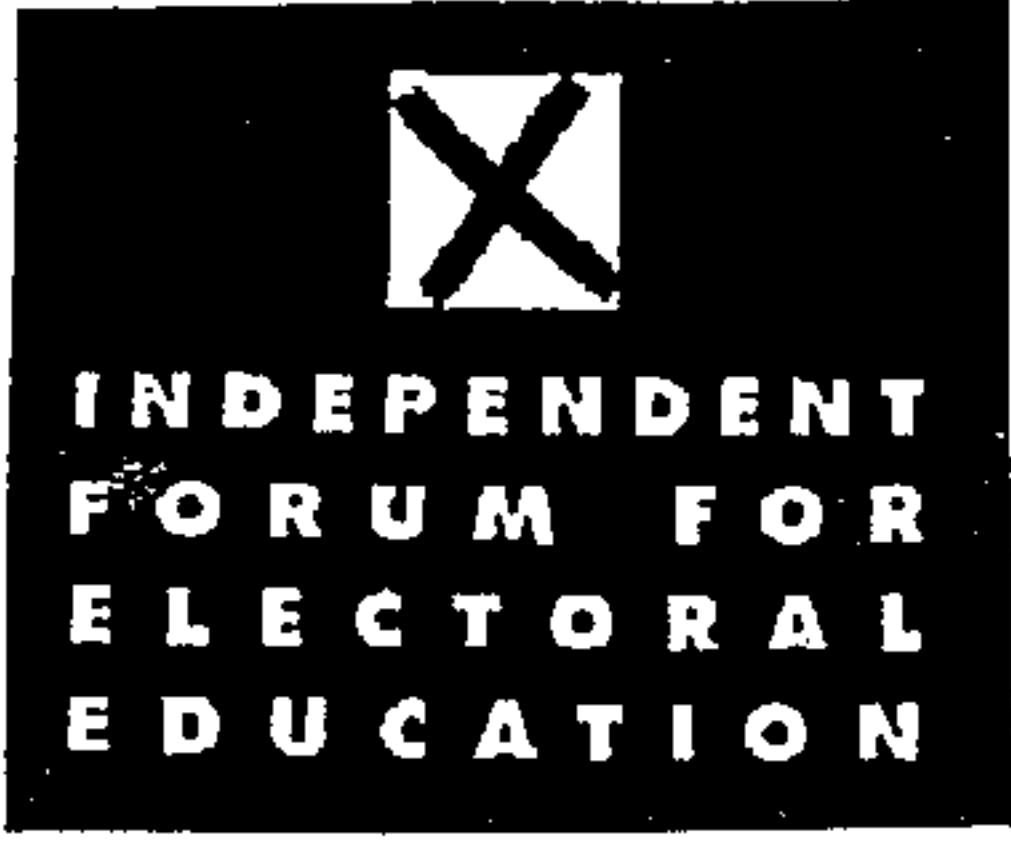
"There is no more colour in the NP," said Charles Edwards, a municipal worker, explaining why he supported the party that once oppressed him.

"(President) De Klerk abolished apartheid. We're all South African citizens now. We're all the same." — Sapa-Reuter.



Voter education

This voter education page is a project of Matla Trust on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education



Sowetan 24/1/94

Keeping intimidation out of the vote

Elections require rules and regulations.
In any democracy, the will of the people is expressed through elections.

But even in countries with a long democratic tradition, it is not an easy task to organize elections: voters must know exactly what to do in the voting station, political parties must stick to rules, the people monitoring the voting process and counting of the votes must also follow guidelines.

In South Africa the first democratic election will take place on April 27.

For the elections to be successful, they must be free and fair.

All South Africans who have not voted before need to know how to vote. Voters must also be assured that every vote will be secret.

On election day voters will make their decision with an X or any other mark on a ballot paper.

The choice can only be free if voters are not intimidated, if they are not forced to mark the box next to a specific party or to attend political meetings during the election campaign.

Most of the political parties contesting the elections have started canvassing for support. It is the party's responsibility to go out to the communities and present their candidates and programmes in a peaceful and fair way. The success of the elections is only guaranteed if political parties bind themselves to rules.

A law for the elections..
All the rules for the voters and the parties are written down in a law called the Electoral Bill.

This law deals with all aspects concerning the elections: only South African citizens over the age of 18 who have an ID document are allowed to vote. Every party that wants to take part in the future of the country must register for the elections.

The Electoral Bill also describes how people must vote, and how the votes will be counted. It lists all the offences, as well as the penalties for people and parties who do not follow the rules.

It is forbidden to hinder any voter from going to vote. Nobody can be forced to vote for a specific party. Nobody can force a voter to say whom they

voted for.
Parties are not allowed to pay people or to give any presents to get votes.

Everybody can only vote once and only for himself. You can not vote for your kids, your wife or any other relative who is unable to go to the voting station.

The ballot is secret. It is strictly illegal to open sealed ballot boxes, or try to destroy or copy ballot papers.

Before the results are made public by the election authorities, nobody is allowed to get information about how many people voted and which party got the most votes in any voting station.

Binding code for political parties
Part of the Electoral Bill is a code on how political parties have to behave.

It applies to every party registered for the elections and to every candidate nominated by his or her party.

The principles of the code are binding.
All parties and candidates must be allowed to canvass freely for membership and support and to hold public meetings.

It is an offence to obstruct a party's attempt to reach voters by distributing information material or posters or banners.

Every party is entitled to carry out voter education and raise money for its campaign.

For their part, political parties must not force people to join them or attend a meeting.

Weapons are not allowed at political meetings. Any person standing for elections as a candidate must do so of their own free will.

He or she cannot be threatened or intimidated into withdrawing from a party's list.

One of the most important provisions of the code of conduct is that all political parties must commit themselves to accept the final outcome of the elections.

Heavy penalties
Every person and every party committing one of these offences must expect severe penalties.



Wonke Wonke (Joe Mafela) and Sis Pretty (Gloria Mudau) discuss election issues in Khululeka, a 13-part voter-education drama series produced by Matla Trust on behalf of Ifee. Khululeka begins on CCV on February 1st at 8pm (20h00) ending on the eve of the elections.

This drama production aims to inform people who never voted before in a humorous and exiting way about the forthcoming elections. Khululeka tells the story of ordinary people and the process of understanding democracy and elections.

Wonke Wonke his family and friends are preparing for the first democratic elections in the history of South Africa.

Depending on what she or he did, the following punishments are now law.

The most drastic punishment is imprisonment for a five-year period or a fine of up to R 100 000 (One hundred thousands Rands)

In addition, a party can lose the deposit it paid before elections or it can be forbidden from broadcasting on radio, TV or newspapers.

Removed from nomination list
If single candidates infringe the law, they might be removed from the list of nominees.

Parties may also be forbidden from holding public meetings, canvassing or displaying placards and banners.

They can also be stopped from printing campaign materials.

They can be prevented from receiving money and may be ordered to pay back any money that they have already received.

If any party is convicted of election fraud, it is punished by losing a number of votes, excluded from one or more voting stations, or disqualified from whole election process.

Questions and Answers

What is an election?
It is the occasion when all adults in a country choose the government.

What is a government?
It is the group of elected people who run the country.

Why are people so interested in this election?
This election will be the first democratic election in South Africa.

I am not a member of any political party. Will I be allowed to vote?
You don't have to be a member of a political party in order to vote. Party membership cards will not be used during voting.

Which party must I vote for?
I cannot tell you which party to vote for. Your vote is your secret and nobody must tell you or force you to vote for a particular party. Even your father, employer, husband or friends.

How will I know which party to vote for?
Look at what the party promises and if you feel they are genuine then you can vote for them. Beware of parties that make promises they can't fulfil.

Who can vote?

In order to vote you must be over 18 years old.

If you are 18 years or more you can vote if you are:

A South African citizen - remember that this now includes the citizens of the TBVC states.

If you are not a South African citizen you can vote:

if you have a permanent residence permit to stay in South Africa;

if you live in South Africa and are married to a South African citizen;

if you live in South Africa and are the child of a South African citizen;

if you are a person who came to South Africa before 31st December 1978 and have lived here since that time;

if you were born in South Africa and have always lived in South Africa and are the child of a person who came to South Africa before 31st December 1978.

If you are not a South African citizen

you can vote if one of the above conditions applies to you.

People who have been declared by a Court to be "of unsound mind," or confined to an institution as being mentally ill or drug dependent, cannot vote.

People who are in prison at the time of an election because they have been sentenced to imprisonment without the option of a fine for serious crimes cannot vote.

Serious crimes include:
murder
rape
kidnapping
fraud
corruption and
bribery

People who are in prison at the time of the election because they have not been able to pay their fines, or because they are awaiting trial or because they were convicted of less serious offences can vote.

HEAL OUR LAND

VOTE
APRIL
27TH

Toast for Burns

By Elliot Makhaya

ROBBIE Burns, Scotland's greatest and most beloved poet, was a lover of women, wine and nature.

Each year to celebrate Burns' birthday, Des and Dawn Lindberg produce a *Burns Night*.

Burns Supper Night this year takes place at the Wanderers Ballroom on Friday January 28 at 6.30pm.

Most exciting

"This will be the biggest and most exciting yet," said director Dawn Lindberg. "We have a supper line-up of speakers and entertainers, all of whom give their services free of charge for the Wilderness Trust which administers Lapalala Wilderness School." The school exposes young people to the delicate and intimate workings of nature. Over 20 000 children and teachers have attended these courses at Lapalala since 1985.

The Second Battalion of the Transvaal Scottish Pipe Band will provide the evocative skirl of bagpipes and drums. Josephine Williams, Mara Louw, Des and Dawn Lindberg and the Soweto String Quintet will sing and play during dinner.

Loads of mythology in *Nemesis*

film reviews

Thabiso Leshoi

AFTER the bit of Japan-bashing we had in *Rising Sun* we now have a bit of Japan-embracing in the new science fiction film *Nemesis*.

All those who enjoy fantasy (and I count myself among them) all the way from the arcane world of swords, sorcerers and wenches of *Conan the Barbarian* to the hi-tec of *Robocop*, will be attracted to at least parts of *Nemesis*.

The film is set in the year 2020, a period that, for some reason, science fiction writers envision as anarchic.

Japan and America are now allies and science has advanced so far in the field of cybernetics that flesh can be joined to metal. In this world any part of the body, including the brain, can be manufactured. This is chilling stuff.

The hero is Alex Rain, an undercover cop who has become more machine than man — through countless



A scene from the science fantasy film *Nemesis*.

cybernetic operations. When he decides to leave the police force his employers plant a bomb in his heart so that he has no choice but to accept an assignment to recover a stolen computer chip containing security plans for a top level secret political summit between the leaders of Japan and America.

But well into his investigations, when

he can no longer turn back, he finds he has been sent on a suicide mission and not everyone is who they appear to be.

At this point the film's concern stops being with the fascinating subject of cybernetics and their moral implications and starts being a bang them and smash them festival.

Nemesis borrows (which is actually a

nice way of saying it steals) from other films, such as *Escape From New York*, which may offend true science fiction film fans.

But if murder and mayhem dressed up as science fiction is all you want, this film is for you. Starring are Olivier Gruner and Cary-Hiroyuki Tagawa.

BUCK SHARP!

STREETWISE MONEY MANAGEMENT

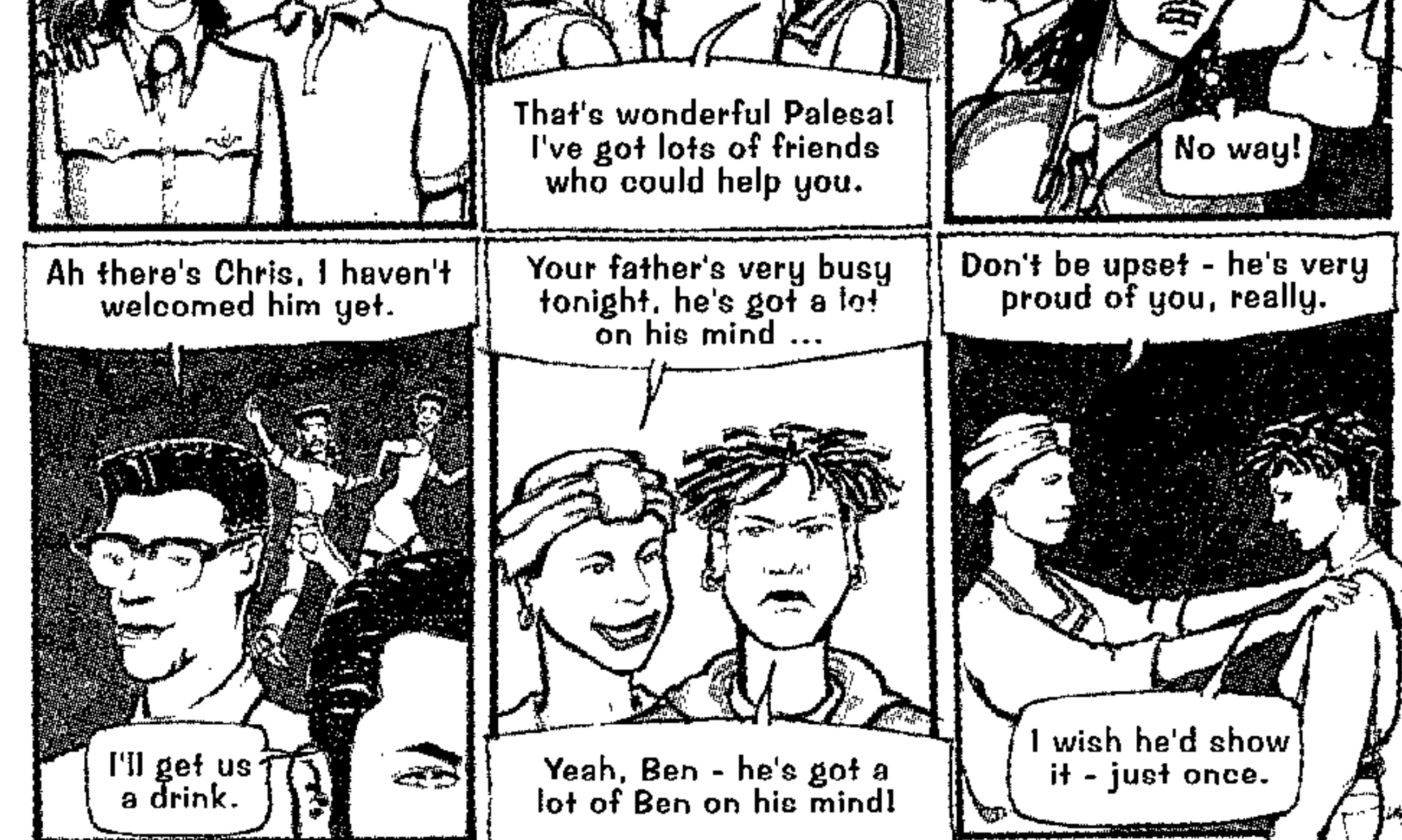
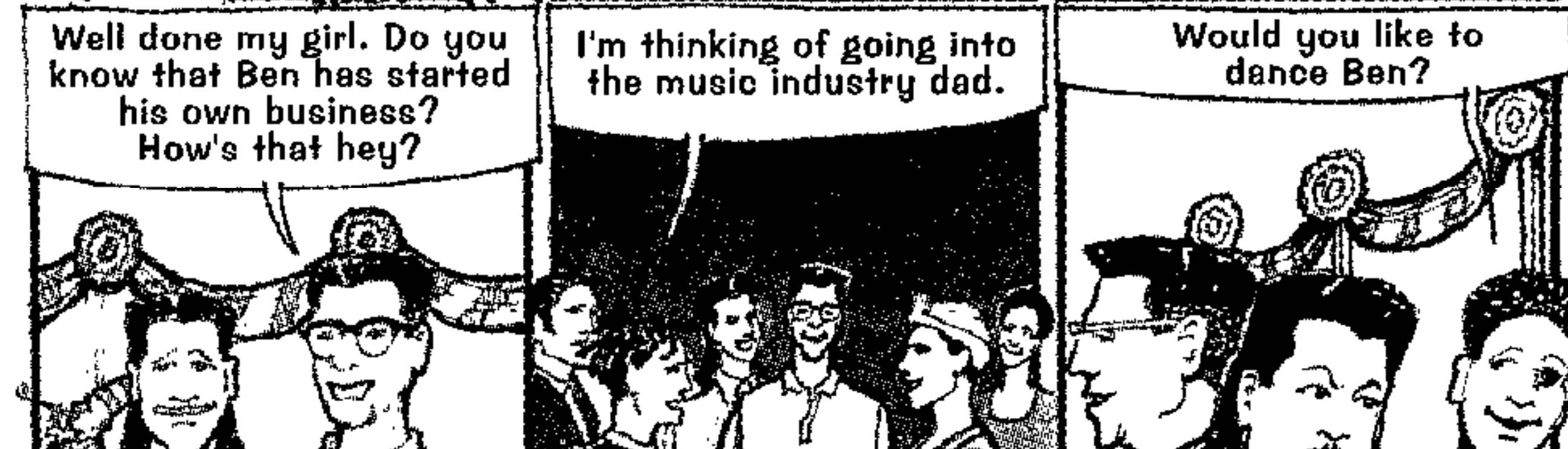
Many Happy Returns

Ben Nkosi's parents throw a big party to celebrate his 25th birthday.

Another community project from



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ANC asks Bank to waive import duties

PRETORIA — The ANC had asked the Reserve Bank to waive import duties on election materials and for access to finrands to buy a building, the TEC heard last night.

DP delegate Colin Eglin said the application, which was passed on to the TEC's finance subcouncil, favoured one party and should be closely examined.

Even if the waiving of import duties was spread to all political parties, monitoring mechanisms should be put in place to prevent parties "stocking up on capital goods prior to the elections".

ADRIAN HADLAND

A TEC source confirmed that the ANC's treasury department had requested the waiving of duties for the importation of goods including electronic equipment, Land-Rovers and T-shirts. (S/DCM 26/11/94)

Eglin said he had serious concerns about the ANC's application for finrands so that it could buy a building in Pretoria to use as party offices.

"I think it is wrong to use the TEC for matters falling under the Reserve Bank and for political parties to use finrands to

purchase commercial buildings.

"Securing a commercial building reflects a commercial enterprise of a capital nature," Eglin said.

But one delegate said the move was intended to level the political playing field ahead of the elections.

The TEC agreed to refer the matter to the finance subcouncil, which will investigate whether the ANC request should be approved, whether all parties should be able to claim access to import duty waivers and whether the finrand could be used for electoral purposes.

TEC digs in its heels on homeland loan

B/DON GRETA STEYN 24/1/94

THE Transitional Executive Council (TEC) would continue to block the Development Bank's R216m loan to Bophuthatswana until the homeland committed itself publicly to free and fair political activity, sources said at the weekend.

The bank confirmed it was still awaiting the go-ahead to pay out the funds, which would finance electrification, urban infrastructure and water supply. MD Andre la Grange said the matter was out of the bank's hands and had to be resolved between the TEC and Bophuthatswana.

La Grange said the TEC and the bank had agreed on a formal set of criteria for development lending which the bank was already implementing. The criteria included ensuring broad community participation and taking into account regional development. (304A) (K)

He said before new regional governments were in place, the bank would liaise with regional economic and development forums on its lending activities in a specific region. A further condition attached to lending by the bank was that no political party should get mileage out of development lending.

The TEC blocked the Bophuthatswana loan after the homeland government tried to get political mileage by issuing a news statement linking the payout to the bank's "confidence" in the homeland government. Development sources were worried that

□ To Page 2

Loan

B/DON 24/1/94

□ From Page 1

development momentum would be lost as a result of the stand off between the TEC and the Bophuthatswana government. They pointed out that TEC finance sub-council member Tito Mboweni's threat to cut off central government transfers to the homeland would be more difficult to implement than stopping the bank's loan. (304A) (K)

However, the loan would not finance day-to-day Bophuthatswana government

spending. It would go towards augmenting Mmabatho's bulk water supply, the electrification of informal settlements and the improvement of link roads.

Sources said apart from the loss in development momentum, further delays could cause legal problems as there were contractual obligations to be fulfilled in terms of the loan agreement. It is understood that the bank has pointed out these problems to the TEC.

Commission asked to double in size

THE Independent Electoral Commission has asked the Goldstone commission to more than double its size to help investigate election-related complaints of violence and intimidation. *B/Say*

Its five investigation units will be enlarged and five more established. There will be one unit in each electoral region. The 10th unit, equipped for quick response, will help out other units. Each unit will include at least one foreign member and one independent attorney. Sixty SAP members and 12 foreign police experts will be seconded to the commission. *24/11/94*

ADELE BAILEY

The SAP and the ANC welcomed at the weekend the Goldstone commission's report on the January 9 Katilehong shooting in which freelance photographer Abdul Shariff was killed.

The commission condemned Mazibuko hostel residents' and ANC members' actions and questioned the role of the police. "Drastic military action" should be considered to combat SA violence, which had proved unstoppable. The ANC had a responsibility to safeguard people who joined the entourage. *(30417)(252)*

Upbeat view on elections

LONDON — The number of people voting in the April elections was likely to be sufficiently high for the Commonwealth and international community to find them legitimate, Commonwealth Secretariat political affairs assistant director Moses Anafu said in a recent interview.

"The majority of political parties, representing the majority of the population, will be participating in the elections," Anafu said. He expected the level of violence to fall significantly if the Inkatha Freedom Party and Freedom Alliance participated.

Anafu said strong international pressure was being brought to bear on Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take part.

The Commonwealth planned to have about 100 observers in SA to monitor the elections.

Anafu said the cost of the Commonwealth's monitoring exercise had been estimated at £250 000.

He said the Commonwealth team would be working closely with those from the UN (about 2 000 people), the OAU (about 50), and the EC (about 100). A large US monitoring force sent by non-governmental organisations

LINDA ENSOR

tions and a strong Canadian presence were also planned.

Anafu said the Commonwealth also planned to run a training course for about 100 electoral officers and a mission to achieve this would be sent to SA by the end of the month.

The international observers would be posted throughout the country and would monitor all aspects of the elections, such as the behaviour of political parties and media reports, Anafu added.

Their role would be to contribute to the holding of free and fair elections and to enable the Commonwealth and the other international bodies to decide on whether the elections were in fact free and fair.

"Our presence will be part of a confidence-building measure to assure the participating political parties and the voters that the game was a fair one. Our judgment does not have to be accepted but will have irresistible moral force. Any attempt to mount a coup will fail if the international community believes the elections were free and fair."

Plan to beat Industrial Court backlog

THE Industrial Court is to establish five temporary circuit courts in the Johannesburg area for six months to cope with a big backlog in cases.

Court president Adolph Landman said the courts had been approved by the Manpower director-general and funding made available. No starting date had been set. The setting up of the additional courts was the first phase of Operation Aegean, a plan to cut down on delays between court applications and hearings.

"At present the Industrial Court in Pretoria is poised to begin enrolling applications for hearing in 1995. A

ERICA JANKOWITZ

few dates are available for November this year, but they will soon be exhausted," Landman said.

"This situation is unacceptable, subversive of the mission of the court and detrimental to the administration of justice and the preservation of industrial peace."

The next phase of the operation would be to extend the lives of the envisaged circuit courts by a minimum of four months and set up an additional five similar courts to operate for at least 10 months, he said.

De Klerk reaches 12 000 people

BISCAY 24/11/94
TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk reached about 12 000 people and shook about 4 000 hands during his roadshow to what will become the northwest province, providing the first indications that the NP intends campaigning vigorously to capture black votes.

Blacks were clearly the target of the campaign, with farm workers being the primary focus of the five-town tour and its large number of small meetings. (304A)

De Klerk's message at all the meetings was much the same, sharpening his criticism of the ANC and berating the organisation for intimidation of NP workers.

In Rustenburg, De Klerk used the analogy of David and Goliath, saying the reason for David's victory over his apparently overwhelming foe was the fact that he was not weighed down with extra baggage. The SACP in particular, but also the unions, the tricameral parties and the civics, would weigh the ANC down.

He repeatedly criticised the media for presenting him as a leader of whites, and the tour was aimed at counteracting that perception.

De Klerk insisted that there was a silent majority of voters that would support the NP if they could only be convinced their vote was secret.

The tour was marred by an incident when farm worker Frans Morobe was spotted giving co-workers R10 each as they entered the Ventersburg showgrounds. He said the money was "lunch money" from his boss Ben Skoonwinkel.

The NP denied involvement in the incident.

De Klerk expressed satisfaction with the tour saying he would be doing at least 12 more similar tours around the country.

Volksfront denies armed revolt plans

BISCAY 24/11/94
TIM COHEN

THE Afrikaner Volksfront has denied it is involved in planning a civil war but has warned that it will defend its planned alternative government structures with force if necessary.

Volksfront member and former SADF general Tienie Groenewald dismissed reports in yesterday's Rapport that the organisation was involved in setting up assassination squads.

He said the underground structures mentioned did not form part of the Volksfront's plans, although other far-right organisations did have such structures.

Rapport said detailed secret plans had been partially revealed to the newspaper, including the use of deadly cyanide bullets in taking over 52 towns in the western Transvaal and

the bushveld.

Strategic points in the towns had been identified and would be taken over in rapid uprisings, due to begin in the next few weeks.

Weapons, ammunition and armoured cars were being stashed on farms between Brits and Thabazimbi in an operation coordinated by the Volksfront, Rapport said.

Groenewald described the newspaper report as a "pseudo-operation" designed to spread false and damaging propaganda about the Volksfront.

Though the Volksfront would defend itself "by means of force" if essential, it was oriented towards "our own kind of mass action", which involved civil disobedience cam-

paigns similar to those engaged in by the ANC to demonstrate the need to negotiate a settlement.

Depending on the reaction, this could lead to a slow escalation of violence, he said.

Groenewald said he was not very optimistic about the Volksfront's negotiations with government and the ANC. (304A)

Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said it was inevitable that the closer elections came, the more extremist the actions that could be expected would be.

Government would not hesitate to take action against the right wing, as the SAP's high success rate in combating illegal activities by right-wingers indicated, he said.

Blanket hospital bonus could cost TPA R40m

THE Transvaal Provincial Administration (TPA) faces a R40m payout if it is decided that all health institution workers in the Transvaal should get a R500 bonus.

This possibility arose after an agreement between the TPA and health worker representatives at Baragwanath Hospital, which sought to diffuse the crisis at a special meeting of the Public Services Bargaining Council on Saturday.

The TPA said it would suspend action to recover the R500 awards paid so far and would pay those Baragwanath workers who had not received the bonus.

The final decision on whether the bonus would be retained or returned, and who would be included in the payment, would be made by an independent third party to be agreed upon.

TPA director-general Len Dekker said the extension of the goodwill payment to all employees at Baragwanath "was not because I think they really deserve it, but just to diffuse the situation".

The bottom line was that this award was for, among other things, excellence and virtue. It was not an across-the-board bonus, Dekker said. He had tried to explain this to the workers.

Dekker said that he hoped the final decision would not cost too much as the staff

ADELE BAILEY

estimated R40m needed was "not attainable" in the light of vast budgetary overspending. Payment of the bonus to all 60 000 staff members would result in a cut-back in the hospitals' running expenses to the extent that they would have to close down certain wards.

This would be "to the detriment of patients and at the expense of the community", a statement said earlier.

Other grievances of health workers and management at Baragwanath Hospital would be addressed by a forum consisting of TPA and health workers' representatives, which would be set up urgently.

In the agreement, the parties committed themselves to ensuring health workers in other institutions did not engage in illegal industrial action concerning the payments and to allowing the dispute procedure to follow its course.

The parties decided on a programme of visits to 10 health institutions over the next week for this purpose.

Baragwanath spokesman Adri Potgieter reported yesterday that everything was back to normal at the hospital with all nurses back on duty.

Comment: Page 6

Commission asked to double in size

THE Independent Electoral Commission has asked the Goldstone commission to more than double its size to help investigate election-related complaints of violence and intimidation.

Its five investigation units will be enlarged and five more established. There will be one unit in each electoral region.

The 10th unit, equipped for quick response, will help out other units. Each unit will include at least one foreign member and one independent attorney. Sixty SAP members and 12 foreign police experts will be seconded to the commission.

ADELE BAILEY

The SAP and the ANC welcomed at the weekend the Goldstone commission's report on the January 9 Kaitleng shooting in which freelance photographer Abdul Shariff was killed.

The commission condemned Mazibuko hostel residents' and ANC members' actions and questioned the role of the police. "Drastic military action" should be considered to combat SA violence, which had proved unstoppable. The ANC had a responsibility to safeguard people who joined the entourage.

Donors' conference planned

LINDA ENSOR

LONDON - The Commonwealth and the UN planned to sponsor an international donors' conference in June or July to mobilise financial support in the form of both loans and grants for SA's reconstruction programme, UN Special Committee Against Apartheid chairman Ibrahim Gambari said at the weekend.

He also said the UN would soon initiate a process of detailed planning of socioeconomic assistance programmes for SA, particularly in the areas of human resource develop-

ated with other international agencies, legitimate organisations in SA and the new government.

Gambari was addressing a conference on sustainable growth and development in SA organised by the UN and the London School of Economics' Centre for the Study of the SA Economy and International Finance. He said the purpose of the planned international donors' conference would be "to stimulate interest among donor countries and

In SA, particularly those of the disadvantaged sectors of the society.

"Preparations will be made in consultation with the Transitional Executive Council and, following the April elections, with the new government."

Gambari noted, however, that while the international community might stand ready to assist the new SA, redressing its significant socioeconomic imbalances would depend on a growing economy.

Regarding the elections, he said the upsurge in poll-

Thorny issues to be settled

THE demand for a double ballot system for voting and the question of self-determination will be the thorniest issues at today's crucial negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC, sources said yesterday.

Neither the ballot nor self-determination were touched upon in discussions of a special working committee set up by the various parties to prepare the ground for today's meeting.

"Only constitutional changes in regard to the powers and autonomy of provinces have been looked at by the working committee," a source said.

All three parties reaffirmed yesterday that today was still regarded as the deadline for reaching broad agreement which

BILLY PADDOCK

would allow the alliance into the transitional government process. Details of an agreement would probably have to be finalised later. BIDOM 24/1/94

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said there was general agreement that if no firm basis of an agreement was reached today, "then there is no need to carry on talking". (304A)

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said he had always regarded today as the deadline. "But it is going to be an all night affair," he said.

The working committee had decided merely on an approach to reaching agree-

□ To Page 2

Thorny issues

BIDOM 24/1/94

□ From Page 1

ment, Cronje said. This approach was referred back to principals at the weekend and tomorrow afternoon they would meet again and discuss their responses. "After that, we negotiators will meet to sew up the agreements and deal with the ballot issue and self-determination," said Cronje.

The committee regarded these crucial two areas as political issues and so they were to be left to negotiators. (304A)

Cronje and Meyer did not see too much problem with KwaZulu's demands regarding self-determination, but those of the

Afrikaner Volksfront were problematic and were being discussed separately with the ANC. However, ANC president Nelson Mandela and the ANC's national executive committee have made it clear they will not agree to a white racist homeland.

With regard to the ballot, the ANC is firmly committed to a single ballot paper determining representatives for Parliament and regional legislatures, while the Inkatha Freedom Party and others are insisting on two ballots.

Volkstaat could be part of deal

New hopes that FA will come on board

Star 24/11/94

■ **BY CHRIS WHITFIELD**
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Today will prove critical to hopes that a late agreement will bring at least some members of the Freedom Alliance (FA) on board a political settlement.

If agreement is reached in a meeting between the FA, the Government and the ANC this afternoon, the next few days will see a frenzied spate of talks.

If negotiators fail to find common ground, chances of FA

members boycotting the election must be extremely high.

Talks sources were generally optimistic last night.

FA negotiators will today report back on their leaders' reactions to last week's unexpectedly successful meetings.

An IFP source, speaking after attending a central committee meeting in Ulundi, told The Star yesterday: "I think we are getting quite close to an agreement. There's quite a lot of hope (with-

in the IFP)." **304A**

The central committee will meet again on Wednesday to discuss the progress in talks.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said last night that there was "general agreement" that the negotiators should know today "whether there are agreements or not".

Another source revealed that a deal might be reached in terms of which the Afrikaner Volksfront's demand for a volkstaat could be accommodated.

'Volksraad' offer

CT 25/1/94

(304A)

Move towards

easing logjam

JOHANNESBURG. — The ANC has moved towards meeting Afrikaner demands for "limited self-rule", sources close to talks between the ANC, the government and the Freedom Alliance said yesterday.

A technical committee made up of representatives from the three sides met for most of yesterday.

"It seems like some good proposals are on the table, they are definitely worth considering," a right-wing source said. He would not give details.

Another suggested the ANC, widely expected to win the April 27 election, had suggested Afrikaners could establish a national council or Volksraad "which would run their own affairs".

Last night, government representatives attending a meeting with the ANC and the Freedom Alliance refused to comment, but an ANC official said there was a chance to accommodate right-wingers.

"I do not want to go into details at this stage. What I can say is that we are looking at ways of accommodating them," the official said.

Asked about the establishment of an Afrikaner National Council, the official said: "I am leaving the question of the Volksraad open."

One IFP official said: "There certainly is scope for movement. There is some flexibility from the ANC on the powers of the regions to draw up constitutions. There still appear to be problems on (regional) taxation. There appears to be movement on a dual ballot. I think today really is D-Day."

At the weekend, the IFP recommitted itself to a negotiated settlement and decided to pursue the objectives of the Freedom Alliance, in a bid to amend the interim constitution. (See Page 2).

Last night, after the technical committee meeting, the government and the ANC started another round of talks with the Freedom Alliance to try to break the constitutional impasse.

The Freedom Alliance's demands for an Afrikaner volksraad, Zulu self-determination and two ballot papers for national and provincial elections instead of one, were on the table.

"The fact that we are continuing to talk is positive," SA Communist Party chairman Mr Joe Slovo said.

The ANC hoped the latest round of trilateral talks, after two good rounds last week, "will lead to some kind of arrangement", he said.

According to sources at Friday's talks, the draft proposed greater executive powers for provinces under a new political dispensation. — Sapa



HIGHWAY SHOOTING . . . The Krieger family of Grassy Park sit in the back of their car which was raked by automatic rifle-fire on an N2 off-ramp near Khayelitsha on Sunday night. They are (from left) Mrs Irma Krieger holding five-month-old Kurt, five-year-old Brigitte and Mr Cedric Krieger. Three-year-old Liezl Krieger, not pictured, was also in the car.

CT 25/1/94

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Picture: CLIVE SMITH

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Time rapidly running out for Alliance

ARG 25/1/94
(30419)

Political Staff

TIME for an agreement involving the Freedom Alliance, the government and the African National Congress was finally running out today with little prospect of a settlement.

Government and ANC negotiators were pessimistic that a settlement could be reached by tonight — the "final" deadline for talks with the alliance.

Top government sources said today that time for negotiations was rapidly running out. If an agreement was reached it would take some time to call a short session of parliament to make adjustments to the interim constitution.

The April election has to be proclaimed at the latest by February 26.

It appears that the democratic process will have to continue without the alliance but the government and the National Party are keenly awaiting further moves from individual alliance members.

Alliance, government and ANC negotiators met for almost six hours last night to discuss the alliance's proposed amendments to the interim constitution.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that today was the last day to agree to a package as the election could be proclaimed tomorrow — 90 days before the April election date.

Final attempts would be made in today's three-way talks to reach agreements on the powers, functions and taxing abilities of the nine provinces.

Second call for SABC board to quit politics

ARG 25/1/94

Political Correspondent

PRESSURE is mounting on politically aligned members of the SABC board to end their party-political membership or quit the board.

This challenge — the second such call in a week — was made today by Alex Boraine, executive director of the politically-independent Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa (Idasa).

Addressing a major conference today on the role of broadcasting in a democracy, Dr Boraine said broadcasting was "so powerful and so central to the possibility of a democratic culture that members of the board should be seen to be impartial and independent of any possible political pressure from the parties they represent".

Last week the Democratic Party made the same plea.

Dr Boraine's remarks follow controversy over the SABC's decision to broadcast several parts of a series on the history of the ANC in the face of protests from the DP and National Party.

Dr Boraine said in his address today that television and radio had a vital role to play in monitoring government and exposing abuse of power.

Radio was particularly important in South Africa because its audience was much wider than that of television.

"In order that the investigative role of radio, and the calling to account of public officials, can feature much more centrally in the use of radio, the example must be set at the top."

Leon tops DP regional list

Political Staff

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
MP for Edenvale, Mr Brian Goodall, has lost the contest to head the party's list for the PWV provincial parliament to Mr Ian Davidson, the chairman of the Johannesburg City Council management committee.

(2047)
But the DP's Transvaal leader Mr Tony Leon was elected unopposed to head the DP's regional list for the National Assembly. CT 25/1/94

TEC keeps a check on the changes

South 211 - 2511/94 (304A)

We've all heard talk of the TEC, but what is this body and what are its powers? SOUTH will look at the TEC over the coming weeks.

RECENTLY the Transitional Executive Committee met in Cape Town for the first time.

The TEC, also known as the "Council", is not a new government.

The old government of FW de Klerk and his cabinet stays in place until a new government is formed after the elections. (The cabinet is made up of the various ministers, such as the Minister of Foreign Affairs and so on.)

During the elections all South Africans will vote to choose a new government. The TEC will stay in place until this has happened.

As soon as the new cabinet is installed after the elections, the TEC will cease to exist.

The TEC will have no power in the TBVC states unless the governments of those homelands choose to recognise it under their own laws.

The same applies to all the new laws about elections and the interim constitution.

Transkei and Venda have said they will become part of South Africa again. It is not yet known what Bophuthatswana and Ciskei will do.

But all the laws apply to the other homelands, like KwaZulu, which did not opt for "independence".

The time between now and the elections is called the "transitional period". Transition means a change from one form to another.

South Africa is changing from apartheid rule to a democratic gov-



MOBBED BY THE MEDIA: Politicians at the first meeting of the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) in Cape Town last year had to contend with a great interest from both the local and international media

ernment. The TEC is called "transitional" because it will see us through this time of change.

Although the TEC is not the government it has some very important powers.

It must work with the government to make sure that the people of South Africa are free to make their choice for a new government.

It must work with the government to:

- stop intimidation;

- make sure that all political parties are able to hold meetings anywhere they want to;

- make sure that all political parties can talk to people and try to persuade them to vote for them;

- make sure that women can fully take part in the discussions about a new government during the elections and in the organisations set up to run the elections;

- make sure that the present government or any homeland govern-

ment or any government department does nothing that will give an unfair advantage to any particular political party in the elections.

The TEC will comprise representatives from every political party or organisation which took part in the negotiations at Kempton Park.

Each body can nominate one person to represent it on the TEC.

A party that has not been in the negotiations but wants to be in the TEC can apply to join.

All the parties wanting to be represented in the TEC must renounce violence as a means to achieve political ends.

Every party in the TEC must commit itself and all its organisations and armed forces to bringing about free and fair elections.

A party can be suspended by the Council if it refuses to keep to its undertaking not to use violence or if it refuses to comply with any provision of the TEC Act.

(304A)

Defending the path to democracy

South 21/11-25/11/94

IT IS IMPORTANT that people know about the seven sub-councils of the TEC so they can make proposals and protests to the correct sub-council.

They are:

- The Sub-council on Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities;
- The Sub-council on Law and Order, Stability and Security;
- The Sub-council on Defence;
- The Sub-council on Finance;
- The Sub-council on Foreign Affairs;
- The Sub-council on the Status of Women;
- The Sub-council on Intelligence.

The TEC can appoint other sub-councils but the TEC Act will have to be amended by the state president if any other sub-councils are to be established.

The names of the people appointed to the sub-councils will be published in the Government Gazette. These people do not need to be members of the TEC.

This means members of the sub-

councils can be chosen because they are experts in a particular field.

No party in the TEC can have more than one representative on any sub-council.

The members of the sub-councils must work full-time for the TEC. A sub-council can ask any person or organisation to do investigations for it and can appoint sub-committees to assist it.

Members of these sub-committees do not have to be members of the TEC or of a sub-council.

A sub-council will be able to get all the documents and information it needs to do its work.

The Defence Sub-Council

This week we will deal with the Defence sub-council. We will look at the others in the coming weeks.

The Defence sub-council has a lot of power to control military forces and the actions of members of any military force.

"Military forces" means the SADF as well as homeland armies and the armed forces of parties in the TEC such as MK and Apla.

If any army refuses to acknowledge the authority of the TEC and the Defence sub-council, it will not be recognised as a military force. This means its activities will continue to be dealt with in terms of the criminal laws.

The Defence sub-council will coordinate all military forces in South Africa in the transitional period in anything to do with the elections and in ensuring free political activity.

It will investigate any conduct of any member of a military force which might damage the transitional process and will recommend the disciplinary action to be taken.

It will draft a code of conduct which will be binding on all military forces.

It will conduct research into the organisation of a future South African Defence Force.

It will oversee the planning, preparation and training for a future defence force.

It must also keep the public informed about defence related matters.

Assembly points for the armed forces will be set up. People who are members of any armed force must register with the office of that force so that their names are included in a list of personnel which will be given to the sub-council.

The sub-council must establish a National Peacekeeping Force (NPF).

The NPF will have members taken from all the different military forces in South Africa in equal numbers as far as this is possible. It will also include members of the various police forces.

The NPF will be under the command of a National Peacekeeping Force command council which will be made up of representatives of all the military and police forces which are part of the NPF.

The NPF will have its own uniform and special markings on its vehicles.

It will NOT be same as the SADF or SAP.

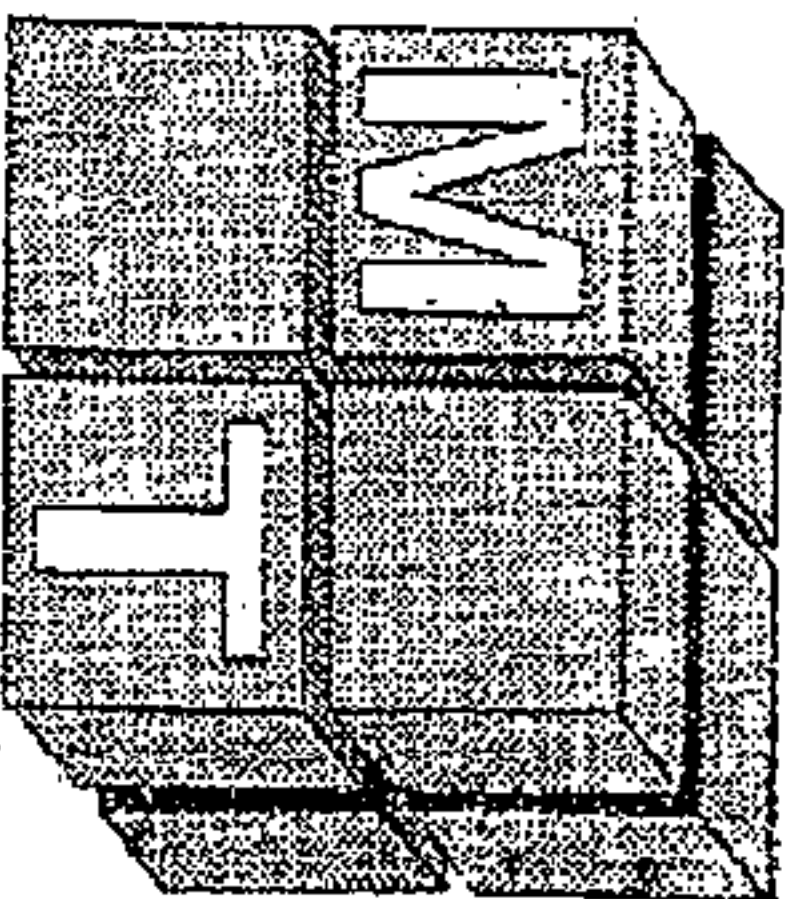
It will be a peacekeeping force to keep peace and public order at the elections in the time between now,

and the elections.

It will be like the United Nations peacekeeping force in Namibia during the Namibian elections but it will be made up of South Africans, not foreigners.

This article was written by the Black Sash, an Independent Forum for Electoral Education (IFEE) member organisation.

This page is a joint project of MATLA TRUST and SOUTH



● Azapo 'no' to anti-election campaigns

Optimism as FA meets Govt, ANC

Sowetan 25/1/94

■ **EXCLUSIVE POWERS** Indications

are alliance will take part in polls:

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Freedom Alliance, Government and African National Congress began talks last night amid indications that a settlement paving the way for alliance participation in the election could not be ruled out.

According to a spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, a technical committee representing the three parties had met for most of the day to advise the general meeting of negotiators.

The general meeting was attended by Meyer, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Freedom Alliance negotiator Mr Rowan Cronjé and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane.

A Government source said the ANC and the Government had reached agreement on a compromise proposal which could lead to the recognition of KwaZulu, a two-ballot system for the April 27 elections and exclusive powers for regions — which could satisfy the alliance.

Government spokesman Mr Izak Retief said he could not confirm the proposal, but all recommendations coming from the technical committee would be discussed at the general session.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he was optimistic of a breakthrough being made at the talks. He confirmed that there were a number of proposals from the ANC side, including the matter of the position of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the double ballot.

"I sense that there is some urgency and importance attached by the alliance to the talks ... there's a realisation that they must get themselves included in the process," Niehaus said.

There was still a need to complete the round of talks this week, but any extension beyond this period could not be ruled out. "We will try to give them as much time as possible," he said.

Freedom Alliance sources said it had been suggested by the Government and ANC that the question of self-determination for Afrikaners in a *volkstaat* could be resolved after the election.

Edited by Mike Siluma

The white president is on the campaign trail, seeking to reshape himself as a man of all the people. Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield travelled with the De Klerk roadshow at the weekend

New model Nat gets a r.

It is late afternoon in Rustenburg, and President de Klerk is going walkabout. He and his entourage — dominated by security men with bulky weapons under their casual shirts — leave the "white" part of town and venture on foot into darker territory, past shops called Impala Medicines and Factory Prices. A curious crowd gathers and De Klerk gives a brief speech from the back of a bakkie. As he finishes, a local National Party worker begins to chant "Viva FW".

In the crowd a young man — dressed in baseball sneakers and the sort of clothes that are bought at the Mr American Outfitters around the corner — is enthusiastically joining in the chant, clenched fist pumping the air. Moments later a group across the road begins to counter with a cry of "Viva ANC, Viva ANC". The man/boy in baseball sneakers stops chanting, looks around and immediately runs across to the ANC group, joining the "Viva ANC" chant.

The small incident on De Klerk's north-west election roadshow last week would perhaps not be worth recording if it did not encapsulate a broader problem for the NP. How many of those black supporters listlessly flapping their NP flags and forming guards of honour at roadshow functions will in fact turn to the ANC — or at least away from the NP — on election day, April 27? And how does De Klerk communicate effectively with them?

Pitched perfectly

During the non-stop, three-day sweep across the western Transvaal and northern Cape, there was certainly little of the enthusiasm from blacks that De Klerk received from his traditional support base. Speaking to white farmers and party workers in a small hall at the Vryburg showgrounds, he was at his formidable best. A speech designed to keep the doubters in the NP camp and to regenerate enthusiasm did just that: it was pitched perfectly at a group of moderate people wanting a message to offset gnawing insecurity.

Immediately after that address, De Klerk, in open-necked shirt, addressed more than 2 000 people, mainly black, on the Vryburg rugby field. Perhaps it had something to do with the fact that every sentence needed to be translated, but the reaction was muted. The only other black audience of any size during the trip — at a farm near Ventersdorp — reacted in similarly bemused fashion.

At Vryburg, a farm foreman caused something of a stir when a busload of journalists saw him handing out R10 notes to a queue of people entering the stadium. The farm owner later explained that the money was for workers to buy breakfast and lunch — travelling to and from the NP meeting would take them away for a day — but one could not help wondering if he would have done the same if Nelson Mandela had been speaking at the showgrounds.

And at Ventersdorp, a few of the farmworkers in the crowd admitted that the day off work and free mealies had been a contributing factor in their decision to attend.

If the NP is to achieve the kind of success it desperately wants — party realists acknowledge that their ambition is to get enough votes to be able to block any ANC bid to unilaterally rewrite the Constitution — it

is going to have to secure the support of a chunk of black voters.

The white community is likely to flock into the NP camp as the election approaches — united by an animosity towards the ANC. It has no real alternative unless Inkatha regains some semblance of strategy — while the coloured and Indian electorate is sufficiently afraid of black majority rule to throw in its lot with De Klerk.

That is not enough, and an enormous weight now lies on De Klerk's shoulders. Opinion polls show his personal popularity is higher than that of his party, including among the black community. The bulk of the NP campaign, therefore, will have to be borne by him.

Watching him on the roadshow last week was a fascinating experience. In effect, the first real shots of the election campaign marked the beginning of a process which is designed to see De Klerk remodelled, reborn, changed — away from the man comfortable in front of a handful of white farmers or engaging in the cut and thrust of parliamentary debate, and towards the slick campaigner who can work a crowd of black South Africans.

On his flanks as he swept through the western Transvaal's conservative heartland was a phalanx of what the media entourage dubbed "spin doctors". They included the traditional press spokesmen, mopping up loose ends and putting their spin on any inci-

dent that just might prove unsavoury.

But more interesting were the British public relations consultants engaged by the NP. Within a day of arriving in the country hopping on to the media bus following De Klerk they were drawing conclusions: promising... seems to respond well to personal contact. Not so good in front of ger crowds... Talks for too long... totally a shy man... Charismatic.

One cannot help wondering if the consultants will pick up the political weaknesses: fiddle placing such emphasis on ANC... when talking to farmworkers... to years of conservative bosses? Does emphasis on the secret ballot in fact... those farmworkers that they can vote for



How do you do... President de Klerk gets a warm welcome during a halt in his weekend electioneering

ident is on the campaign trail, seeking to reshape
in of all the people. Political Correspondent Chris
elled with the De Klerk roadshow at the weekend



el Nat gets a road test

Star 25/1/94



PICTURE: JOAO SILVA

de Klerk gets a warm welcome during a halt in his weekend electioneering tour.

of a flock into ANC, while is suffi- to throw famous. By is thinking of the to be

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But more interesting were the British public relations consultants engaged by the NP. Within a day of arriving in the country and hopping on to the media bus following De Klerk they were drawing conclusions: "Very promising... seems to respond ywell to the personal contact. Not so good in front of bigger crowds... Talks for too long... Essentially a shy man... Charismatic."

One cannot help wondering if the foreigners will pick up the political weaknesses: Is it futile placing such emphasis on ANC intimidation when talking to farmworkers subject to years of conservative bosses? Does his emphasis on the secret ballot in fact tell those farmworkers that they can vote for the

ANC or PAC without fear of their bosses knowing? Are some of his speeches patronising? The spin doctors will no doubt go to work between now and April 27.

What we can be sure of is that De Klerk's public persona will be changed, perhaps sacrificed. It was probably inevitable that the new South Africa would demand a different style from its power brokers and high-profile figures, none more so than from its leaders, and that a rich tradition of earthy South African political intercourse would disappear.

If the NP is going to achieve anything like the success it dreams of, nobody will be required to sense the change as keenly as De Klerk and his spin doctors.

Report on E Rand to be heard

Violence to dominate TEC agenda

Star 25/11/94

304A

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

For the third consecutive week, the Transitional Executive Council's agenda is likely to be dominated by the ongoing violence.

The country's first representative statutory body is scheduled to hear a further report on steps to end the violence on the East Rand.

ANC president Nelson Mandela hinted at the weekend that a composite peace plan would soon be announced by the TEC.

Mandela added that the announcement could be made this week.

The TEC appointed a task force two weeks ago to investigate steps to put an end to violence on the East Rand.

During this time, Mandela and President de Klerk have been considering a peace plan. The plan has also been discussed with Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The TEC is further expected to decide today what to do about alleged repression in Bophuthatswana.

In a report detailing serious repression in the homeland, Lawyers for Human Rights requested the Government to take over Bophuthatswana's administration, disarm its security forces and suspend funding to the homeland.

The TEC also decided last week that KwaZulu Police Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During should appear before it today to provide information about an alleged hit squad in KZP ranks.

It is understood that During is on leave. He has previously refused to supply the TEC with any information following a Goldstone Commission report about a hit squad comprising KZP members.

It is understood that the TEC has received no communication from During.

If During continues to refuse to appear before the TEC, the body could refer the matter to the Special Electoral Court set up to adjudicate in disputes between the TEC and the Government.

The TEC could also decide to launch a court application to compel During to appear.

Commission wants to plan poll security

IEC awaiting final word on election

Star 25/11/94

304A

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is waiting for final word from the President on the period over which the April 27 election is to take place so it can plan security and monitoring shifts.

The date or dates of the election are soon to be announced by President F W de Klerk in a Government Gazette. It is believed the election will be held over two days — April 27 and 28.

It is also usual for the President to declare an election day a public holiday to allow voters good time to cast their ballots.

IEC communications director

Humphrey Khoza said there was a fair possibility of the election being held over two days, in which case security officers and monitors at the polling booths would work in shifts.

The longer the time in which an election is held, the bigger the security risks, according to a United Nations (UN) source.

In Namibia, the election was held over five days. This was also the case in the Cambodian election. Most nations, however, hold one-day elections.

"The length of time for an election depends on the local conditions. Security of the ballot boxes is the critical factor in an election over more than a day. In

such cases, bigger numbers of electoral personnel are needed to ensure maximum protection of polling stations," the spokesman said.

Alcohol consumption on election day, particularly in view of it likely being a public holiday, may be a matter of concern.

According to the UN spokesman, the national authorities in Nicaragua, Haiti and El Salvador forbade the sale of alcohol the day before they held their recent elections to help prevent disruption.

Political parties will have 10 days within which to register themselves following the gazetted declaration of the election date/s.

Council link-up could pave way

Verwoerdburg may be renamed

Star 25/1/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

Pretoria's satellite town, Verwoerdburg, could soon be renamed — and it appears that there are two names in the running: Kyalami or Centurion.

The area — claimed to be the most expensive residential belt in the country — has been going through a period of self-investigation after mining giant Anglo American Corporation, owners of the Verwoerdburgstad shopping centre, decided to rename its property Centurion Centre about four months ago.

As a result, several businesses in the shopping centre have changed their names to conform to the new one, but many others are, for the moment, retaining their association with Verwoerdburg.

It is understood that the name Centurion — which has no political or sectional connotations — is the front-runner in the names stakes.

Kyalami is seen as a name which has long associations with the well-heeled greenbelt area north of Johannesburg.

THE area named after slain Prime Minister Hendrik Verwoerd could soon be known as Centurion or Kyalami

304A

Verwoerdburg was originally known as Lyttelton but when prime minister Dr Hendrik Verwoerd was assassinated in Parliament in 1966, the Government and the Transvaal Provincial Administration decided that a town should be named in memory of him.

The name change was agreed to in 1967.

The Verwoerdburg Town Council has so far officially refused to be drawn into the controversy over the name but Dr Kobie Naude, chairman of the council's management committee, says a link-up between the existing Midrand and Verwoerdburg town councils could open the way for a change in name.

The link-up involves the joint administration of the Ivory Park,

Rabie Ridge and Knoppieslaagte areas, possibly leading to amalgamation.

According to Afrikaanse Sakekamer chairman Bettie Hough "many businesses associated with us feel it is important to change Verwoerdburg's name".

She also says there are many examples of leading businesses having altered their names to eliminate the word "Verwoerd" from their titles.

The sakekamer has not yet taken a stand on the issue but would do so if asked by its members.

Verwoerdburg has in recent years become one of the most popular satellite towns serving Pretoria and Johannesburg. It boasts numerous shopping areas as well as a good road system linking it to the two cities.

According to estate agents, the town is a sought-after residential area, particularly since the completion of the Ben Schoeman freeway linking Pretoria and Johannesburg. Verwoerdburg has good road links to the West and East Rand, Jan Smuts Airport, and the northern and eastern Transvaal.

'Vicious' campaign of terror

Star 25/1/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

ANC members were conducting a "vicious" terror campaign against National Party supporters in Soweto, NP Transvaal leader Pik Botha said yesterday.

His accusation follows Nelson Mandela's weekend call on his organisation's supporters to allow other parties to campaign freely in the township. (204A)

Botha said Soweto NP leader David Chuenyane had told him of an intimidation campaign aimed at NP members in the township, and one of the NP members has been wounded.

The Foreign Affairs Minister said his party had been making substantial gains in the giant township, and this had apparently upset "the ANC to the extent that they are now resorting to the method they know best, to threaten supporters of the party that they will be killed and their houses burnt down unless they stop their support for the National Party".

He said he had appealed to supporters not to resort to retaliation, "but at the same time they cannot be expected to face the threat of murder without defending themselves".

The NP would report the matter to the Independent Electoral Commission, Botha added.

Poll will
be free and
fair, says
Joe Slovo

Staff Reporter

COMMUNIST Party chairman Joe Slovo is confident the election will go ahead in April and that it will be free and fair.

Mr Slovo expressed the view while speaking at the launch of a new book, *The Spirit of Hope*, by Charles Villa-Vicencio at the University of Cape Town last night.

Mr Slovo features in the book which includes interviews with South African activists, political, trade union and clerical figures.

Asked what he thought of the possibility of the election being postponed, Mr Slovo said this would be "a disaster".

Mr Slovo said he remained a revolutionary "in the good sense of the term". He was aware that his approach during the Kempton Park negotiations did not match up to the image of "wildness" many people associated with revolutionaries.

Methodist church leader and deputy National Peace Committee head Stanley Mogoba, also featured in the book, told the gathering he believed violence would decrease as the election date neared.

Election result to be known early in May

□ Voting to take place over 3 days, says TEC

(304A) ARG 26/1/94

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE result of the general election will be known in the first week of May at the earliest.

The Transitional Executive Council has announced that South Africa's first all-race general election will be held over three days from April 27 to 29, with only special votes being cast on April 27.

After the election is over, the Independent Electoral Commission has to determine and certify the poll as having been free and fair. Then candidates who have stood on central and regional government lists have to indicate the position in which they wish to serve.

Minister of Home Affairs Danie Schutte said it could be a week or more before the final result was announced.

The Independent Electoral Commission Act lays down that the result must be announced not sooner than two days after the polls close and not later than 10 days.

Mr Schutte said that although mechanical counting — there were plans for this — could make a result possible quite soon after the polls had closed, other requirements — like certification — would delay the final announcement.

He said a new government would take office only a week to 10 days after the election.

A new president would have to be elected by an electoral college of parliament and he would then have to compose a new cabinet. There could be considerable wrangling among parties about their ministers in a government of national unity cabinet.

Special votes will be cast on April 27 by people who cannot go to the polls on April 28 and 29 due to illness or physical disability.

Mr Schutte said officials would visit old age homes, hospitals and private homes on that day to record votes of people unable to go to the polls.

There will be no postal votes.

General voters will cast their votes between 7am and 9pm on April 28 and 29. The TEC has declared Friday, April 29, a public holiday.

Sapa reports that the council decision to alter the date was based on a recommendation from the seven-member management committee which steers the process.

The council decided to advise President De Klerk to proclaim the election date on Friday.

Parties will have 10 days from Friday to register for the election.

● Some convicted prisoners or people awaiting trial and being detained can vote by special vote.

Prisoners serving a jail sentence without the option of a fine for serious crimes including murder, rape, indecent assault, robbery and fraud or corruption may not vote.

Right bid to hijack council squelched

The Argus Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The weather has washed out right wing plans to set up a "burgerraad" to administer Pretoria.

A giant rally planned for yesterday to protest against multiracial local government legislation and set up the burgerraad was squelched by the steady downpour.

Only about 400 people, instead of the expected thousands, yesterday gathered at the steps of the municipal complex to protest at legislation that will turn town and city councils into multi-racial groupings from April.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) supporters displayed flags and used dogs to keep photographers away.

Some AWB members were in camouflage uniform, wore balaclavas and carried weapons. Few police were around.

Some demonstrators displayed placards reading "The idiots are giving Pretoria to the communists" and "War is inevitable".

Waving South African, Vierkleur and AWB flags, they proclaimed their support of a



WATERED DOWN: Rightwingers gather in the rain outside Pretoria City Council headquarters, where they hoped to establish a "burgerraad" to run the city.

ARG 26/1/94
"burgerraad" to take over administration of the city from the council.

Many tried — after singing the national anthem as the rain pelted down — to enter the public area at the city council chamber but were prevented from doing so.

Inside Munitoria the monthly council meeting was delayed for an hour.

The illegal Radio Pretoria station yesterday broadcast appeals to rightwingers to brave the rain and gather.

The AWB contingent staged a parade under the command of "Commandant" At Oosthuizen.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche — who is to appear in the Pretoria Regional Court again today to answer charges of refusing to appear before the Goldstone Commission — did not make an appearance, although he had earlier told Radio Pretoria listeners that he would do so.

The demonstration was held during the height of rush hour in the central business district, which was paralysed for hours.

The only previous occasions on which Pretoria traffic has been seriously affected in recent years was during the farmers' invasion four years

ago and the Zulu march last week.

Pretoria Burgerraad chairman Jan du Toit and Conservative Party leader in the Pretoria city council Paul Fouche were at the gathering.

Mr Fouche, who was dressed in his full council regalia, addressed the crowd.

● Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen will address the all-white Mine Workers Union today.

Five detained rightwingers have been on a hunger strike since Tuesday, according to prison officials.

2-day poll in April soon to be official

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The official dates for South Africa's first democratic election, from April 27-29, will be formally promulgated by President F.W. de Klerk on Friday. The Transitional Executive Council, which is empowered by the Electoral Act of 1993 to advise the President on the dates and times for voting, agreed last night on the voting schedule.

While special votes will be cast on April 27 between 7am and 9pm, general voting will take place on April 28 and 29 between the same hours. April 29 will be declared a public holiday in order to encourage potential voters to visit the polls.

Some controversy emerged in the TEC last night, however, over the fact that April 27 had been widely publicised as the official day of voting.

In fact most voters will now go to the polls on April 28, which could cause some confusion, TEC delegates said.

ANC delegate Mr. Mac Maharaj said the first day of general voting had been moved to April 28 to coincide with the end of the month and the long weekend.

A public holiday on a Thursday would cause more disruption than one on a Friday, he said.

"True, there is a public expectation because of the change, but the Independent Electoral Commission would have a great deal of intensive work to do to ensure the new date is firmly imprinted in their minds," Mr Maharaj said.

Alliance talks break down

26/1/94 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Freedom Alliance talks with the ANC and government collapsed last night in acrimony, but negotiators agreed to meet again tomorrow to consider a written proposal from the ANC.

However, the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Conservative Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party indicated that they might be prepared to take part in the elections, even if a final settlement had not been reached.

In a bid to take the pressure off achieving such a settlement President F W de Klerk offered the option of incorporating deals in "binding party agreements", instead of legislating amendments to the interim constitution. And the TEC declaration of the poll dates means the Alliance has until February 7, by when parties will have to register, to decide whether to take part in the elections.

Mr De Klerk told a news conference that agreement with the Alliance was still possible before it became impossible to legislate constitutional changes. But at an extraordinary cabinet meeting yesterday it had been agreed that if this was not achieved,

binding party agreements could be signed and the constitution could be amended after the elections. This would obviate the need for the short parliamentary session planned for next week.

Mr De Klerk said negotiations would not end, even if agreement was impossible before the elections.

At a news conference in the Botswana embassy in Pretoria last night, Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen indicated that the CP and the Volksfront were prepared to take part in the elections, even though a volkstaat had not been guaranteed. He would not elaborate.

Optimistic

Alliance negotiators Mr Rowan Cronje and Mr Walter Felgate said ANC secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had been totally uncompromising on the double ballot demand.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, remained optimistic that a settlement was still possible. And ANC chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki said the talks had not broken down completely as there was still room to build on what had transpired.

FW makes declaration on 'fair' poll

PRETORIA. — The NP released yesterday a declaration for free and fair elections in terms of which disciplinary action will be taken against any member who intimidates, threatens or harms a member of any other party.

NP leader President F W de Klerk signed the declaration at a news conference here, saying it would be forwarded for signing to the ANC which was "at the moment our main problem".

"It is apparent the ANC has elements who have as their strategy decided to intimidate, disrupt and prevent the meetings of other parties which will make the elections unfair and unfree," Mr De Klerk said.

The NP had a list of incidents, reported by supporters countrywide, of intima-

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**ANC 'our
main
problem'**

tion, defacing of billboards, breaking up of meetings and threats and assaults, including shootings.

Mr De Klerk said he had experienced this himself twice during his recent election road show and had refrained from going into black townships to "avoid risking people being hurt".

But the NP would not be frightened off and had a right to campaign anywhere in the country, he said.

Mr De Klerk said he appreciated ANC president Mr

(30/4/94) (2/4/94)
Nelson Mandela's call for ANC supporters to allow free political activity, and said Mr Mandela had assured him in a telephone call that the statement would be communicated to ANC supporters and would be acted on.

● A completely free and fair election in April would not be possible and a degree of violence and intimidation was expected, technical committee on electoral legislation convener Mr Richard Rosenthal said in Durban this week.

Mr Rosenthal said the commission's job would not be to decide if the election was perfect, but whether it was substantially free and fair.

The final ballot would be affected only if there was widespread fraud or a major incident occurred, which, given the number of impartial observers, was unlikely, he added. — Sapa, Own Correspondent

TEC gets tough on pay hikes

SA Press Association

THE Transitional Executive Council yesterday demanded that the Government suspend its planned salary increases for senior civil servants.

The resolution evoked controversy within the TEC as Government and National Party representatives rejected it. *Sowetan 26/11/94*

Government representative Mr Farlie van der Merwe and the NP's Mr Leon Wessels argued the TEC had recommended that its finance sub-council investigate the increases and report to the TEC next week. *(30/11/94)*

Sub-council

Any TEC decision on the increases should be made only after the sub-council had delivered its report, they argued.

The increases were reported in a Sunday newspaper which speculated that their effect would be to dramatically boost civil servants' pensions for retirees after the April elections.

Van der Merwe said the TEC had no way of knowing who exactly would be affected by its decision.

NEWS Nats to act against wayward members



A policeman stands guard as workers demonstrate at Leratong Hospital near Krugersdorp yesterday. The area around the casualty section was cordoned off with barbed wire late on Monday after it was alleged the workers had held a senior matron hostage in her residence. PIC: PAT SEBOKO

NP declares war on intimidation

Sowetan Correspondent

NATIONAL Party leaders have publicly pledged to take disciplinary action against any member of the NP involved in "anti-democratic activities", and challenged African National Congress leaders to do the same.

Launching the NP's "Declaration on Fair and Free Elections" in Pretoria yesterday, NP leader President FW de Klerk said members of his party had been subjected to "massive intimidation" in townships across the country. He said most of the culprits appeared to be ANC members.

NP members had been threatened and physically harassed, the party's offices and billboards defaced and its meetings disrupted. He himself had had to cancel scheduled walkabouts

■ PUNITIVE ACTION FW calls on Mandela to discipline ANC members:

in some townships because "ANC reception committees" had been waiting for him.

De Klerk said to ensure that other parties would also take punitive action against their wayward members, the NP — which would actively assert its right to hold meetings and campaign in any part of the country — had decided to commit itself to "basic democratic principles" which would ensure a free and fair election.

The declaration, to be signed by all NP provincial leaders, including De Klerk himself, binds them to disciplining the party's members who intimidated or threatened other parties' members and supporters as well as

members of the public, and those destroying or damaging property and political advertising belonging to other parties.

NP members disrupting other parties' meetings and activities would also be dealt with.

The declaration then challenges the five top leaders of the ANC, including president Mr Nelson Mandela, to "agree to do the same in your party".

De Klerk said threats to a free and fair election also came from the rightwing and violence. The Government would do everything in its power to ensure free political activity anywhere in the country, including in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

Hope fades for deal with Alliance

Volksfront,

CP set to take

part in poll

THE CP and the Afrikaner Volksfront were prepared to participate in the April elections even though a Volksstaat was not guaranteed, Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen indicated last night.

But chances of a political settlement being reached in talks between the Freedom Alliance, the ANC and government looked slim, even though the parties decided to push the deadline forward by two days.

At a news conference after talks ended last night, alliance leaders said individual parties would make their own independent decisions at the end of the week on whether they would take part in the elections.

Viljoen said he could not state the bottom line on the Volksfront's demand for a Volksstaat. A senior CP source reinforced the view that it was conceding ground on this issue, saying the CP would probably be happy with an added constitutional principle on self-determination. This had been offered by the ANC and negotiations could continue after the elections.

They alliance's leaders attacked the ANC, singling it out as the major stumbling block to reaching agreement, even when government was prepared to compromise.

Chairman Rowan Cronje said: "We have exhausted all possible attempts at reaching a compromise and by this afternoon we said there was no point in continuing with negotiations as there was no chance of a

BILLY PADDOCK

settlement after the ANC reneged on last week's gains. But then (ANC foreign affairs director) Thabo Mbeki said he believed there was a basis for agreement and promised us that the ANC would put forward, in writing, their compromise position."

The alliance would study the document on Thursday and make a final decision. Cronje said there was little hope "and we feel there is no real sense in going on... we are being held on a string. But Thursday is the last chance."

Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi also did an about-turn on his recent statements that Inkatha would "not participate in the elections if our six demands are not met". Referring to this weekend's conference where a decision on the elections is due to be taken, he said: "I would not call a conference if I was not prepared to listen to the people." He said he would not even make a recommendation to the conference.

He indicated that the decision was likely to be a conditional "yes" to taking part in the elections, as negotiations between government and the Zulu king were still in progress and would not be resolved by the weekend.

Inkatha negotiator at last night's talks, Walter Felgate, said: "The ANC called the shots and were reluctant to make concessions even when government put forward

□ To Page 2

Volksfront

compromises on the powers and functions of provinces."

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa was also totally uncompromising on the double ballot demand, stating that it was non-negotiable, Cronje and Felgate said.

"Both government and the ANC admitted and acknowledged that this was not democratic and that it did prejudice smaller parties and those that wanted to contest the elections on a regional basis only, but they would not budge," Cronje said.

They admitted there had been progress on the powers and functions of regions, the autonomy of regions to levy taxes, and regional constitutions.

TIM COHEN reports that negotiators have effectively removed the deadline on talks, saying agreed changes to the constitution could take the form of "binding party agreements" rather than legislation.

At a news conference yesterday, President F W de Klerk said there was still a possibility that an agreement with the Freedom Alliance could be achieved before legislating, the changes became impossible.

But even if this were not the case, any agreement forged with the alliance could still take the form of binding party agreements and the constitution could be

amended after the election.

This decision was taken at an extraordinary Cabinet meeting yesterday, which was considered the last possible date for agreements to be achieved and still allow time for a short parliamentary session next week to pass legislation on the changes.

ANC, government and alliance negotiators agreed last year that Monday would be a deadline for the end of their negotiations, but De Klerk's decision yesterday effectively removes that deadline.

The decision places a question mark over whether the scheduled short session of Parliament, due to take place next week, will go ahead.

De Klerk said if a situation was reached where it would be impossible to arrive at agreements which could result in amendments to the constitution before the election, negotiations would still not come to an end.

He said he understood the promulgation of the election had to take place between 60 and 90 days before the election, and once this had taken place no further changes to the constitution would be possible until after the election.

The election is due to take place in 91 days.

De Klerk undertook to promulgate the election as soon as negotiations made it possible.

□ From Page 1

TEC shifts main election date to April 28

PRETORIA — The official dates for SA's first nonracial election — April 27 to April 29 — will be promulgated formally by President F W De Klerk on Friday.

The TEC, which is empowered by the Electoral Act of 1993 to advise the President on the dates and times for voting, agreed on the voting schedule last night.

While special votes would be cast on April 27 between 7am and 9pm, general voting would take place on April 28 and 29 between the same hours. April 29 would be declared a public holiday to encourage voters to visit the polls.

However, there was some controversy in the TEC last night over the fact that April

B/DCH 26/1/94
ADRIAN HADLAND

27 had been widely publicised as the official day of voting. (304A)

Most voters would now go to the polls on April 28, which could cause some confusion, TEC delegates said.

ANC TEC delegate Mac Maharaj said the first day of general voting had been moved to April 28 to coincide with the end of the month and the long weekend.

A public holiday on a Thursday would cause more disruption than one on a Friday, he said.

"True, there is a public expectation because one date has already been publi-

cised, but that will have to change."

The Independent Electoral Commission would have a great deal of work to do to ensure the new date was firmly imprinted on people's minds, Maharaj said.

The April 27 polling of special votes — including those of South Africans casting their ballots at SA embassies, consulates and offices across the world — would facilitate the counting and checking of votes.

Within SA few special ballots would be cast as voters could visit the nearest polling station, precluding the use of postal votes. Special votes would be cast within SA mainly by the disabled and the elderly, he said.

FW pledges to curb errant NP members

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday signed a declaration pledging firm disciplinary action against NP members who threatened or harmed members of other parties. *SDM*

The NP challenged other parties to make similar undertakings, especially the ANC, which De Klerk described as "our main problem at the moment". He said ANC elements had adopted a strategy to intimidate other parties' supporters and disrupt their meetings. *26/1/94*

De Klerk said he appreciated ANC president Nelson Mandela's call for ANC supporters to allow free politi-

TIM COHEN

cal activity, and said Mandela had assured him that the statement would be communicated to ANC supporters and would be acted on.

NP supporters had submitted a list of acts of intimidation by ANC members, including the defacement of posters, threats of assault on NP members and shootings. *(30/4/94)*

De Klerk said he had experienced this himself during his recent election roadshow and had refrained from going into black townships to "avoid risking people being hurt".

TEC imposes freeze on salary increases

Star 26/1/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Transitional Executive Council yesterday agreed to freeze increases in public servants' salaries, pending an investigation by its subcouncil on finance.

The Government and National Party opposed the resolution, saying a decision was being taken without any facts at the TEC's disposal.

Government delegate

Fanie van der Merwe argued that salaries of civil servants were the subject of labour negotiations. In similar cases the TEC had maintained it could not interfere in negotiations. (304A)

SACP delegate Thenjiwe Mtintso maintained that the salary increases should be frozen pending an investigation.

TEC chairman Zam Titus noted that the resolution referred only to a freeze on the increases, and not salaries.

Time running out for settlement with Freedom Alliance

Three-day election for

SA

SPECIAL votes will be cast on April 27; ordinary votes on April 28 and 29 (304A)

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH

South Africans will go to the polls for three days — on April 27, 28 and 29 — instead of just on the 27th.

The Transitional Executive Council yesterday agreed to recommend to the State President that the election take place over these three days.

President de Klerk is to proclaim the election in the Government Gazette on Friday.

Special votes will be cast on April 27. Ordinary votes will be cast on April 28 and 29, with the last day being proclaimed a public holiday.

Voters will be able to go to the polls between 7 am and 9 pm on these days.

During the TEC debate, ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj said the management committee had considered the Independent Electoral Commission's recommendation that the election take place from April 26 to April 28.

Confused

Democratic Party negotiator Colin Egin noted that the public would be confused if the election began on April 26 instead of the already announced April 27.

Maharaj said it was important that the first election day be used for casting special votes because this would speed up the process of counting the votes and announcing the results speedily.

He said the majority of voters would be working people who would not be able to vote during working hours. The management committee also took violence and instability into account when deciding on the hours of voting.

Kaizer Nyatumba reports that De Klerk expressed the hope yesterday that an inclusive deal could still be reached in negotiations with the Freedom Alliance.

But he warned that time was fast running out for amendments to be made to the Interim Constitution.

At a Pretoria press conference, De Klerk revealed that the Cabinet had held "an extraordinary short meeting" yesterday morning to review the trilateral talks involving the Government, the ANC and the FA.

Constraints

"If an agreement is reached, then a short parliamentary session can still take place next week, but there are time constraints. Such agreements will have to be reached now," De Klerk said.

But last night the deadline for finding an inclusive negotiated settlement was postponed for a third time this week.

Talks between the Government, ANC and FA will continue tomorrow when the ANC will submit written proposals to the alliance.

FA negotiator Rowan Cronje said last night: "I don't have a lot of hope we will find a settlement, but I am prepared to give it a last chance."

The deadline for agreeing on amendments to the Interim Constitution was first set for Monday night, and was then postponed until last night.

The Government has been insisting that agreements should be reached before the proclamation of the election.

Cronje said the ANC had

► To Page 2

SA will vote over three days

◀ From Page 1

done a "complete backflip" in yesterday's talks, and the FA felt there was no point in continuing with negotiations.

The FA was told its demand for two ballot papers was unacceptable. It, in turn, refused to accept a proposal that the powers of the nine provinces be expanded on condition that "framework legislation" by the central government be accepted.

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said his organisation's written proposals,

to be submitted tomorrow, had emerged from the past two days' talks. They had focused on the powers of provinces, and their ability to raise taxes and adapt their own constitutions.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said there were another two days for negotiations before the proclamation of the election. Should tomorrow's talks result in an agreement, amendments could still be made to the Interim Constitution.

But if there was "sufficient reason", talks could

continue even after Friday and the agreement could still be included in the Constitution after the April election, he said.

The Government, ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront — an FA member — continue their negotiations today. Earlier this week it was proposed that a body representing Afrikaners be set up to discuss a white homeland with a constitution-making body.

FA negotiators said last night an agreement with the AVF alone was not possible.

Star 26/11/94

FW seeks democracy pledge

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

National Party leaders have publicly pledged to take disciplinary action against any members involved in "anti-democratic activities", and challenged ANC leaders to do the same.

Launching the NP's "Declaration on Fair and Free Elections" in Pre-

toria yesterday, NP leader President de Klerk said members of his party had been subjected to massive intimidation in townships across the country, and most of the culprits appeared to be ANC members.

NP members had been threatened and physically harassed, the party's offices and billboards had been defaced and its meetings disrupted. He had had to cancel sche-

duled walkabouts in some townships because "ANC reception committees" had been waiting for him. (304A)

De Klerk said threats to a free and fair election also came from the Right and violence. The Government, he said, would do everything in its power to ensure free political activity anywhere in the country, including in KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

KZP chief will be compelled to face TEC

Star 26/11/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

KwaZulu Police (KZP) Commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During failed to appear before a full sitting of the Transitional Executive Council yesterday. (304A)

The council then decided to take legal steps to compel his attendance. TEC chairman Zam Titus said a court order could be served on any official instructing him to appear before the TEC. (PES)

The TEC earlier asked During for information on the Goldstone Commission's finding that a hit squad operated within KZP ranks. During was, however, prohibited by KwaZulu Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi from co-operating with the TEC.

The TEC also appointed a three-member task group consisting of lawyers Fink Haysom and Howard Varney and the SAP's Colonel Ivor Human — to investigate the existence of hit squads in Natal/KwaZulu.

A peace plan for the East Rand is to be announced within the next two days. The TEC agreed that its executive secretaries — Government constitutional adviser Fanie van der Merwe and the ANC's Mac Maharaj — should continue to co-ordinate a strategy to end violence.

It was also decided last night that the TEC management committee would discuss South Africa's role regarding the Lesotho conflict. Titus said the Government had turned down a request by Lesotho to send a peacekeeping force to the country.

January 27 1994

Eleventh-hour bid to include Alliance in poll

304A

ART 27/1/94

□ Election proclaimed tomorrow

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — Talks with the Afrikaner Volkfront and the Freedom Alliance are continuing in a last-minute bid to reach an inclusive agreement by tonight.

The deadline for constitutional negotiations was put back until today after the African National Congress indicated on Tuesday that it would present proposals to FA negotiators at a meeting in Pretoria.

Today is the final day for amendments to the interim constitution as the election will be proclaimed tomorrow.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said that should a multiparty agreement be reached after tomorrow, amendments could be made to the constitution after the April election.

FA members have until February 7 to register their parties to take part in the election. In terms of the Electoral Act, registration must take place 10 days after the proclamation of the election.

Separate talks are also continuing between the AVF, the ANC and the government.

Today's meeting in Pretoria between government, ANC and FA negotiators is a final attempt to reach a negotiated settlement.

The three-way talks ended in deadlock on Tuesday after the deadline for these discussions had been postponed twice.

FA negotiators said after the talks that they had reached the end of the road.

However, they agreed to today's meeting after a suggestion by ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki that his organisation would present the FA with constitutional proposals.

Freedom of speech an 'inflammable' issue

LAST week President De Klerk had to abandon a meeting in a Western Transvaal township when African National Congress supporters threatened to disrupt it. Democratic Party meetings in the Peninsula have also been broken up.

In the crucial run-up to South Africa's first democratic elections, one may well ask what has happened to freedom of speech. A related issue is how far we can be expected to tolerate politically inflammatory statements or those inciting others to commit acts of violence.

Staff Reporter **DAVID YUTAR** examines the issue.

TO speak his thoughts is every freeman's right, in peace and war, in council and in fight. (Homer, The Iliad)

WITH three months to go before the April 27 election it is becoming painfully clear that we in South Africa have drifted far from the observance of Homer's ideal.

The Code of Conduct agreed to in terms of the National Peace Accord enjoins all political parties to "actively contribute to the creation of a climate of democratic tolerance".

Chapter 2 specifically calls on parties to "respect and give effect to the obligation to refrain from incitement to violence and hatred".

The code further prohibits the use of any "language calculated or likely to incite violence or hatred, including that directed against any political party or personality".

A far more compelling code of conduct — which supercedes the National Peace Accord code — has been written into the new Electoral Act, obliging parties participating in the election to adhere to closely defined principles of tolerance and fairness to opponents.

Furthermore — unlike the Peace Accord code — this code carries penalties ranging from fines and limits on parties' or candidates' air time on radio and television, to disqualification as contenders in the election.

For Paul Taylor, of the University of Cape Town's philosophy department, the starting point for any discussion on freedom of speech is that it is a good thing in itself.

"People should be free to say what they want — *all other things being equal*. In other words, as long as this does not infringe on the rights of others or threaten them with harm."

But, he stresses, that the same principle which makes the desirability of freedom of speech self-evident, justifies curbs on that freedom.

Such exceptions are typically situations where the exercise of the freedom poses a threat of immediate harm or incites others to commit acts of violence.

"The line is hard to draw. It is usually said there must be a clear and immediate threat of violence."

He draws a distinction between the situation where the speaker incites others to violence (where a curb is justified) and that where the speaker



expresses a view that is merely unpopular in a given political context, with the result that others threaten him with harm.

In the latter situation, to permit the curb would "lead one down a dangerous path of erosion of freedom of speech", in Mr Taylor's view.

When political rhetoric incites violence it runs contrary to the value of freedom of speech and a restriction becomes justified, he believes.

A member of the Johannesburg bar who is an expert on media law and ethics stresses that freedom of speech, "although integral to democracy, is nowhere absolute".

"Certain categories of freedom of speech can be identified which do not fall within the usual protection. For example, when there is a threat of violence."

He points out that South Africa is no different from many Western countries where fomenting racial hostility has been criminalised by law.

"In the context of an election, freedom of speech becomes crucial.

"Citizens are being asked to exercise a fundamental choice and to do so there needs to be exposure to a plurality of ideas."

In such a situation the ability of a political party to convey its message is vital.

"But one cannot ignore the realities of the social context."

"We come from a culture of suppression and many of the problems we face today are directly traceable to that heritage."

"In an ideal world there would be no need to talk about enforcing freedom of speech, but in the context of a political culture such as ours it should come as no surprise that creating a culture conducive to freedom of expression is a difficult task."

Alliance accord 'is in reach'

304A

27/1/94

PRETORIA. — The government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance were within a whisker of agreeing on constitutional changes, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He said the three sides would meet again today after the Alliance had studied the written proposals the ANC had drafted. He hoped they would be prepared to compromise.

Meanwhile, added pressure is being put on the Alliance as President F W de Klerk is to gazette the constitution tomorrow and promulgate the new election dates, leaving today as the only opportunity for the Alliance to get the constitution amended.

However, Inkatha leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, dimming hopes for an agreement at today's meeting, said last night the negotiators had run out of time.

However, the IFP central committee has left its options open. It said yesterday it would not be able to put recommendations to the party on participation in the elections until after today's talks.

The party's leadership is to put the question of participation to a special general conference of the IFP in Ulundi this weekend.

Good progress had been made on the question of self-determination for Afrikaners and that of the Zulu kingdom, Mr Meyer said. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Viljoen: The three 'pillars' of survival

JOHANNESBURG. — The Boer people must ensure their survival by cementing their power in organised agriculture, industry and the military, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

If one of these three "pillars" was lost there was a danger of losing all, he said in a address to the White Mineworkers Union.

Referring to Israel, the general said the Boer had to be prepared to build his volkstaat with his own labour.

(304A) CT 27/1/94

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Last-ditch bid to woo FA to polls

Sowetan 27/1/94

Sowetan Correspondent

■ FINAL DAY Deadline for ANC, Government and FA to clinch deal:

LAST-MINUTE talks between the Government, African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance are continuing today as time to reach an inclusive agreement by tonight runs out.

The deadline for constitutional negotiations was postponed to today after the ANC indicated on Tuesday it would present proposals to FA negotiators at a meeting in Pretoria today.

Today is the final day for agreement to be reached on amendments to the interim constitution as the April 27 elections will be proclaimed tomorrow.

Mr Roelf Meyer said should a multiparty agreement be reached after tomorrow, amendments could be made to the constitution after the elections.

FA members have until February 7 to

register their parties for the elections. In terms of the Electoral Act, registration must take place 10 days after the proclamation of the elections.

Separate talks are also continuing between the Afrikaner Volksfront, ANC and the Government. Meyer said good progress had been made with the AVF and negotiators were considering a mechanism which would address the rightwing's demands even after the elections. (304A)

Should an agreement be reached, it would prove a challenge to the AVF since the FA has made it clear there can be no deal with the AVF unless a package deal is agreed to with the FA.

But it might prove difficult for the AVF to refuse an agreement if its demands are met.

The talks between the Government, ANC and FA ended in deadlock on Tuesday after the deadline for these discussions had been postponed twice before. FA negotiators said after Tuesday's talks that they had reached the end of the road as far as negotiations were concerned.

However, they agreed to today's meeting following a suggestion by ANC chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki that his organisation would present the FA with constitutional proposals.

● See page 8

Parties within a whisker of a constitutional agreement,

GOVERNMENT, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance were within a whisker of reaching agreement on constitutional changes, and it was possible that this could happen today, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said yesterday.

He held out the hope that the alliance would meet government and the ANC today and agree to compromise proposals drafted by the ANC.

Today is the alliance's last opportunity to amend the constitution before the election, as President F W de Klerk is to gazette the constitution and promulgate the

election dates tomorrow.

Meyer said there was a greater chance of reaching a deal on a volte-face than on meeting the alliance's demands.

Alliance leaders' attitude after Tuesday's talks had surprised him because an agreement was so close "and the differences are not insurmountable, and certainly not big enough to hold the country to ransom". The parties were on the verge of agreement on provincial powers and functions, and fiscal and tax arrangements.

"The only problem is that the alliance insists on the word 'exclusive' being inserted

BILLY PADDOCK

in the text of the constitution. The ANC agrees but wants to add that these powers be regulated by framework legislation."

Government believed the powers already stated in the constitution were exclusive, so adding the word was unnecessary. The ANC's demand was rejected as it would have diminished regional autonomy.

While the parties had agreed on taxation, the alliance would not adopt the agreement as there was no resolution on regions' powers and functions.

Good progress was being made on self-determination for Afrikaners and the issue of the Zulu kingdom. A mechanism that would allow the Volksfront and CP to take part in elections and continue negotiations afterwards was being sought.

On the issue of the balloting system, Meyer said that whether voters cast one ballot or two would depend on "how strong the ANC is and how strong the alliance is in their insistence on this issue".

Meyer's deputy, Faanus Schoeman, who was on the technical committee working out the compromises, said: "Some of the

parties (in the alliance) and some individuals in these parties are not serious about finding a settlement.

"There were many occasions when compromises were on the cards but then certain actions by individuals blowing hot and cold wrecked these." The alliance, refusing to compromise, wanted all or nothing.

Meyer was holding out for a package of agreements on the four constitutional issues, but was not prepared to speculate about the ballot being changed.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports from Uthandi

Talks

Biday 27/11/94

From Page 1

that Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said he was not optimistic that today's talks would lead to an inclusive constitutional settlement.

He warned of civil war, saying: "We will never have peace, stability and prosperity if we repeat the failure of Russia and east Europe to recognise that centrist constitutions imposed over a plural society, in which there are competing demands for self-determination, can only give rise to disruption, violence and finally civil war."

Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen told a White Mineworkers' Union conference in Midrand that the boer people had to ensure their survival by cementing their power in organised agriculture, industry and the military. This would ensure their existence better than any constitution, but if one of these three "pillars" was lost there was a danger of losing all.

"We are not, in this country we built up, prepared to be slaves," he said.

To Page 2

says Meyer

focus on transition

EVENTS of the past week up to yesterday dimmed all hopes of the Freedom Alliance, the Government and the African National Congress striking a last-minute constitutional deal.

All parties stuck firmly to their positions with no compromise in sight.

The Afrikaner Volksfront said it would proclaim its own transitional authority.

The ANC reiterated its rejection of two-vote ballot papers demanded by the Freedom Alliance. ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela also rejected the AVF's demand for a *volkstaat*.

The Inkatha Freedom Party insisted on constitutional recognition of the Zulu monarchy — a demand which the ANC can hardly accept.

The Government apparently adopted a non-committal stance, leaving the ANC, IFP and AVF to fight the battle.

The IFP-cum-Zulu march and the CP rally in Pretoria, a few days before the January 24 deadline for them to commit themselves to transitional structures and elections, appeared to have been a well-timed show of strength and a bargaining tactic to exert pressure on the Government and ANC to concede to FA demands.

The events conjured up fears of a governability crisis, which will be the immediate concern of the Government of National Unity.

Fortified defence

Firstly, the CP rally represented a build-up to a fortified defence and restoration of the old order by a clique of irredentist Afrikanerbittereinders.

Secondly, the Zulu march underpinned Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's resolve to boost his image after he lost hopelessly in national politics.

The CP's announcement that the Afrikaner Volksfront will declare its own interim authority on January 29 this month pre-empted any substantive resolution of the nitty gritty of their claim to self-determination.

Following closely on Mandela's outright rejection of an Afrikaner *volkstaat*, the mini-UDI pre-empted any attempts by the ANC to address Afrikaner fears instilled by years of racist indoctrination.

Likewise, the IFP's demand for constitutional recognition of the Zulu monarchy is a far cry, which the ANC is ill-prepared to concede, given the serious repercussions this will have within the ANC ranks.

The massive mobilisation of Zulus during King Goodwill Zwelithini's Pretoria visit was a veiled attempt to display the IFP's capacity to wreak havoc in the event of its demands not being met.

The show of strength, which left at least 15 people dead, signalled Buthelezi's readiness to fight tooth and nail for the acceptance of the IFP's demands.

One of these demands is for the exclusive powers of regional governments like KwaZulu-Natal — probably his residual political power

Sowetan 27/1/94

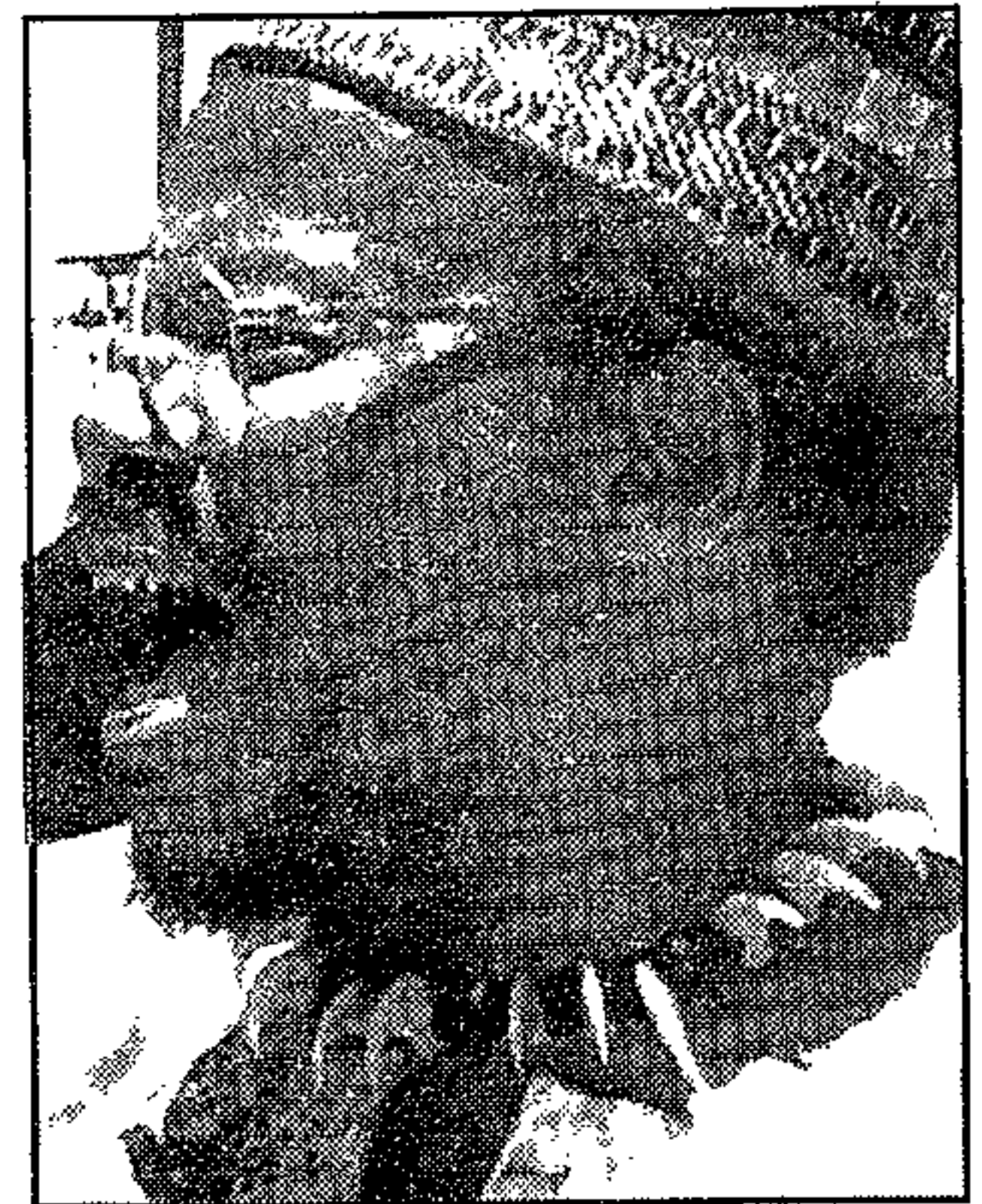
Recent actions of the Freedom Alliance are attempts to coerce the ANC and Government into acceding to its demands. These will pose problems for the future government, says **Mzimasi Ngudle** of the *Sowetan* Political Staff:

(304A)

(MZA)



Chief Lucas Mangope



Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

base after his fast-waning prominence in national politics.

Both events are a prelude to a two-pronged attack on the future government by the power bases of the Freedom Alliance — the Afrikaner Volksfront and Inkatha Freedom Party.

Jingoism

Patently clear is the emergence of rabid Afrikaner patriotism, coupled with Inkatha jingoism draped in Zulu traditionalism.

Meanwhile, the Government is likely to be the main beneficiary should the talks fail.

The National Party can rely on rightwing and Inkatha dissidence as bargaining chips in its opposition to the ANC in the transitional government.

Unless the ANC attains effective control of command structures of the new national defence force, violent uprisings and civil strife are going to be the order of the day.

With the international community closely monitoring political developments here, an ANC-led government has to be careful not to suppress legitimate dissent.

At the same time a manacled government, riddled with dissension, will be too weak to

contain serious threats to stability.

At present, we are in an interregnum because of a crisis of legitimacy that is driving the National-controlled Government outside the corridors of power.

As such the Government is weak and shorn of all capacity to unleash repressive force.

The post-April 27 government will enjoy adequate legitimacy to quell any serious challenge to its power.

While brute force must be avoided as far as possible, the country will need a strong government after the elections — a strong government able to act decisively against people who willfully spurn democratic forums in pursuit of narrow sectional interests.

Liberation movements

Such a government will justifiably enforce compliance with law without arousing indignation at its law enforcement activities.

That is what the government liberation movements should be aiming for.

For a while they must eschew competition for power and look with greater urgency at what will save the country from another five years of civil strife: strong government.

bilisation of patients. This would improve survival chances by up to 40%.

These would continue through the election and be used by the post-election ANC government as a key part of its concept of

some
paign

Government battles to meet demand for ID documents

B/Day 27/1/94

ERICA JANKOWITZ

ABOUT 55 000 Bophuthatswana residents applied for SA identity documents in December and the Home Affairs Department was working hard to issue them, spokesman Niel du Bois said yesterday. (304A)

Du Bois denied claims by Cosatu's northern Transvaal office that Bophuthatswana citizens would not be able to vote with their territory's documents. (304A)

He appealed to TBVC citizens to apply for SA identity documents only if they did not possess official documentation.

As far as SA was concerned, nationals of self-governing territories could hold dual citizenship, but Bophuthatswana authorities said this was not permitted.

Cosatu northern Transvaal regional secretary Joe Selau said the federation would take up at national level the issue of Home Affairs not being allowed to take mobile units into Bophuthatswana to process applications.

Du Bois said this was "a political decision, but residents are free to apply outside the borders. After all, after January 1 they were regarded as SA citizens."

He said Home Affairs was investigating how many people in Bophuthatswana required identity documents

to ensure there were enough staff to process applications.

Selau put the number at between 1.8-million and 2-million and said Cosatu felt it was "not good enough" that people had to travel to SA to get what was rightfully theirs.

Bophuthatswana Information Service spokesman Alwyn Viljoen denied residents had been threatened with deportation if they applied for SA identity documents.

"Our view is that individuals should be free to live and work where they want to, and we do not force anybody residing in Bophuthatswana to become a citizen of the country."

He said Home Affairs was meant to supply Bophuthatswana authorities with a list of all residents who applied for SA documentation, but he did not think this was being complied with. Du Bois was unaware of the requirement.

Meanwhile, Du Bois said Home Affairs was "taking strain" in processing the ever-increasing number of identity document applications. Some 70 000 were received in the last week of December alone, he said.

The upsurge in applications for SA documentation suggested that many South Africans wanted to vote.

Aliens hoping to vote seek documents

Star 27/11/94

■ BY NORMAN CHANDLER
PRETORIA BUREAU

South Africa has about 15 000 illegal immigrants who appear to be trying very hard to obtain identity documents to vote in the April 27-29 general election.

This was disclosed by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte who said in Pretoria yesterday that strenuous efforts were being made to prevent the casting of fraudulent votes.

Schutte said that while identity documents — official IDs, voter cards, the old green ID cards, reference books or passports — were acceptable for voting, 0,3 percent of the population were in the country illegally.

This figure constituted 15 000 illegal voters (238 301 A)

He added that it was found that among people who were repatriated less than 1 percent had falsified ID documents.

Three more days to reach a settlement

304A

APR 28/1994

□ Government-ANC-Alliance talks continue

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The April election will not be proclaimed today because of "technical problems" — and this allows three extra days to reach an inclusive settlement.

Three-way talks between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance will continue on Monday.

It now appears unlikely that the Inkatha Freedom Party will decide at its special conference this weekend whether or not to take part in the election.

This decision has been delayed to see whether the IFP's

amendments will be included in the interim constitution.

The "final" deadline for talks was set for yesterday but it was postponed for a third time this week.

The government's view is that no further amendments to the interim constitution can be included after the proclamation of the election.

Talks deadlocked on Tuesday night but resumed yesterday after further constitutional proposals by the ANC.

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said after last night's talks that his organisation's further proposals focused on the powers and functions of provinces, fiscal powers of provinces and their powers to draft separate constitutions.

The Alliance wanted time to consider these proposals over the weekend, Mr Moosa said.

He said the Alliance had not rejected the proposals "out of hand", and "the show is still on the road".

But IFP negotiator Walter Fellgate said the ANC's proposals increased the overriding powers of central government.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said separate talks were also held yesterday with the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) and a delegation of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini.

But these talks could continue after the proclamation of the election.

US aid package for SA likely

AKG 28/1/94 3049

The Argus Foreign Service
WASHINGTON.

United States president Bill Clinton is likely to announce a new assistance package for South Africa after the April election, administration sources said. Mr Clinton hinted at the package in his State of the Union speech at the opening of Congress this week. In a speech devoted largely to domestic policy, Mr Clinton singled out South Africa for attention.

"This year we must also do more to support democratic renewal and human rights and sustainable development around the world," he said. "We will continue standing by South Africa as it works its way through its bold and hopeful and difficult transition to democracy."

Administration sources said they were confident an assistance package would be agreed to in addition to the present R264 million (\$80 million) a year in direct aid, which should continue.

But it was not clear yet how large it would be, given the national demand for budget-cutting.

Expectations of a Marshall Plan for South Africa, requested by some South African leaders, were unrealistic, the sources said.

But some sort of package would be approved, they forecast. It would probably have two parts — direct assistance to the new government and ways to help the private sector start business and create jobs.

The key word in the proposal being considered is "leverage" — using government funds to lever larger investment by the private sector.

One way of doing this is via enterprise funds which provide risk capital where it is not available from the usual sources. The US government has established such funds in some former Communist states and has been considering a Southern Africa Enterprise Fund.

An important target area for leveraged funds could be township housing where private sector lending institutions have been reluctant to venture because of the risk of losing their investments.

Enterprise funds would also focus on boosting black entrepreneurs. The US administration is also ready to offer South Africa preferential trade status, eliminating import trade barriers on many goods.

Crisis talks resume on Monday

PRETORIA. — Crisis talks between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance continued late into last night and were postponed to Monday.

Officials sources speculated last night that the promulgation of South Africa's first democratic election, scheduled for today, might be delayed.

However, they said President F W de Klerk would promul-

gate the interim constitution as planned. (304A)

The official announcement of the election date would be postponed for what officials described as "technical reasons".

Apparently, election regulations have not yet been finalised by the Inter-Party Liaison Committee, which has to draw up technical regulations for such matters as the location of election points.

The last-ditch negotiations between the government, ANC and the Freedom Alliance were delayed for several hours yesterday by a flurry of talks that included discussions between the government, the ANC, the Volksfront and the Zulu monarchy.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the ANC's compromise

was "essentially the same we were faced with a week ago". He said there were only semantic differences in the new proposal. These could reduce the extent of regional powers compared with the provisions of the interim constitution.

Mr Meyer also said talks with the royal Zulu delegation could

To page 2

From page 1

Crisis talks delayed

lead to a constitutional amendment involving the position of traditional leadership.

Yesterday Inkatha Freedom Party president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said if the government and the ANC dropped their insistence on a single ballot system, it would make a huge difference to his organisation's deciding whether to take part in the election.

After meeting PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu, Chief Buthelezi said King Goodwill Zwelithini insisted on a two-ballot system. The PAC and IFP have agreed to canvass white and black parties for support for two ballot papers.

Observers do not think it inconceivable that the PAC and Inkatha will sign an election pact.

It was learnt that at last night's talks, the Freedom Alliance did not reject outright a revised ANC compromise proposal on regions' powers and functions, including taxation powers.

Purpose

However, an Alliance source, indicating an impasse remained, said the main purpose of the postponement to Monday was to ensure the Alliance would not be seen as the cause of a breakdown.

The postponement may complicate Inkatha's planned weekend meeting, which is to make a final decision on participating in the election.

The Afrikaner Volksfront's General Tienie Groenewald told Reuters a deal for his organisation had been possible, but it would not be separated from its allies. Had talks been between the ANC and the Volksfront alone, a deal could have been reached long ago. — Sapa

Rural battle for NP candidacy

CT 28/1/94

(304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

A TOUGH contest between the Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Affairs, Mr Lampie Fick, and the Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, has developed among National Party branches in the rural areas of the Western Cape.

It is generally expected in the NP that the Minister of Law and Order and MP for Parow, Mr Hennis Kriel, will top the list of candidates elected by delegates from the metropolitan branches in the NP.

Although Mr Fick, MP for Caledon, is expected to top the rural list, Mr Meiring, the former MP for Paarl, is well known throughout the area and has developed a reputation as an effective negotiator.

Some NP insiders believe only the two people on the top of the two lists stand a chance of becoming the party's final nominee for the prime ministership of the re-

Fick tops list, then Meiring

gion. Mr Fick is not interested in the premiership and is understood to be supporting Mr Kriel's nomination.

Although there has been speculation that the MP for Bonteheuwel, Mr Patrick McKenzie, may also be in the running, he is not regarded as a serious contender.

When the NP faithful gather on February 2-3 for the federal congress, clarity should have been reached on both the lists for the nine regional parliaments as well as the regions' lists for the national parliament.

Unlike a number of other parties, the NP will not produce a

national list for the national parliament. NP leader Mr FW de Klerk will deliver both the opening and closing addresses to the two-day congress.

Some 900 delegates from the rural NP branches in the region will meet in Worcester tomorrow to vote for 14 NP candidates for the Western Cape parliament.

At same time, representatives of the NP in the metropolitan areas of the region will meet in Stellenbosch to vote for 20 candidates in the Western Cape.

Early next week the two lists will be merged by the party's provincial executive committee, which will add an additional eight names. The final regional list will then go to the NP's federal council and will probably be released on Tuesday.

The NP's successful candidates will attend a special federal congress at the World Trade Centre in the second half of next week.

Representatives of NP branches in the Northern Cape and the Eastern Cape regions will also be meeting this weekend to elect candidates.

DP will 'surprise other parties'

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC and the National Party were "in for a big surprise" in the coming election, Western Cape Democratic Party leader Mr Hennie Bester predicted last night.

Launching the DP's election drive in the southern Peninsula at a meeting in Fish Hoek, Mr Bester told party supporters that "nothing will be approved in the Western Cape provincial parlia-

ment unless the DP says yes".

The DP had signed up more than 12 000 new members in the greater Cape Town region in the past three months and the party had expanded its number of branches in the area from 14 to 70 in the past year, he said.

Most of the growth had come from the so-called coloured areas.

The DP planned to hold the balance of power in this region by becoming "one of the two largest parties in the province".

'ANC to abide by election rules'

THE ANC would comply with the rules about the deployment of its members at polling stations in the April 27 election, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday.

"Every party is entitled to have two or three observers at the polling booths and as far as I know that is all," Mr Niehaus said.

He also rejected statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel,

and the National Party slamming a statement by the ANC's deputy regional secretary in the PWV, Mr Oben Bapela, in which he said the ANC would deploy 40 000 of its members at the polling booths.

The NP said the plan reminded it of similar actions by the Nazi Party in Germany and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union.

Mr Kriel said the plans had to be reject-

ed outright as direct threat of intimidation.

However, there could be 20 000 polling stations in South Africa and if the ANC had two observers at each, this would require 40 000 of its members.

Mr Niehaus said: "We do not want to get into trouble for something as technical as this."

"However, we will have observers at every polling station."

Bureaucrats stonewall TEC

(304A) WM 28/1-3/2/94

The TEC is being foiled by an unco-operative state bureaucracy and government and ANC politicians using it as a political battleground, reports **Chris Louw**

THE Transitional Executive Council has run into the brickwall of unsympathetic bureaucrats.

Almost two months after the establishment of the body that has a crucial role to play in levelling the pre-election playing fields, the TEC is paralysed by internal problems and an inability to see its important resolutions enforced.

Decisions taken in earnest by TEC members are either ignored by the state bureaucracy or run aground in a political battle between the ANC and the National Party government.

In only three weeks in its new headquarters in the Saambou Building, Pretoria, the TEC's list of failures is growing visibly. These include:

- Failure to stop illegal broadcastings by rightwing radio stations, including the defiant Radio Pretoria

- Repeated failures to convince kwaZulu Police commissioner Lieutenant-General Roy During to appear before a full sitting of the TEC

- Failure to agree on a budget for the National Peacekeeping Force

- Failure to resolve the hospital crisis.

A senior official conceded in private this week that the TEC has executive powers but lacks administrative capability. "We are dependent on civil servants for the execution of decisions taken by the council. In many cases they are either indifferent or hostile towards the TEC."

One example is the inability of the TEC to stop Radio Pretoria from broadcasting. Two officials of the postmaster-general were sent to the broadcasting station at Donkerhoek to inspect the transmitters, but returned without having accomplished anything.

The TEC has now resorted to civil proceedings to enforce its decisions.

Added to the inability to get resolutions executed are debilitating internal conflicts about the delimitation of functions within the TEC administration.

The confusion is exacerbated by a tendency in the ANC to use TEC meetings for political point-scoring



Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer battle to do political business but the TEC is hamstrung by state bureaucracy

PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS

— such as highlighting kwaZulu's purchase of an expensive jet — and by government's use of the TEC as a dumping basket for decisions that may cost it popularity, such as dealing with Radio Pretoria.

The TEC's authority is further undermined by the fact that some members have publicly accused subcouncils of not doing their work.

This week a decision by the sub-council on foreign affairs to afford itself a trip to Europe and the United States drew sharp criticism from some TEC members. The subcouncil was accused by two members — Chief Nkonyane and Amichand Rajbansi — of spending all its time planning for the trip instead of giving attention to its real tasks.

The TEC's problems are further exacerbated by a complete lack of interest by some subcouncil

members in getting involved in their work. Two of the six Regional and Local Government and Traditional Authorities subcouncil members have so far consistently failed to turn up for meetings. The issue was discussed at the TEC meeting on Tuesday, but the names of the two members were not made public.

Finance subcouncil member Jannie Douw, who has since his appointment defected from the Labour Party to the NP, has not yet been replaced — despite repeated pleas by LP leader Allan Hendrickse and LP representative at the TEC, Miley Richards.

While the seven subcouncils — consisting of people from divergent backgrounds and political beliefs — are struggling to find their feet, confusion reigns in Andries Street.

This week, for instance, represen-

tatives of the Development Bank of Southern Africa were summoned by the finance subcouncil to report on an issue that was regarded as "serious". They duly arrived allegedly only to be informed that the subcouncil members could not remember why they were called in.

Serious concern has now arisen within the TEC about its inability to stamp its authority on the transition towards democracy. At Tuesday's TEC meeting chairman Zam Titi openly expressed his concern about the council's "media image".

In a press briefing afterwards Titi confirmed that there were serious problems about the "delimitation of functions". This week, until next Tuesday's TEC meeting, would be spent on promoting "the efficiency of our structures".

Vague legislation providing for the TEC apparently contributes to the problems.

The conflict about the subcouncil on foreign affairs' trip was due to a misunderstanding about the level on which decisions like these could be taken. Subcouncil members, including Manpower Minister Leon Wessels, believed that they could, in terms of their brief, take decisions and had merely to inform the TEC of them. But TEC members insisted they had overriding powers regarding overseas visits and that the sub-council first had to get permission before starting arrangements.

Initially the TEC was intended to be in existence for at least six months. This would have allowed the council to establish itself and to structure its internal organisation.

Although the TEC had already started meeting during last December's parliamentary session in Cape Town, officials — all of them temporary — were only appointed at the beginning of January. This means the TEC will be in existence for less than four months before the elections take place in April.

The short-term nature of their appointments contributes to insecurity and a lack of loyalty among officials. It also leads to power struggles and internal conflicts.

In the case of During, the TEC will now try to obtain a supreme court order to get During to appear before the council. If During still refuses, he may be found guilty in terms of a contempt of court offence rather than an offence in terms of TEC legislation, said Titi.

The TEC's ultimate test will come when it announces plans to stop the violence in East Rand townships.

'Fair election is up to South Africans'

South 28/11- 1/2/94 (304A)

SOUTH AFRICANS should not pin much faith on international observers ensuring a free and fair election on April 27 — in the end it will be South Africans who have to do the job.

Mr Peter Katjavivi, the South West African People's Organisation's (Swapo) director of research, said the responsibility lay with South Africans to determine a fair election.

Katjavivi was addressing 200 delegates from across the country in Somerset West over the weekend. The conference was convened by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy and the Washington-based Joint Centre for Political and Economic Studies.

Said Katjavivi: "In the end, international observers will pack up their bags after the election and return to their homes. It is you, the South African people, who have to live with the consequences of the election.

"As a result, human rights bodies and non-governmental organisations inside the country, have an important role to play in monitoring the conduct of the various political parties.

"If parties don't play by the rules, people must not be scared to come out strongly against them. Too often, observer bodies who want to remain impartial and neutral, are hesitant in apportioning blame because they want to protect this image."

The Swapo leader also called for political parties to take responsibility for the actions of their membership.

"This is why it is so important for all parties to have constitutions that are properly understood by their membership.

"If party members breach provisions set out in their constitutions, it is primarily up to the party leadership to mete out appropriate disciplinary measures. This could include punishments such as suspensions from a political party or even expulsion," Katjavivi said.

Katjavivi was asked how he viewed the threat of the right wing during South Africa's transition.

"I think it is a problem well understood by those of us in the international community, particularly for those of us in Namibia. It seems to me that not only are they unclear about what their vision is, they are focusing all their energies on delaying and postponing

At a conference organised by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy over the weekend, guest speakers from all over Africa offered advice on how free and fair elections could be facilitated in South Africa.

QUENTIN WILSON reports:

democracy in this country.

"We have seen the leaders of other political parties to be extremely patient with them. They have shown a genuine eagerness to bring them on board but, in the end, there does come a time when enough is enough.

"The majority of people cannot wait while a small group of people hold everything up. Nobody will blame the leaders if they take a tougher stance with them and start dictating the agenda a bit more," he said.

Earlier Mr Adamou Kombo, president of the national commission to supervise and verify Niger's elections last year, also warned about the ability of foreign observers to correctly assess local conditions.

"It is sad to say, but I think that it must be said that some international observers greatly disappointed us in Niger by making rash and somewhat frivolous remarks.

"I remember how, on one occasion, a group of European observers really surprised the members of our Commission and several political parties when they declared on television, after having visited just one department out of seven, that everything, polling stations, ballot boxes, etc. were absolutely ready and in order. Whereas, at that point, nothing was ready yet!" Kombo said.

He also hinted that South Africa should not expect an ideally free and fair election.

"Whether an election is free and fair is a relative determination," Kombo said.

"It is not an exact science. Rather, the evaluation must be made based on the sum of all reliable evidence and the degree to which any combination of factors may have shown the true intentions of the voters."

Kombo urged South Africa's Independent

Electoral Commission to concentrate on three factors which would ensure an acceptable election process.

"Firstly, the election atmosphere must be free of intimidation, bribery, violence, coercion and anything intended to subvert the true will of the voters.

"Secondly, election procedures should reasonably guarantee the secrecy of the ballot, the ability to express one's personal choice, the accuracy of the counting and the announcement of results in a timely fashion.

"Thirdly, the Commission should assess whether election procedures were successfully implemented," Kombo said.

Most of Kombo's talk looked at how South Africans could learn from the election experience in Niger.

One of the biggest difficulties faced in Niger, he said, was to equip voters with the knowledge of how to vote. He explained how Niger's election commission dealt with this problem.

"In order to make the population aware of the provisions of the electoral code, short television sketches in our national languages (we have 10 of them) were broadcast every night.

"These broadcasts explained to people about what an election card is. They taught people how to vote and how to use a polling booth," he said.

According to Kombo, other aspects of the voter education programme in Niger were spearheaded by youth and traditional chief organisations, by human and civic rights organisations and by the United States, Canada, France and Germany.

Another speaker, Ms Grace Gethu from Kenya, said that before South Africans go to the polls on April 27, political parties must thrash out a detailed understanding of what they would accept as being "free and fair elections".

According to the Kenyan advocate, this would go a long way in dampening spurious claims made by parties which reject the election outcome.

"An agreement should be made between all participating parties as to what they would accept as being a free and fair election. A code of conduct should also be established which sets out rules for parties to follow during their election campaigns. Penalties for those who do not follow this code should be administered," Gethu said.

Assembling a constitution

FM 28/1/94

The Constitutional Assembly to be formed after April's general election will have two years within which to finalise a permanent constitution. If it fails the President must dissolve parliament and call a new general election.

But this will be a last resort. The interim constitution provides for a complex process aimed at achieving sufficient consensus among delegates.

The assembly will comprise the 400 members of the National Assembly (200 elected on a national list and 200 from nine provincial lists) and 90 senators (10 each from the nine provinces) sitting jointly.

The first meeting must be held within 37 days of the election. The assembly will elect its own chairman and deputy chairman and make its own rules and orders regarding the conduct of business and proceedings.

The new constitution must comply with the 33 constitutional principles agreed to by multiparty negotiators at the World Trade Centre last year and contained in Schedule 4 of the interim constitution.

In essence, the principles bind the assembly to a framework very similar to that within which the interim constitution was drawn up, which means it is unlikely that the permanent constitution will be very different.

For the new constitution to be valid, the constitutional court must certify that it complies with the 33 principles. (BO4A)

The 10-member court will comprise four Supreme Court judges appointed by the President after consultation with the Cabinet and the Chief Justice, and six legal or constitutional experts appointed by the President in consultation with the Cabinet and the president of the court.

The President of the constitutional court will be appointed by the President in consultation with the Cabinet and the Chief Justice. Members of this court will be appointed for nonrenewable terms of seven years.

If, during assembly proceedings, a dispute arises over whether a proposal complies with the principles, it can be referred to the constitutional court if the chairman is petitioned by at least 98 members (20%).

The assembly will be able to appoint committees of its members as well as commissions, technical committees and other advisory bodies to assist it.

It is also required in terms of the interim constitution to appoint a five-member advisory panel of SA citizens recognised as constitutional experts. They may not hold any political office.

A majority of at least two-thirds (324 members) is needed to approve a new consti-

tution. If a two-thirds majority cannot be achieved, but the proposed constitution is supported by a simple majority of the assembly, it must be referred to the panel of experts for unanimous advice on amendments that could win two-thirds support in the assembly. The advice must be given within 30 days.

If the panel fails to submit an amended draft or the amended draft is not supported by two-thirds of the assembly, it may be approved by a simple majority and then (after the court has certified that it complies with the 33 principles) be put to voters in a national referendum. If it is approved by at least 60% of voters it will become the new constitution.

If less than 60% of voters support the draft, or the assembly fails to approve a new constitution within two years, the President must, within 14 days of the referendum or expiry of the two-year period, dissolve parliament and call an election.

The assembly constituted after that new election must approve a new constitution within a year but by a majority of only 60% instead of two-thirds.

The same provisions for referring the draft constitution to the panel of experts, and holding a referendum if necessary, will still apply to the new assembly.

Battle for positions on Nats' election lists

WM 28/-3/2/94

304A

Faced with the prospect of losing their jobs, Nat MPs are jostling for position on the party's election lists, writes **Chris Louw**

BEHIND-the-scenes jostling for positions on the National Party's election lists reached a peak this week, only days before the party's candidates for the new National Assembly are to be announced.

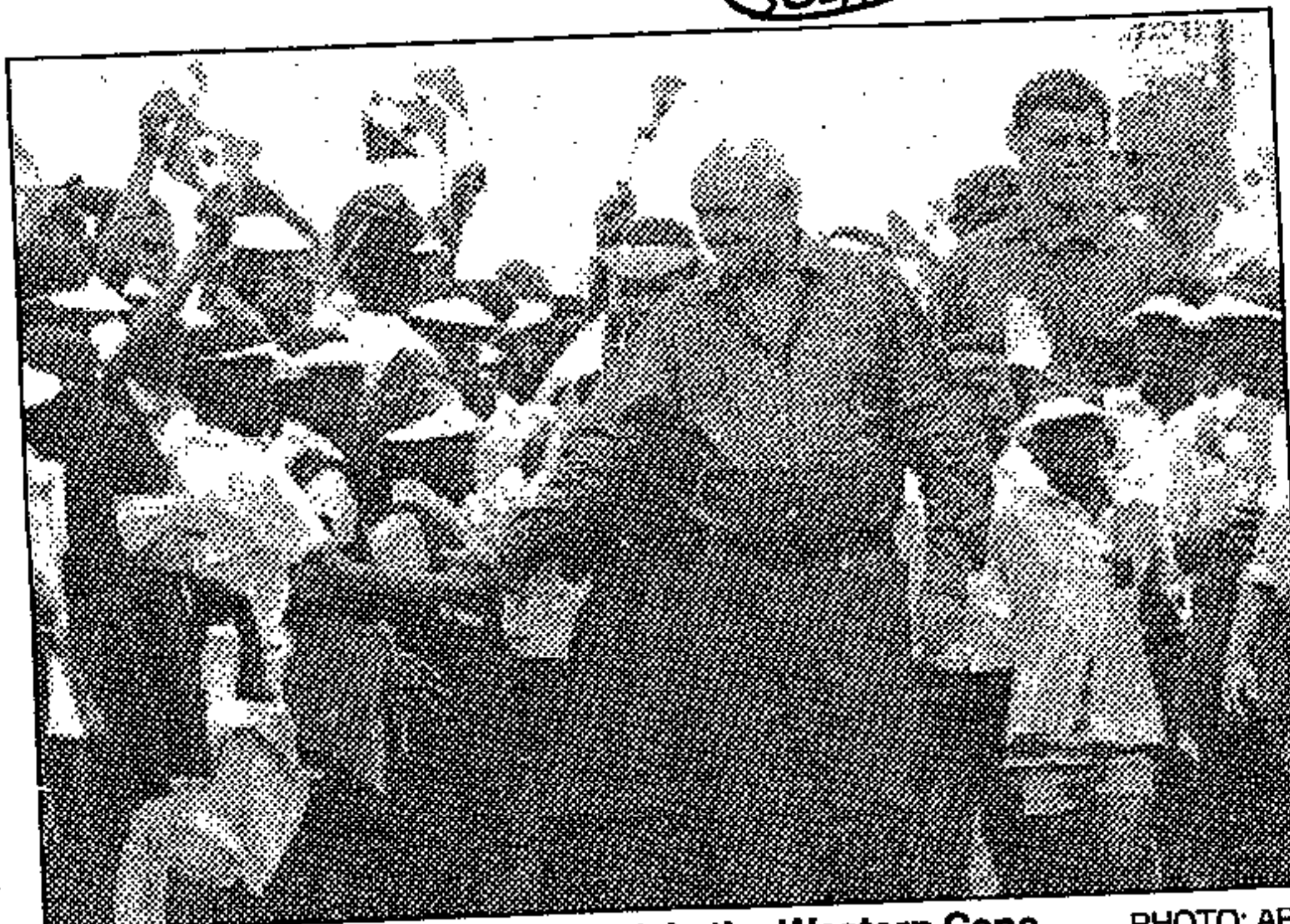
The infighting was amplified by the certainty that many serving Nat MPs stand to lose their seats (and salaries) after the April elections.

Opinion polls done in November last year indicate that the NP will win less than 16 percent of the vote. That will allow the party 63 representatives in the new National Assembly.

The NP has 100 MPs in the white House of Assembly, and more than 50 in the coloured House of Representatives. Although many of these MPs will be accommodated in the provincial parliaments, almost half of them are bound to lose their seats, as the party also has to allow for new black candidates.

One surprise black candidate is former Umkhonto weSizwe member Josiah Nxumalo, who will be nominated in the PWV list for the National Assembly.

People from the private sector — including former Allied chief Kevin de Villiers — will also take the place of career politicians. This is done to ensure support from the business community for the NP.



Pressing the flesh ... FW De Klerk in the Western Cape

PHOTO: AP

The final list will only be made known on February 2, at the party's federal congress in Kempton Park.

The NP will not to have separate national and regional lists. Instead, the party will draw its members for the National Assembly from lists for the nine new provinces.

The party's executive director, Olaus van Zyl, said the provinces will be afforded seats in the National Assembly in direct proportion to the number of votes they receive.

In the Western Cape, hawkish Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel found an unexpected challenger for the premiership of the province in the present administrator, Kobus Meiring.

Meiring is known as a "dove" and is believed to have the support of the NP's Cape leader, Dawie de Villiers. De Villiers will stand for the Nation-

al Assembly.

Kriel, who started positioning himself for the Western Cape leadership early last year with his *kragdadige* posturing during the negotiations, is now seen by many Nationalists as a liability to the party because of his reactionary image.

Opinion polls show the NP has an outside chance of winning majority support in the Western Cape. Everything depends, however, on the coloured vote.

Meiring supporters believe that Kriel will not be acceptable to coloureds. Meiring, on the other hand, is seen to represent the "new face" of a non-racial NP.

In the Eastern Cape, rightwing Local Government and Planning Minister Tertius Delpot, who has made himself available for premiership there, is experiencing unexpected opposition from his parliamentary colleague, Sakkie Louw.

There is no love lost between Delpot and Louw, who resigned last year as chief party organiser for the province following accusations that he was profiting from renting his building to the NP. After Delpot intervened, the NP move out.

Although Louw is not challenging Delpot in the premiership stakes, it is known that his supporters are trying to undermine the minister.

The NP cannot afford an internal squabble. The ANC is expected to win an overwhelming majority in the province. Party organisers fear the conflict may cost the NP more votes.

Indications are that Van Zyl will be the NP's candidate for premier in the PWV province, while the president's assistant, Chris Fisser, will stand in the Eastern Transvaal. In both cases the gesture is of mere academic interest, as the NP has almost no hope of winning majority support in either of the provinces.

WM 28/1-3/2/94 (304A)

The forlorn voter's guide to the polls

Not many voters have kept up with the bewildering changes to election rules.

Chris Louw offers a simple guide

YOUR vote on April 27 will be the most important you will ever cast — it will help determine South Africa's future in four different ways.

Your single cross on the ballot will be counted:

- 1 For national representation on the national assembly.
- 2 For regional representation on the national assembly.
- 3 For the regional legislature in the province you live in.
- 4 Indirectly, for the senate.

The system of proportional representation has been adjusted by South Africa's negotiators to fit the needs of a large corps of unsophisticated voters. Instead of a complicated voting system that could confuse illiterate voters, it was decided that voters should only draw their crosses once, behind the name or emblem of the political party of their choice.

They will not be voting for individuals on a constituency level. Consequently, parliamentarians will also not be able to cross the floor to other parties. If they do, they will automatically lose their seats and their parties can appoint other members to replace them.

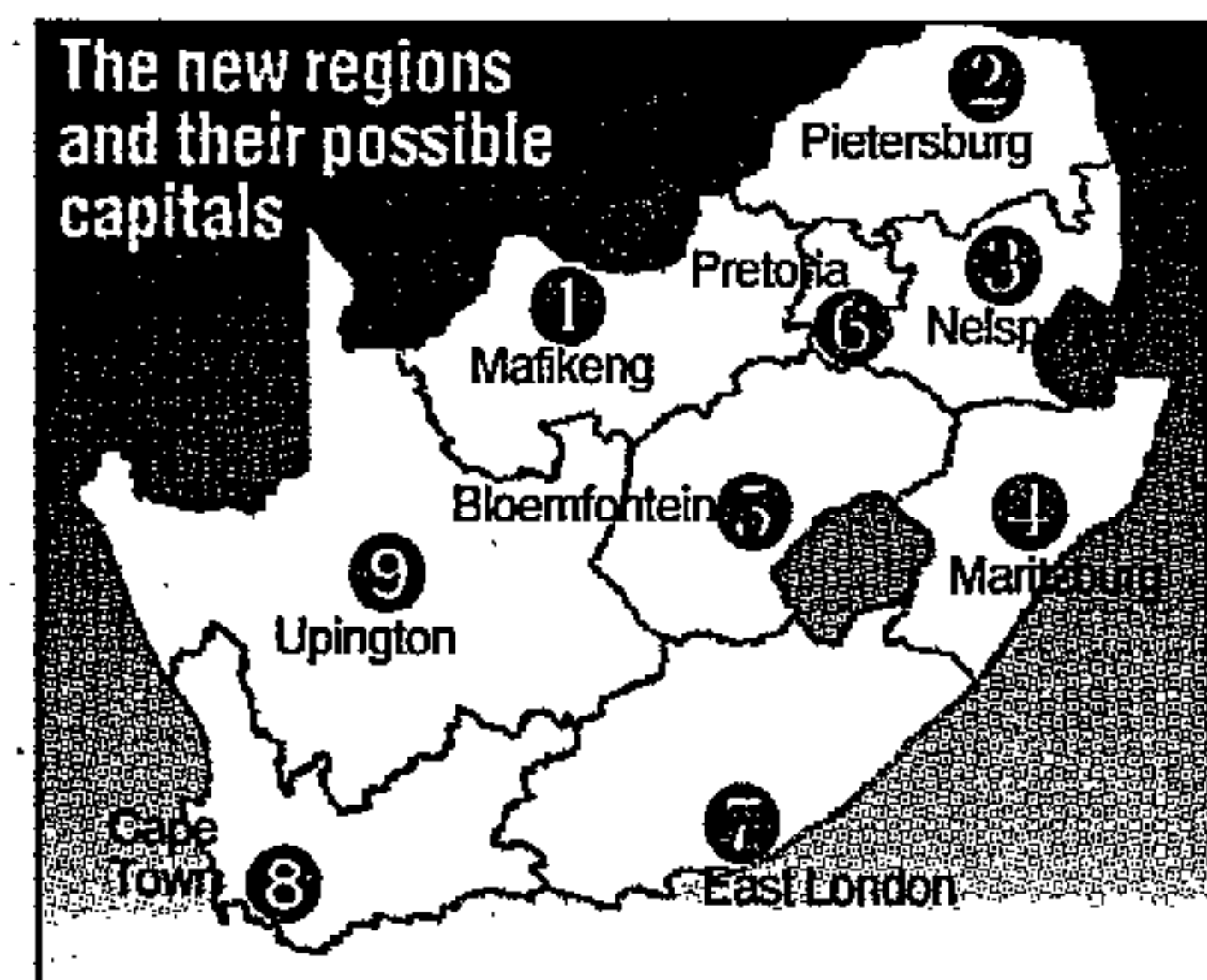
While things are made easy for voters, the procedures according to which the votes will count on the various levels of government are highly complex.

To understand the allocation of the votes, one needs to know what the new structures will look like:

Structures of government

Central government during the transition period of five years will consist of a national assembly and a senate.

The national assembly will consist of 400 members, 200 of whom will be elected on the national level and 200 on the regional level.



The new map

CERTAIN provincial boundaries have been redrawn to provide nine new provinces. Some of the boundaries are "soft", which means they may be changed through local referenda. Their provisional names, which may be changed by the new provincial legislatures, are (see map above): The North West (1), Northern Transvaal (2), Eastern Transvaal (3), Natal (4), Orange Free State (5), PWV (6), Eastern Cape (7), Western Cape (8) and Northern Cape (9). Regional capitals have not been chosen yet, but likely candidates are indicated on the map above. Kimberley may replace Upington, and Port Elizabeth or Bisho may replace East London.

Parliament's two faces

THE provinces each nominate ten senators to represent them in both the senate and parliament.

Parliament — that is, the national assembly in joint sessions with the senate — will double as a constituent assembly, writing the constitution under which South Africans will go to the polls in 1999, when the next elections are due to take place.

It will not be easy to change the transitional constitution, however. The new constitution needs to be supported by 67 percent of all parliamentarians before it can take effect.

In terms of the transitional constitution, the present parliament has to stay in place for five years, even if a new constitution is passed within a year or two.

In these five years the country will be governed by a government of national unity (GNU), which is just another phrase for an enforced coalition government.

The senate will consist of 90 members — 10 each from the nine new provinces.

The nine provinces will have their own governments, each with an executive of 10 members.

Voting procedure

All the parties taking part in the elections will submit two lists of candidates, one a national list and the other made up of nine separate lists, one for each of the provinces.

● **NATIONAL:** All the votes cast in the April 27 elections will first be counted together. Parties will be allocated seats on the national level in direct proportion to the number of votes they receive.

Put differently: if the ANC receives 65 percent of the vote nationally, as suggested by the recent *Sunday Times* "Pulse of the People" survey, they will be allocated 65 percent of the 200 seats available on the national level — which means the first 130 candidates on their national list will make it to the national assembly.

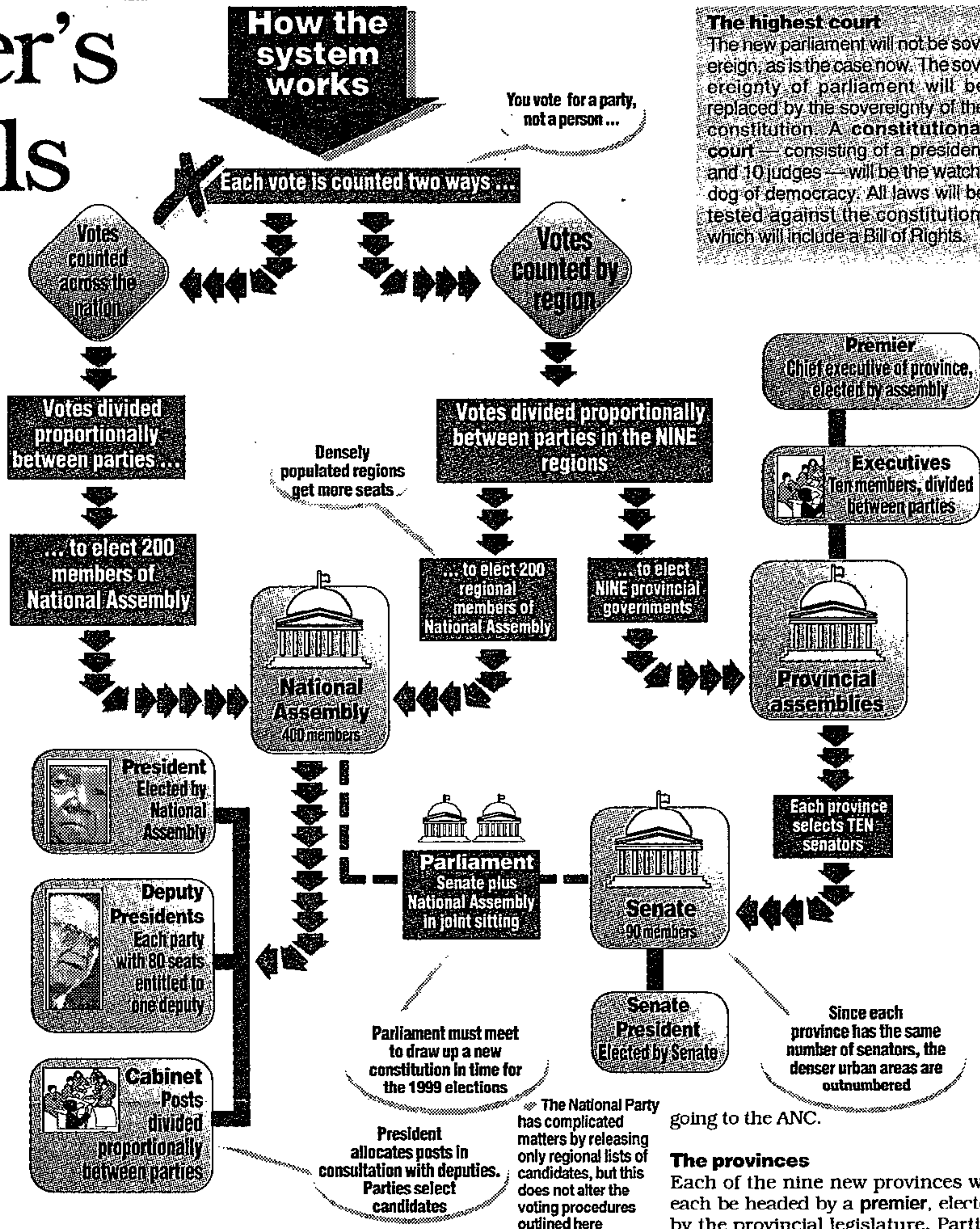
● **REGIONAL:** The votes will then be counted regionally, with the rest of the 200 available seats in the national assembly allocated to each of the nine provinces in proportion to the number of votes cast in their areas.

This means that densely populated provinces will have more seats than those where relatively few people live.

● **PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT:** The votes in the nine different provinces will simultaneously determine the provincial governments. Again parties will be represented in the provincial legislatures proportionally to the number of votes they get. The number of provincial legislature members will be determined by the number of votes cast divided by 50 000.

This means that densely populated provinces will have bigger provincial legislatures than those in which fewer people live.

How the system works



The highest court

The new parliament will not be sovereign, as is the case now. The sovereignty of parliament will be replaced by the sovereignty of the constitution. A constitutional court — consisting of a president and 10 judges — will be the watchdog of democracy. All laws will be tested against the constitution, which will include a Bill of Rights.

The 10-member national executives in the provinces will also directly reflect the strength of the parties.

The cabinet

The bigger parties in the national assembly will be entitled to posts in the executive — or the cabinet — in direct proportion to the number of seats they have won.

For every five percent of the votes a party can muster, it will be entitled to one cabinet post. Put differently: every 20 seats in the national assembly will ensure one cabinet position. (The constitution does, however, allow for up to 27 ministers.)

A president will head the country. He will be elected directly by parliament. All parties with 80 or more seats will be entitled to appoint an executive deputy president. If one party wins by a landslide, the second biggest party — no matter the number of seats it receives — will still be entitled to appoint a deputy president.

The likely president is Nelson Mandela. FW De Klerk is a likely deputy president, along with either Cyril Ramaphosa or Thabo Mbeki.

The president will have the final say in the governing of the country, but in

terms of the constitution he will be obliged to consult the deputy presidents before taking decisions.

The president allocates cabinet up their own constitutions, but they will be subservient to parliament. Parliament will determine national policy

What could a cabinet look like? Using the *Sunday Times* poll as a yardstick once more, the National Party will be entitled to three seats, Inkatha to one, with the lion's share

The provinces

Each of the nine new provinces will each be headed by a premier, elected by the provincial legislature. Parties will be represented in the 10-member provincial executives proportionally to the votes they receive.

The provinces will have extensive powers and will also be able to draw up their own constitutions, but they will be subservient to parliament. Parliament will determine national policy

and all legislation adopted by the provinces will have to be in line with this policy. In cases of conflict the constitutional court (see box at top right) will have the final say.

WE HAVE MOVED

KAGISO TRUST

has moved from its offices in the city to Braamfontein.

New physical address:

18th Floor, Total House
209 Smit Str
Braamfontein, 2017

New telephone & fax number

Tel: 403-6319
Fax: 403-1940
Postal address remains the same i.e.
P O Box 1878, Jhb 2000

WITH two thirds of its term remaining, the Transitional Executive Council is showing distinct signs of structural stress.

Charged with easing the passage to SA's first democratic election, the body is being pushed and pulled by a variety of forces that threaten to overwhelm it.

Its attempt to intervene in every significant political and social crisis is hampered by the constraints of its limited life, resistance to its decisions, growing bureaucratic and administrative difficulties and the gathering tension suffered by politicians on the eve of an election.

As TEC chairman Zama Tlusi said of the council's functional efficiency this week: "The system is not working." Every week that passes brings new problems, conflicts and issues to the TEC's table.

The council is now involved in the hospital crisis, hit squads in Kwa-Zulu, the creation of the national peacekeeping force, defiant right-wing radio stations, the rehabilitation of the East Rand, self-defence units, preparations for regional governments, loans to the TBVC states, public service pay rises and political interference in Bophuthatswana.

The public is not even privy to the bulk of the work being undertaken by the TEC's seven subcouncils following the imposition of a news blackout earlier this month.

The finance subcouncil, for instance, has submitted only one report to the full TEC — on the setting of loan criteria for the Development Bank — and only passing references in the council chamber suggest what it is up to. These appear to include involvement in the budgetary plans of the TBVC and self-governing territories, work on a new state tendering system, consideration of the ANC's application for a waiver on import duties and access to finances, the filling of vacant senior public servant posts and KwaZulu's purchase of a multimillion-rand jet.

The TEC was informed this week that Finance Minister Derek Keys had made a proposal to the sub-council, though what this proposal

Malfunctioning TEC sets out to reinvent itself

ADRIAN HADLAND

B/Boy / 28/1/94

(3047)

involved was not discussed.

Until these matters are actually tabled at the TEC, observers can only guess at the subcouncil's activities. This is true also of the other sub-councils. We know the subcouncil on the status of women has submitted proposals to the TEC's management committee, but these have not yet been considered or made public.

We know the regional and local government subcouncil is having absoluteism problems while it tries to deal with traditional leaders' rights in the new dispensation and oversee the creation of nonracial local councils. Members called this week for the expulsion of the two (unidentified) delegates who had failed to turn up at subcouncil meetings.

The subcouncil on intelligence has been an informational black hole since its inception.

According to the TEC Act, the sub-councils have been given considerable powers to make their own decisions on a range of important issues.

The media, and thereby the public, have been denied access to these deliberations at a time when "transparency" is being bandied about as a key political concept.

The lack of communication is being felt not only by the media and the public but by the TEC itself. This was evidenced by the bickering that



□ KEYS

broke out this week over a proposed overseas trip for the foreign affairs subcouncil.

When asked to approve a 10-day trip to Europe and the US, TEC delegates said they had not even been given an itinerary. Chief Non-

tion, the TEC is attempting to reinvent itself on the run. It has just begun what government delegate on the management committee Fanie van der Merwe described as a "rationalisation process".

A new subcouncil, which will deal with the practicalities of implementing the new constitution, will be established next week.

The management committee has been given a mandate to examine the council's schedule and propose alterations that will come into effect in early February. The likely outcome is that the TEC's usual Tuesday meeting will be shifted to Wednesday or Thursday, giving the management committee and delegates more time to do their homework.

Further work is being done on the framing of jurisdictional guidelines. The guidelines will attempt to define how the subcouncils should relate to each other, clarify on which occasions the TEC will ratify or just be informed of subcouncil decisions and set out what kind of access the media will have to subcouncil deliberations. The success of these three initiatives will have a crucial bearing on whether the TEC will be in a position to carry out its difficult mandate with any effectiveness or transparency.

The frustrations of inefficient administrative arrangements, time pressures and a looming election have already caused political rivalries and bickering to break out.

The arrival of the Ciskei delegation — which has served notice that it will not rubber-stamp anything — and the placing of the emotive "one ballot" electoral issue on the TEC's agenda makes it essential that lines of communication are defined and enhanced.

Under onerous pressure, the cracks are beginning to show in the TEC. The success of the rationalisation programme and delegates' commitment to transparency and communication — with each other and with the public — will have a substantial effect on whether the council will be in a position to guide the country effectively to its first democratic election.

FW tours KwaNdebele

TIM COHEN

28/11/94

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk's election roadshow visited the western Transvaal yesterday, where he was appointed an honorary member of the Manala clan at the royal kraal of King Makhosonke II in KwaNdebele (304A)

A small group of ANC protesters gathered at the kraal, but they left, toying, when they were asked to by royal minders.

Makhosonke said De Klerk was not visiting the kraal as part of his election campaign, but to pay his respects while he was in the area. De Klerk agreed.

He said the new constitution made ample provision for traditional leaders, a concept supported by government and the NP for some time.

He conceded that some of government's decisions were unpopular with the residents of KwaNdebele, but asked the audience of about 50 to focus on the future.

De Klerk, repeating familiar themes, asked the assembly to ask themselves which was the most trustworthy party. He stressed the secrecy of the ballot.

De Klerk visits Manala tribe

Star 28/11/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Rietvlei — President de Klerk started off his three-day election trail to the eastern Transvaal with a visit to KwaNdebele's King Makhosoke II of the Manala tribe, where he tried to sell the NP to about 200 people, mostly children and members of the Zion Christian Church.

De Klerk, who arrived to a muted welcome at Makhosoke's

royal kraal, told his audience that the April 27 election — made possible by his government since he took office — would not be about the past, but the future.

In a speech aimed at winning the support of Makhosoke, who said he made his kraal available to leaders of all political parties, De Klerk said his government and the NP had always stood for traditional leaders' rights and

had made certain that these rights were entrenched in the Interim Constitution.

De Klerk, who was met by a handful of placard-waving ANC supporters, acknowledged that the NP Government had in the past given KwaNdebele residents reason to be angry with it, but it had also done "many good things". Makhosoke appealed to De Klerk to help enable tribal authorities to impart voter education themselves.

(304A)

Trouble as FW visits squatters

Star 28/1/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

President F W de Klerk's roadshow encountered its first major resistance at the Hlalani Kahle squatter settlement outside Witbank today.

A group of rowdy, unemployed youths gave him a hostile reception and threatened to burn down houses of National Party supporters.

De Klerk, who arrived in the squatter settlement shortly after 8 am, visited the homes of a few NP supporters in the area, but wherever he went he was followed by a handful of

► To Page 3

304A

Youths heckle FW at squatter camp

Star 28/1/94

◀ From Page 1

slogan-shouting ANC youths, who said he was not welcome.

This was De Klerk's first foray into a black township during his election campaign.

"We are going to burn him. We are going to burn this traitor and his house," angry youths shouted as one of the residents of the squatter camp received De Klerk in his yard.

In Kanhym outside Middelburg last night, De Klerk — who was heckled by some members of the predominantly black

audience — said it was a fallacy that the ANC would automatically get the majority of the black vote in the April election.

He said millions of blacks knew how "dangerous" the ANC and its economic policies were, and they would therefore vote for his party.

Belfast, Badplaas, Nelspruit, Matsulu and Driekoppies in the kaNgwane area are on the President's schedule for today.

The three-day roadshow will be taken to the Bethal, Standerton and other areas tomorrow.

► FW visits tribe
— Page 5

304A

FW 'ready to sign election decree'

BADPLAAS, eastern Transvaal. — President F W de Klerk was ready to sign the election proclamation at any time, he told journalists yesterday.

Untrue rumours were doing the rounds that he was dragging his feet in signing the proclamation, he said at a media conference held on board a special media bus accompanying him on his eastern Transvaal campaign tour. (34A)

"It is not true. I have been ready to sign since Wednesday," he said. CT 29/1/94

It was the TEC management committee which had postponed the signing because, he believed, the accompanying regulations were not ready.

There had also been a statement by the Freedom Alliance that an agreement would be more easily reached if there was no proclamation, but he doubted that this had motivated the TEC management committee in its decision to delay the signing. — Sapa

No polls without us, warns Volksfront

3049
ARG 29/1/94

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ATTITUDES have hardened in the Afrikaner Volksfront after a deal with the ANC and government had appeared imminent this week.

The deal on a possible volkstaat was scuppered after it was watered down by the ANC's National Executive Council. Yet more "final" three-way talks are due on Monday.

AVF sources said they had shown the draft agreement to their most militant elements including AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, Cape CP leader Jan Hoon and the Free State CP executive who all gave it their blessing. CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg had also accepted it.

AVF moderates warned grimly late this week that the initiative was slipping from their hands as hardline elements threatened to make the running.

■ Volksfront attitudes have hardened after the ANC produced an unacceptable "watered-down" deal on a volkstaat.

One negotiator who had earlier been confident that the Freedom Alliance would take part in the elections, now warns nervously: "There will be no elections if we don't take part. I can say nothing more now".

It is understood that the AFV, the ANC and government negotiators had earlier agreed on a draft amendment to the Constitution reading: "Provision shall be made in the constitution for the recognition of the right of self-determination of the peoples of South Africa. It shall be understood that the right to self-determination relates to the right of any of such peoples to determine their own destiny. Such right may be exercised in such a manner which does or does not entail a territorial entity".

However, the ANC's NEC watered down this agreement, and replaced it with: "Nothing

in these constitutional principles shall be construed as precluding recognition by the Constitutional Assembly of the AVF's idea of self-determination".

The AVF regards this amendment as "ANC tom-foolery" couched in sneering tones.

The ANC's latest proposals also tended to increase central government power instead of greater provincial powers as demanded by the Freedom Alliance. The ANC still rejects two ballots for national and provincial elections as the FA demands.

The Inkatha Freedom Party is due to decide at a conference this weekend on whether it will take part in election. But IFP organiser Senzo Mfayela told Weekend Argus that the conference might take a decision which was conditional on the outcome of Monday's negotiations.

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Demands grow for 2 ballots

29/1/94 (304A)
By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE campaign for a double ballot in the April election gained momentum yesterday after a meeting between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

PAC political affairs secretary Mr Jaki Seroke said the two leaders had agreed to step up the drive for a "one voter, two ballots" system.

Further meetings on the issue were planned with other parties and organisations, he said.

The DP believed that "the voter has the fundamental right to vote differently at provincial and national level", Dr De Beer said yesterday.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi met with Mr Makwetu on Thursday. He said the IFP might take part in the election if the system was changed.

Talks: CP patience is 'wearing thin'

29/1/94 304A
PRETORIA. — Constitutional negotiations between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance were exhausting the patience of the Afrikaner, the Conservative Party warned yesterday.

CP negotiator Mr Fanie Jacobs said the Alliance would have nothing to do with the ANC's six-point proposal that placed new restrictions on exclusive powers for provinces.

The deadline for negotiations has been extended to Monday, and the date for the election was not promulgated yesterday as was originally planned.

It is not known whether these developments will delay the Inkatha Freedom Party's decision on its participation in the election.

An announcement will be made after the party's conference at Ulundi this weekend.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi will deliver his presidential address to the conference this morning. — Sapa

NP wraps up easter

Star 29/1/94

(304A)

White members 'must recruit blacks'

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Correspondent

NELSPRUIT

President FW de Klerk has called on white National Party members to recruit blacks to the party to ensure its victory in the April election.

Addressing influential local businessmen at a lunch in Nelspruit yesterday, De Klerk said it was a fallacy that the overwhelming majority of blacks would vote for the ANC in April.

He said the NP already enjoyed the support of the majority of the white, coloured and Indian communities, and everything now had to be done to secure the black vote.

"If every fourth Nationalist undertakes to bring in four votes from those who are presently undecided, or sick and tired of the inconsistencies of the ANC, then we can be the biggest party in South Africa.

"If you can also motivate your neighbours and friends, we can do that.

Defended

"Help us. Don't wait for party workers. Begin this very afternoon. We can win and we will win," De Klerk said.

In his best speech since he began a three-day eastern Transvaal road show in KwaNdebele on Thursday afternoon, De Klerk defended the political reforms he initiated in 1990, saying South Africa would have

slid towards anarchy and events similar to those that accompanied the fall of the Berlin Wall in Germany a year earlier if the reforms had not been initiated.

Eastern Transvaal

farmers would then "not have been able to sell a single orange", he said.

He told his predominantly white audience that things were once again beginning to improve in South Africa.

Foreign investment was flowing back because of his actions, he said.

The Interim Constitution the NP had negotiated contained sufficient checks and bal-

ances to prevent any possible abuse of power in future, and the electorate should now help him finish what he had started.

"This country is destined to become the

Japan of Africa launching pad for the region's economy.

"You need not your citrus and your nanas in secret longer.

"The World Bank



TRAILBLAZING: President de Klerk is out to woo black voters, but at Hlalani Kahle in the eastern Transvaal received him at their homes were threatened with death and had to be given police protection. ● Fiu

Will congress solve mystery of ex-MK

JOHN PERLMAN
Chief Reporter

THERE may be some predictable stuff at the National Party Federal Congress next week, but the proceedings will at least help to pull the veil off one little political mystery.

The NP's Soweto leader David Chuenyane claimed at the start of this year that "another 200" former Umkhonto we Sizwe guerillas had joined the National Party. Saturday Star has been asking him, without any success, for some documentary proof to back that claim up. "The security risk is too high," Chuenyane said again this week.

Three of the NPs MK converts —

Desert Ramasodi, Vronda Banda and Joshua Nxumalo — have stepped forward, and MK has confirmed that they were all commanders in the ANC's guerilla army. According to Chuenyane, they are "being hunted high and low". But others may step forward next week, according to Chuenyane. He said he was hoping to find paid positions "for another 10".

"I'm placing them in different areas in the PWV," Chuenyane said. "They will be working in the elec-

tion machinery and some of them will be at the congress next week."

Chuenyane said the defections had been taking place "over a period of about eight months". He said that even though the men were "ex-combatants", they would be used in a purely political role. The MK men, Chuenyane said, had "political training with an ability for persuading people. It's a matter now of training them in National Party policy.

"Maybe we will also use some of them as peace monitors," he said.

He said there was no question of any of the ex-MK men joining the

National SADF. "I accepted, on they are all that "said none cers' comman them was of them

Chueny tension at guerillas "They hav more ag come out stand for",

ps up eastern trail

Star 29/11/94

(304A)



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● Photograph: SEAN WOODS

ress solve mystery of ex-MK men?

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"Maybe we will also use some of them as peace monitors," he said.

He said there was no question of any of the ex-MK men joining the

National Peacekeeping Force or the SADF. "Most of them can't be accepted, on the basis of age, because they are all over 30," he said, adding that "about half" were over 40. He said none would be suitable for officers' positions as "not all were in commanding positions, not all of them were permanent and not all of them were combatants".

Chuenyane said there was "no tension at all" between the former guerillas and the NP rank and file. "They have accepted them as being more aggressive, and more likely to come out and say 'That is what I stand for'," he said.

Foreign investment was flowing back because of his actions, he said.

The Interim Constitution the NP had negotiated contained sufficient checks and bal-

ances to prevent any possible abuse of power in future, and the electorate should now help him finish what he had started.

"This country is destined to become the

Japan of Africa and a launching pad for the region's economy.

"You need not sell your citrus and your bananas in secret any longer.

"The World Bank and

the International Monetary Fund are opening their doors to us as a result of the NP's policies."

Earlier the president visited the Hlalani Kahle squatter settlement and

KwaGuga township outside Witbank, and addressed farmers and their workers on a Lilliefontein farm outside Belfast.

He concluded the second day of his tour with visits to Matsulu, outside Nelspruit, and Driekoppies, towards the Mozambican border.

Everywhere he went, the message was the same: the April election was about the future and not the past; the ANC was "a dangerous party" that could not be trusted; a landslide victory for Nelson Mandela's organisation in the election was not in the interest of democracy; the NP had the right policies for the country.

Sources close to the NP said the party was very serious about getting "a big slice of the black vote".

Party surveys indicated many blacks were willing to vote for it.

The main problem thwarting the NP's efforts to reach out to the black electorate was massive intimidation by individuals associated with the ANC.

Proclamation

NP members who received De Klerk in their Hlalani Kahle homes yesterday were threatened with death and had to be given police protection.

At a press conference aboard the bus carrying journalists covering the campaign trail, De Klerk said he had been ready since Wednesday to sign the proclamation for the April election and denied rumours that he was dragging his feet on the matter.

He had been shocked by the behaviour of ANC-supporting youths in Hlalani Kahle. Whether the election would be free and fair would be depend on the degree of intimidation between now and April 27.

De Klerk called on members of the Freedom Alliance not to boycott the election.

Their dissatisfaction with the Interim Constitution offered them "a potent platform" to use in the election, he said.

"A boycott is a short-sighted option which will rob the public of another choice in the election."

Right, ANC, Inkatha to show their hands

Next three days vital for peace

Star 29/1/94

304A

FROM PAGE 1

the FA, the Government and the ANC on the constitutional changes demanded by the FA are set to continue — the deadline for settlement having been extended yet again (11A) (11B)

However, patience is wearing extremely thin on all sides and it now seems likely that if a deal is not made on Monday, the transition will go ahead without the dissenting FA parties. The implications for a peaceful election campaign and transition to the new order are highly disturbing (304A)

It is pointed out that while De Klerk has some leeway in declaring the election — it has to be done by February 27 —

such a delay would seriously hamper the work of the newly formed Independent Electoral Commission and hold up the installation of the Independent Media Commission.

Afrikaner Volksfront members are set to gather at the Pretoria Showgrounds today for a ceremony to "install" its "transitional volksraad" (people's council), signalling a turning up of the heat by the right-wing umbrella organisation.

At the same time the ANC will unveil its election manifesto, giving the country's citizens a clearer idea of what its policy will be if, as expected, it takes the lion's share of power in the

new dispensation. The ANC will reveal the manifesto today at Nasrec in Johannesburg, where Mandela is expected to arrive by train at 11 am.

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa today enters a crunch 72-hour period that will determine whether the passage to its first non-racial democracy will be peaceful.

A spate of initiatives over the next three days marks this period as being particularly important.

Then South Africans should know:

- Whether the constitution agreed to in the World Trade Centre talks will be changed to accommodate the demands of the Freedom Alliance (FA).
- Whether the FA's most influential component, the Inkatha Freedom Party, will take part in elections.
- Just how serious the right wing is in its threats to destabilise the transition.
- What the ANC's formal policy for the future will be.

At the same time, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela

will forge ahead with their respective American-style "roadshow" election campaigns, with the National Party leader sweeping through the eastern Transvaal and his ANC counterpart wooing voters in the western Transvaal.

Others, however, believed the sentiment among IFP supporters was such that the boycotters might win the day. This could give rise to serious divisions in the IFP, with some of its younger members anxious to continue their political careers and not be left on the sidelines at the April poll.

On Monday, the trilateral discussions between

most eyes will be on Mbuli, where a special general conference of the IFP called by Mangosuthu Buthe will be asked to decide whether the organisation should contest the election.

He said this might lead to a "holding" resolution by the IFP special conference, effectively deferring a decision on participation in the election or passing the ball back to the IFP central committee.

TO PAGE 2.

IFP sources were divided yesterday on what the decision would be. There are two distinct factions in the party, those in favour of boycotting the election even if an agreement is not reached on changes to the new constitution, and those who feel it should be boycotted if the party does not get its way in last-minute talks with other players.

Hamstrung

One senior IFP member predicted yesterday that the meeting would be hamstrung by the fact that talks between the FA — including the IFP — the Government and the ANC on the constitutional changes demanded by the FA were still to be completed.

Hamstrung

De Klerk takes on 500 ANC Star 29/11/94 hecklers

KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political
Correspondent

DRIEKOPPIES DAM — President F W de Klerk yesterday stood up to a 500-strong group of placard-waving ANC supporters and told them to grant other parties the right to campaign freely across the country.

In a dramatic confrontation, De Klerk, who had been plagued by groups of

● See Page 2

protestors seeking to drive him out of the townships he visited on his three-day roadshow in the Eastern Transvaal, told the group it was he who had begun the reform process which had led to the April election (30/4/94).

De Klerk faced the hostile group when it tried to prevent him from a meeting a local chief.

He said that just as ANC members had the right to work for an ANC

● TO PAGE 2.

Star 29/11/94 De Klerk

● FROM PAGE 1.

victory, so the NP had the right to do the same.

"Stop believing what other people tell you about the NP. We are not the devil," De Klerk said to polite applause from the crowd, which by then had gained some new respect for him.

He took questions and said the ANC and the NP stood for basically the same thing — peace, economic growth and stability — but it was the methods used to achieve these goals that differed.

Although the task facing De Klerk on this election trail appears enormous, his efforts do not seem to be in vain.

Take yesterday. On the second day of his three-day roadshow, De Klerk tried to ignore a small group of vociferous ANC supporters who toyed vigorously outside a KwaGuqa flat in which he was taking tea with his black host (30/4/94).

When he came out of the flat, a number of people broke away from the chanting crowd to shake his hand — much to the chagrin of those who had organised the protest.



TERREBLANCHE: He gave his blessing.

Volksfront attitudes harden as deal scuppered

Star 29/1/94

DAVID BREIER

CAPE TOWN — Attitudes have hardened in the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) after a deal with the ANC and Government had appeared imminent this week. (304A) The deal on a possible volkstaat was scuppered after it was watered down by the ANC's national executive committee (NEC). Yet more "final" three-way talks are due on Monday.

AVF sources said they had shown the draft agreement to their most militant elements, including Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche, Cape Conservative Party leader Jan Hoon and the Free State CP executive, who all gave it their blessing. CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg had also accepted it.

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TO PAGE 2.

Star 29/1/94 Volksfront

agreement, and replaced it with:

FROM PAGE 1.

Alliance would take part in the elections, now warns nervously: "There will be no elections if we don't take part. I can say nothing more now."

It is understood that the AFV, the ANC and Government negotiators had earlier agreed on a draft amendment to the constitution reading:

"Provision shall be made in the constitution for the recognition of the right of self-determination of the peoples of South Africa. It shall be understood that the right to self-determination relates to the right of any of such peoples to determine their own destiny. Such right may be exercised in such a manner which does or does not entail a territorial entity."

However the ANC's NEC watered down this

agreement, and replaced it with: "Nothing in these constitutional principles shall be construed as precluding recognition by the Constitutional Assembly of the AVF's idea of self-determination."

The AVF regards this amendment as "ANC tomfoolery" couched in sneering tones. (304A)

The ANC's latest proposals also tended to increase central government power instead of greater provincial powers as demanded by the Freedom Alliance. The ANC still rejects two ballots for national and provincial elections as the FA demands.

FA member the Inkatha Freedom Party is due to decide at a conference this weekend on whether it will take part in the election. But IFP organiser Senzo Mfayela said the conference might take a decision which was conditional on the outcome of Monday's negotiations.

SI Times 30/11/94

New party fails to deliver names

Political Staff

LEON LOUW has failed for the second week in a row to provide the names of the high-profile South Africans he claims support his Liberal Voice movement. (304A)

Mr Louw wants to form an election alliance with the Democratic Party, claiming he has the backing of up to 300 000 supporters.

In return, he wants his supporters placed high on the alliance's election lists.

But all he has been able to provide the DP with is a list of minor figures such

as entertainer Nick Taylor.

A senior DP source said it appeared the Liberal Voice amounted to little more than a political vehicle for Mr Louw and his wife, Francis Kendall.

"They said they will bring prominent black liberals to the party, but we've yet to see a list."

DP federal council chairman David Gant said he and Mr Louw were "continuing discussions to assess whether the full spectrum of resources (human resources, organisation and funds) available to the Liberal Voice merits a full-blown alliance".

slots

Nats scramble for key

30/11/74
Sundays Times

Party faithful handed top spots on poll lists

THE party faithful top the NP's lists of candidates for Parliament and nine provincial legislatures that were being completed across the country yesterday.

State President FW de Klerk will announce nine lists from the regions for the NP's 400 parliamentary candidates and nine lists for the provincial legislatures when he launches the NP's manifesto on Wednesday.

However, the top names on the provisional lists are unlikely to change.

According to a Sunday Times poll, the NP will win 16 percent of the vote across the country. If polling trends survive the campaign, the NP can expect to win 63 seats of the 400 in the National Assembly. This means that only those near the top of the list can be certain of being elected, and there has therefore been a frantic battle to secure these prime slots.

President de Klerk tops the PWV region's list of candidates for Parliament, followed by the party's Transvaal leader, Foreign Minister Pik Botha, and with government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer third.

Former Transvaal MEC for local government Olaus van Zyl is the NP's nomination for the premiership of the region. Others near the top of the provincial list are Boksburg MP Sakkie Blanche, Germiston MP Derek Christophers, Vereeniging MP Tom Gunning and West Rand businessman Vincent Thusi.

The NP is confident it will win 40 percent of the vote in the PWV region, giving the party 36 seats in Parliament from the region. However, according to the Sunday Times poll, the NP is expected to win 15 percent of the vote in the PWV region, which would give it no more than 13 seats in the National Assembly from the PWV.

In the top 14, excluding the three already mentioned are ministers Sam de Beer, Leon Wessels, Theo Alant, Piet Welgemoed and deputy minister Fanus Schoeman.

MPs Marthinus van Schalkwyk, Tersia King, Dirk Bakke and Rudolph Groenewald, Transvaal MEC David Chuenyane and businessman Ike Bikitsha

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

are also among the top 14.

Deputy ministers Sheila Camerer and Boy Geldenhuys, businesswoman Nana Masangu, MP Desmond Padiachey and minister Jac Rabie have a chance of making it into Parliament if the NP increases its support in the PWV area.

Mr de Klerk is allowed to tamper with 10 percent of the list, and Finance Minister Derek Keys is likely to be given a slot in the top 10 of the PWV list.

Candidates at the top of the other regional and provincial legislature lists are:

Eastern Transvaal — presidential aide and MP Chris Fisser for Parliament and former MP Dr Lucas Nel for premier;

Northern Transvaal — Minister Andre Fourie for Parliament and MP Vic Borchers for premier;

North-West — Minister Amie Venter followed by deputy minister Yakoob Makda and MP Jannie Douw for Parliament, and Andries Beyers for premier;

Free State — Minister Kobie Coetsee for Parliament, and MP Innes Aukamp for premier;

Northern Cape — MP Jan Brazel for Parliament and Minister Kraai van Niekerk for premier.

Western Cape — Cape leader Dawie de Villiers for Parliament and Law and Order minister Hernus Kriel for premier. Mr Kriel yesterday defeated Cape administrator Kobus Meiring who had been vying for this leadership position.

There is some uncertainty about the Eastern Cape and Natal.

In the Eastern Cape, Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont is battling MP Sakkie Louw for the premiership and MP Manie Schoeman tops the region's list for Parliament.

And in Natal, NP members are not ruling out a complete surprise. While Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte has set his sights on topping the region's list of parliamentary candidates and Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett is aiming for the premiership, there could be some shocks.

NP PROMISES LOW TAXES

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

FREE market economics and low taxation are the key features of the NP's election manifesto, to be unveiled by President F W de Klerk at the party's federal congress on Wednesday.

The manifesto places the "new" NP at the centre right of the political spectrum.

According to sources within the NP, the manifesto says an NP government will follow the economic policies of the successful countries of Europe, America and the Far East.

It will seek to attract foreign investment, stimulate free enterprise and generate regional growth, they say. It

also aims to attract major multinational companies, create new jobs and use South Africa as a base for the emerging markets to the north, while opposing socialism and communism. 30/11/94

The sources say the manifesto commits the NP to a programme of recovery and reconciliation by: (30/11/94)

- Achieving peace and stability through a sound federal constitution, the rule of law and community policing;

- The creation of jobs through free enterprise, a market economy, attracting foreign investment and the development of more factories and offices to create job

□ To Page 2

NP promises tax cut

□ From Page 1

opportunities;

- An aggressive, home-building programme, led by the government but driven by private enterprise. 30/11/94

- The transformation of the education system;

- Providing health care for all by the year 2000 through government and private sector co-operation;

- The wise management

of the economy, to deliver all these things and to ensure taxes remain low, and

- Ensuring there are good roads, transport and telephones. (30/11/94)

The manifesto commits the NP to democracy, justice, a balance of power and regional diversity, the sources say. It also stresses the vital need for consultation with the community and the recognition of differing regional needs.

TEC out to prove its teeth aren't false

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

THE TEC'S moment of truth has arrived. By the end of next week South Africa will know whether the council is a toy telephone or a body capable of governing the country until the April election.

Top of its agenda will be the implementation of a programme to bring peace to the East Rand — a crucial move if the April elections are to be free and

fair. The plan, first mooted at a meeting between President FW de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela three weeks ago, has yet to be discussed in the council itself. (304A)

Instead, a two-man task group and an army of lawyers have been battling

their way through a minefield of legal technicalities obstructing the peace plan.

A second test of the TEC's authority will be when a Pretoria court decides whether it has jurisdiction over Kwazulu.

The homeland's police chief, Lieutenant-General Roy Doring, failed to appear before the council this week, after defying the TEC for a month.

The TEC has threatened a court action to compel him to divulge information on Kwazulu police hit-squads.

Should the court rule against General Doring, this will clarify the council's authority. But should the application be unsuccessful, the TEC will effectively lose jurisdiction over the defiant homeland.

A third test will come

when the Development Bank of SA decides whether to give a R850-million loan to Bophuthatswana.

This week the TEC modified an earlier resolution instructing the bank to stop the loan.

Following legal advice that strong steps would interfere with a legally-binding contract, the new resolution "requested", rather than "instructed", the bank to consider not giving the loan to Bophuthatswana should the homeland not comply with "guiding principles".

The main obstacle to the council achieving its objectives appears to be a built-in uncertainty over its status. Last year the government tried to structure the council as an advisory body, while ANC negotiators tried to fashion an effective interim government.

The result has been a body whose legal ability to give orders is questionable.

Coupled with a rapidly-growing agenda, ranging from the Radio Pretoria debacle to Kwazulu's new jet, the TEC's authority is crumbling before the eyes of an anxious public.

With the election now 90 days away, the TEC will have to reorganise itself rapidly or watch powerlessly as intimidation and violence threaten democracy.

However, TEC joint executive secretary Mac Maharaj said this week it was a "hunk of baloney" that the council's work was being thwarted by intransigent bureaucrats.

In dealing with issues, it was the TEC's primary concern to find political solutions. If this failed, it had to act legally and correctly, and this took time.

Viljoen sparks fury by talking peace

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

AFRIKANER Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen was booed by rightwingers yesterday when he called for a non-violent way to achieve an Afrikaner volkstaat.

Sections of a 20 000-strong crowd at a rally in Pretoria, held to establish a Volksfront "transitional authority", jeered when General Viljoen suggested the movement should participate in the April election.

Taking part in the election would establish right-wing support and give a guide to the best region for a volkstaat.

"Every vote for the Volksfront is a vote for the volkstaat," he said before being drowned in a roar of indignation.

The crowd called on the AVF "transitional authority" to keep the violence option open.

In his inauguration speech as interim president of the volkstaat, Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said that if the Afrikaner could achieve independence through peaceful means, it would be unwise not to do so.

But if Afrikaners were not granted freedom, they would "take it".

At a media conference after the rally, Mr Hartzenberg and General Viljoen said they hoped the government and the ANC would take note of the anger of the people.

A special first meeting of the "transitional authority" was called yesterday to discuss the rally.

● Picture on Page 2

ANC reaps seeds of resistance in E Cape

30/1/94

SITimes 30/1/94

THE temperature was 28,2°C — perfect weather for those from the classy Port Elizabeth suburbs of Humewood, Summerstrand, Walmer and Mill Park, to relax on the beach.

But in the predominantly black townships on the poverty-stricken side of the same city, a quest for freedom far outweighed relaxation.

Pensioner Johnson Ngqoyiya and scores of other residents had gathered outside Daku Hall since the morning, preparing for more serious stuff — putting their cross next to the name of the political party they hoped would take up their concerns after April 29.

It was an ANC mock election — a voter education campaign the organisation is vigorously pursuing in the Eastern Cape region.

Born in 1910 — the year the ANC was established — Mr Ngqoyiya will be casting his vote for the first time in April, helping to usher in a democratically-elected government whose life span will depend on whether it tackles housing, education, health and economic disparities.

Mr Ngqoyiya uses his meagre pension to take care of his grandchildren. Speaking of his expectations of the new government, he said: "We want equality."

"We're going to vote for Nelson Mandela who went to prison for all of us."

"I walked all the way from my home here to vote, thinking it was voting day and was told it was voter education."

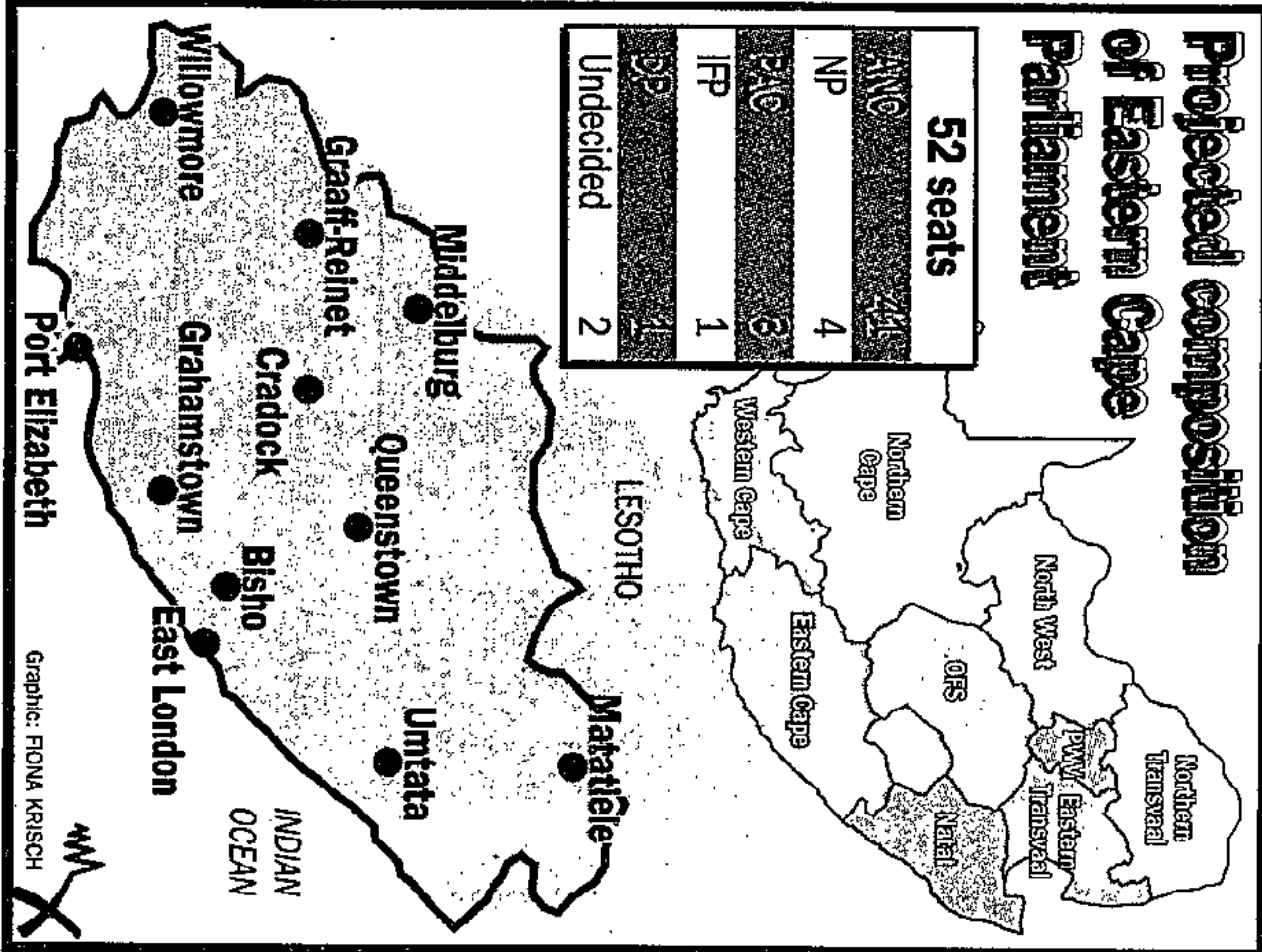
Mrs Victoria Japhta, 72, who voted in the black local authority elections in 1983, still lives in the same shack 10 years later.

She hopes a new government will help get her a house.

The Eastern Cape — where United Democratic Front street and area committee structures first emerged — has a history of powerful resistance to

Little time for a breather as activists step up quest for liberation

SITimes 30/1/94



BY MIKE ROBERTSON

MORE so than in any of the new provinces, the outcome of the election in the Eastern Cape is a foregone conclusion, according to a Sunday Times poll.

The poll, conducted by Marknor in November, found that the ANC had the backing of 77 percent of voters willing and able to vote in the province.

The National Party had the backing of eight percent, the PAC five and the Democratic Party, IFP and AVF/CP one each.

Should this voting trend survive the campaign, Raymond Mhlaba, the ANC candidate for provincial premier, will head an all-ANC provincial executive.

In order to qualify for membership of the executive, the NP would have to improve its performance by two percentage points.

The ANC would have 41 seats on the 52-member provincial parliament.

The NP would have four, the PAC three and the IFP and DP one each.

The allocation of the



SAD MEMORIES ... Mimi Goniwe stands at the graves of Cradock activists Silelo Mhlawuli, Sparrow Mkonto, Fort Calata and her son Matthew

remaining two seats will be determined by the manner in which voters who told pollsters they were undecided cast their ballots. Eastern Cape voters will

elect 26 people off provincial lists to represent the province in the National Assembly.

Based on the poll, the ANC will get 21 of these seats, the NP two and the

IFP and PAC one each. Voters who were undecided when the poll was taken will determine the allocation of the remaining seat.

Members of the provin-

cial parliament will elect 10 people to represent the province in the Senate. Based on the poll, the ANC will have eight senators and the NP and PAC one each.

Pictures: HERBERT MABUZA

apartheid.

Activists in the region clashed head-on with the P W Botha government in the 80s as they led major labour, education and civic campaigns.

Mr Thozamile Botha, now ANC local government expert, led the Ford strike in 1980; Mr Mkhuseleli Jack spearheaded the consumer boycott of white businesses in 1985; and Mr Wantu Zenzile, Mr Lulu Johnson and Mr Fundile Mafongosi were behind Congress of South African Students campaigns in 1980.

But the Eastern Cape suffered for keeping the ANC, PAC and SACP fires burning in the 80s, with at least 11 activists "disappearing" in the region.

The most notorious case was that of Cradock civic leader Matthew Goniwe and fellow UDF activists Sicelo Mhlawuli, Sparrow Mkonto and Fort Calata.

Their bodies were found on June 27 1985 near Bluewater Bay. At an inquest which was reopened years later, the SAP and SADF accused each other of the killings.

Lingelihle township in Cradock — where Mr Goniwe, Mr Mhlawuli, Mr Mkonto and Mr Calata were buried nine years ago — has a high unemployment rate, and most roads are still untarred.

As Mr Goniwe's mother Mimi puts it: "The situation is the same."

Mrs Goniwe went to pay tribute at the graves of the four Cradock leaders this week.

Carved on the huge black tombstone was a tribute to the activists, which read, in part, "Your blood will nourish the tree that will bear the fruits of freedom."

However, for the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Organisation which staged an anti-elections rally at the weekend, the tree of liberation still has a long way to grow before bearing any fruit.

"Down with votes!" chanted about 100 Azapo supporters who had gathered in Njoli Square in Port Elizabeth's Kwazakhele township.

Veteran Azapo regional leader Ngcobo Nguna said that by holding the rally, his organisation merely intended registering its position.

"The campaign is not meant for any confrontation with those who will be voting, but we're registering our (Azapo) position."

"We're disgruntled with our liberation movements," he said.

The PAC said it was not perturbed by anti-elections protests.

By BRIAN SOKUTU

There are more pressing issues: the organisation's branches in Port Elizabeth and in Umtata face a financial crisis.

Financial backing has not been forthcoming despite the PAC's suspension of the armed struggle.

"Despite a lack of resources, we're preparing to kick off with our election campaign," said PAC Eastern Cape chairman Knox Tsotsobe.

However, in Umtata the PAC has no vehicle, only one telephone and a fax, and its offices are dilapi-

Mpahlwa: "The PAC presence is only in the towns. And 93 percent of voters here live in villages."

"The noise made by the PAC in the Transkei contributes to the belief that they have support."

Asked about the concerns of voters in Transkei, Mr Mpahlwa cited housing, education, job creation, and electrification.

However, not every ANC leader wanted the organisation to win with a landslide victory.

While ANC veteran Govin Mbeki wanted "no less than 70 percent", Mr Mkhuseleli Jack, a former UDF publicity secretary, talked of "checks and balances".

"I do want the ANC to win, but we need a powerful opposition to keep checks and balances," he said.

"This will guarantee us governance for a long period. We don't want to win with a majority vote and be kicked out after five years."

The National Party, which is striving to win votes in the townships, is ready to take on the ANC, according to Algoa MP Frans Smit.

"We know the Eastern Cape is the mecca of the ANC, but we can match them," Mr Smit said.

"We're well organised, but I cannot disclose our strategies to you at this stage."

"We have not established many branches in the black areas compared to coloured and white areas. I regret that the NP was not open to all races at its inception."

The NP message to black voters?

"We live for the future, not the past," said Mr Smit.

The Democratic Party in the Eastern Cape conceded the ANC would win the election, but said that would not be the end of the road for liberalism.

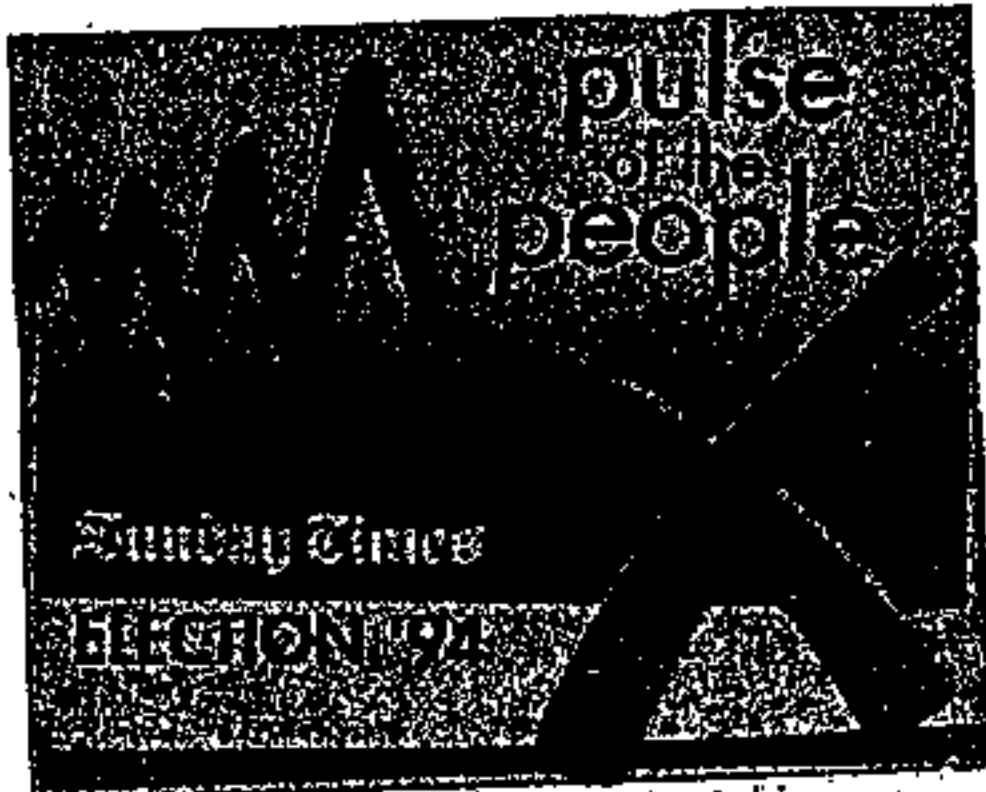
"We're very well-positioned between the NP and the ANC. We occupy a critical position," said DP MP for Port Elizabeth Central Eddie Trent.

Mr Trent said those who didn't vote for the NP or the ANC would vote DP.

The DP was concerned about the inclusion of Port Elizabeth, East London, Ciskei and the Transkei in one region.

Mr Trent said: "The unification will lead to inter-regional conflict. East London and Port Elizabeth are going to be in perpetual conflict."

"You need a strong central government intervention ... you can't expect Port Elizabeth with its small economic base to redistribute resources."



PRACTICE RUN ... Victoria Japhta learns about voting.

dated — a far cry from the furnished ANC offices at Magwa House.

Despite financial constraints, PAC Transkei vice-chairman Gilbert Sineke was confident of an outright PAC win in the elections.

"We enjoy quite good support in central Transkei," he said.

"Our problem is to cope with people waiting to join us. We also have a problem with logistics."

Asked about the PAC's suspension of the armed struggle, Mr Sineke said:

"The youth here is still interested in the continuation of the armed struggle, but the decision taken by our president is understandable and we'll abide by it."

Responding to PAC claims of majority support in the area, ANC Transkei chairman Mlungisi Ndumase said: "As far as I know, they have a presence in some areas. But I would not say they're growing."

Added ANC elections co-

FW belts out *Nkosi*

CIPRESS

30/11/94

THE anthem *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika* was a beautiful and deeply religious song which should not be allowed to be politically hijacked, President FW de Klerk said on Friday.

journalists' questions regarding his campaign tour through the eastern Transvaal where he was seen to join in with farm workers who sang the anthem at a rally.

the words it is a deeply religious song, imploring God Almighty to give blessings to Africa. We are part of that."

The hymn has been recognised as the country's other national anthem until a new one is decided on. - Sapa

He was responding to

"It is a beautiful song," he said. "If you analyse

(304A)

Jeering, scorn for Viljoen

THE government and the ANC should take note of the angry mood of rightwingers who gathered in Pretoria demanding self-determination and a volkstaat, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday. *CLP 30/1/94*

He was speaking at a news conference after an AVF meeting of the AVF's own transitional assembly during which the audience clearly displayed their fanatical desire for the creation of a volkstaat. *(304A)*

There were shouts of derision when the assembly rejected General Constand Viljoen's proposal that conservative Afrikaners vote in the April elections.

In the confusion Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche, who was not on the speakers' programme, took the stage and said the Afrikaner could not live without freedom and if necessary would acquire it with the necessary violence. —

Mandela appeals to rightwingers

ANC 31/1/94 (304A)

Vote in April, says ANC leader

STILFONTEIN. — African National Congress president Nelson Mandela appealed to militant rightwingers to participate in the April election and to vote for an Afrikaner homeland.

At the second stop of his western Transvaal campaign trail, Mr Mandela told a crowd at Stilfontein that his organisation had made the Afrikaners an offer they would be foolish to refuse.

Rightwingers could have their own separate election ballot to vote for a Volksstaat. But, the ultimate decision on the establishment of such a homeland would be made by the new government.

Mr Mandela further warned rightwingers not to do anything to plunge the country into a conflict that would leave many, both black and white, dead.

"We know how to fight too," Mr Mandela said.

From one packed stadium to the next, Mr Mandela kept up a hectic schedule yesterday.

Although a poor community, residents at the next stop at Jouberton township outside Klerksdorp went all out to welcome him.

Here, his message of proper housing and services, education, health care and employment drew an enthusiastic re-

Mr Mandela said no matter how much money and effort the ANC poured into uplifting poverty-stricken communities by creating jobs and giving children a free education, the people themselves had to work hard and be dedicated to improving their lot.

He said the ANC's national public works programme would not only give people jobs, but allow them to be part of labour-intensive projects in building facilities like homes, clinics, hospitals and roads.

Mr Mandela warned, however, that changes would not be noticeable in the first few years after elections.

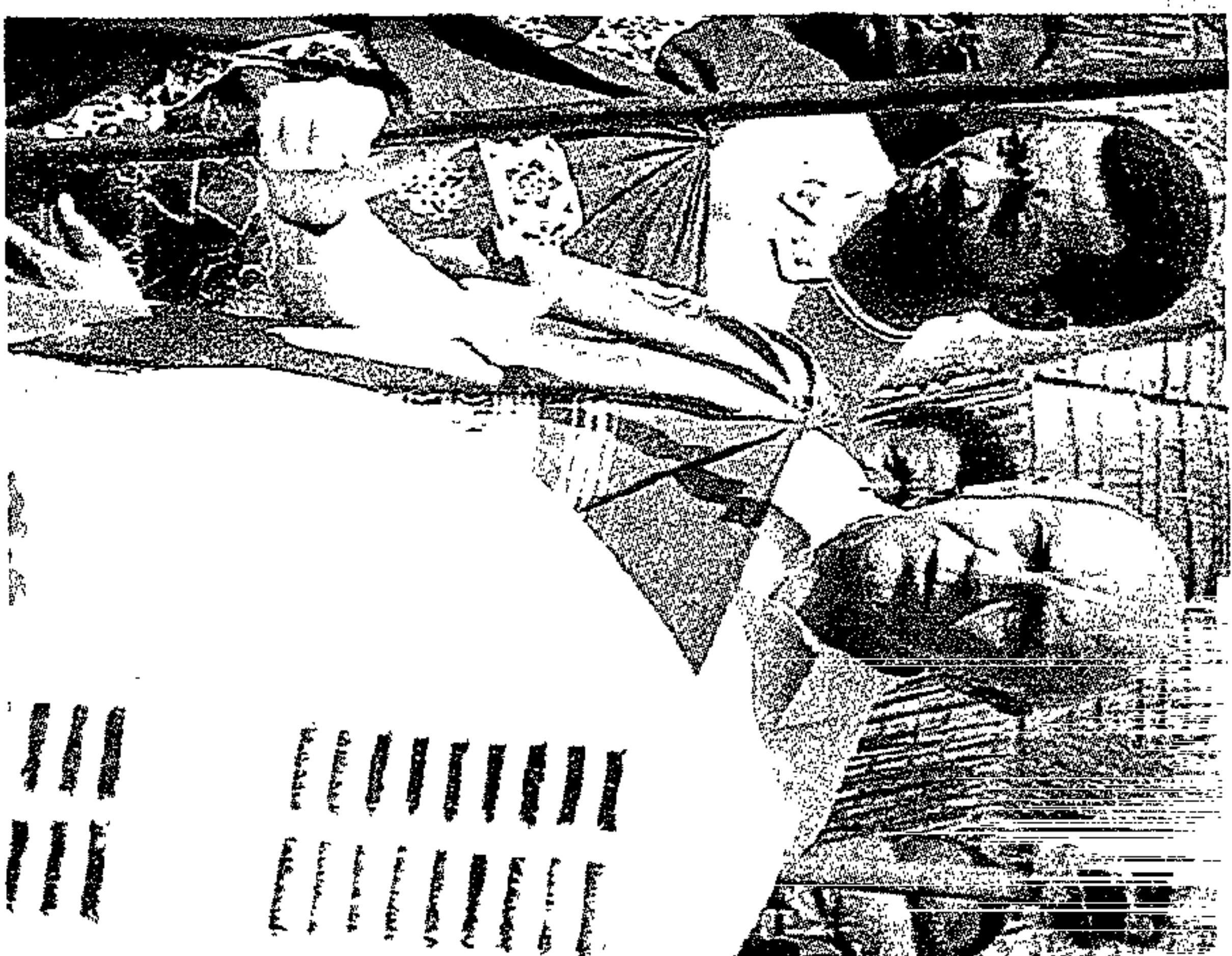
"Do not expect to be driving a Mercedes the day after the elections. You must have patience. You might have to wait five years for results to show. But, we will immediately begin mobilising resources and implementing plans," he said.

Throughout the day, Mr Mandela appealed to people to allow the National Party to campaign freely in the townships.

"Give all organisations a chance to canvass support in the townships. Let them come and show they have nothing to offer you. They will only expose themselves. We will not have to bury them after elections. They are burying themselves," he said. — Sapa.



WARM WELCOME: ANC president Nelson Mandela is greeted by children on his arrival at an election campaign rally in the Western Transvaal town of Rustenburg.



CAMPAIGN TRAIL: President De Klerk, in a traditional robe, with a spear and shield — presented to him by Swazi tribesmen during his election campaign in the Eastern Transvaal.



FW finds a few easy conquests in uphill battle

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The task facing National Party leader President F W de Klerk on his three-day election trail in the Eastern Transvaal was enormous. Some have said his efforts to win black votes are like ant trying to move a hill.

And yet it has not all been in vain.

Take Friday, for instance. On the second day of his roadshow, Mr De Klerk had to try to ignore a small group of vociferous ANC supporters who toyi-toyed outside a flat in KwaGuqa, Witbank, in which he was taking tea with his black host.

When he came out of the flat, a number of people spontaneously broke away from the chanting crowd to shake his hand — much to the chagrin of those who had organised the protest.

The daughter of President

De Klerk's host, 21-year-old Rebecca Skhobela, who made tea for the president, sported an ANC T-shirt.

But she said she was a member of neither the ANC nor the NP, and the T-shirt was her boyfriend's.

And some black National Party supporters had fascinating reasons for joining the party, ranging from its economic policies to the claim that it "took care" of them.

Asked why she would vote for the NP, one woman said: "Well, ANC, NP — same thing." Pressed further, she responded: "De Klerk, Mandela — good friends".

In what must be the highlight of the roadshow, members of a formerly hostile 500-strong group of ANC supporters at Driekoppies Dam applauded politely — and with some new-found respect — when Mr De Klerk stood up to their heckling and went on to tell them about his part in changing things and to answer questions.

On a Lilliefontein farm outside Belfast, African labourers sat passively during the president's Afrikaans speech.

Afterwards, many told reporters they had not understood a word. (304A)

When told that one farmer had advised the president to speak in Afrikaans because all the workers understood it, one journalist quipped: "Maybe the farmer was a member of the Conservative Party."

Bester elected DP candidate for premiership

ARC 31/1/94.
5044
Political Correspondent

HENNIE Bester has been elected as the Democratic Party's candidate premier for the Western Cape, heading the party's 42-strong provincial list.

Mr Bester, the DP regional leader, was elected to the premier candidacy by the regional electoral college in a contest with the former rector of the University of the Western Cape, Richard van der Ross.

Twenty-eight of the 42 candidates have been elected so far.

They include: Herbert Hirsch, Elmarie Nielsen, Steven Ntsane, Demetri Qually, Graham Retief, Dennis Marinus, Florina Serfontein, Chris Joubert, Karen Hvidsten, Johannes Fortuin, David Curry, Keith Gurney, Lynita Conradie, Andrew Marks, Belinda Walker, Peter Krummeck, Pieter Visser, Theodore Swanepoel, Joseph Marks, Farouk Daniels, Daniel Ngo and Owen Kinnahan.

NP vote would be 'betrayal'

POTCHEFSTROOM. — ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday suggested any so-called coloured or Indian person who voted for the National Party was a "traitor".

Speaking in Potchefstroom's Primoso township Mr Mandela said: "This community has such a rich history they could never play the role of traitors to the revolution."

He said "certain parties" were trying to woo the Indian and coloured communities, but there was no person of colour with any authority or power in the top structures of the NP. — Sapa

Afrikaners 'offered volkstaat vote' ^(304A) 31/1/94

RUSTENBURG. — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday his organisation had offered Afrikaners the opportunity to vote for a white homeland in the April 27-29 election.

"After discussion with the leader of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) we made an offer to this effect that on April 27-29 as we vote, the Afrikaners can vote for the idea of a volkstaat, he said at a rally in Khuma township near the right-wing town of Stilfontein.

He said the volkstaat issue would then be decided after the election.

However, the idea was put to right-wingers at a meeting in Pretoria on Saturday where General Constand Viljoen was booed for suggesting it.

Mr Mandela rallied to support Gen Viljoen, saying it was not a disgrace for a political leader to be booed by his supporters.

"I have been booed by you elsewhere, but I have not hesitated to put the truth to you. For a leader to be booed is not a disgrace, specially when he is talking to people who are not thinking with their brain but with their blood," he said.

He appealed to right-wingers to avoid conflict "which will result in the deaths of innocent people" and warned the ANC knew how to fight. — Sapa

Final deadline for FA to get on board

Political Staff

TODAY is the final deadline for the Freedom Alliance to board the transition train as the bells ring for South Africa's constitutional process.

State President FW de Klerk is under pressure to immediately proclaim the April election and the interim constitution — which he was due to have "finally" done on Friday — but at the same time he faces the growing threat of a white-rightwing revolt. The week also began on a sour note with the Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday declaring it would not participate in the election.

By proclaiming the election date De Klerk will be putting his stamp of approval on the country's first nonracial poll. This will give political parties 10 days to register for the election.

Sowetan 31/1/94
FW WARNED Generals warn far

right is set to stage a coup:

On Friday, trilateral talks involving the Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance (of which IFP is member) broke down with the FA seeking the extension of negotiations until today following a compromise proposal by the ANC. (30/4/94)

The FA indicated it would present proposals for input to its principals.

The trilateral talks are aimed at finding solutions in two distinct areas.

The three parties are seeking to resolve outstanding constitutional issues before De Klerk promulgates the new constitution and an election date.

An attempt is also being made to

accommodate the Zulu monarchy in a future dispensation and to see how rightwing demands for an Afrikaner *volkstaat* can be handled.

This decision also coincided with the Afrikaner Volksfront rejection on Saturday of the election and its commitment to "war" if the demand for an own homeland was not met.

An Afrikaans Sunday newspaper reported yesterday that senior generals in the South African Defence Force had warned De Klerk that the internal security situation of the country was in danger with the far rightwing element poised to stage a coup.

De Klerk warns ANC

Sowetan

31/1/94

STATE President FW de Klerk told more than 200 protesting African National Congress supporters that he would not be intimidated and would return to the black township of Mzinoni, near Bethal.

He had gone to the Eastern Transvaal township on Saturday to open a new branch of the National Party. He was confronted by a crowd of rowdy ANC members who drowned out appeals to give him a chance to speak.

He pressed on with his address, but was hardly heard over the noise.

"This office sends a message that the NP will not be intimidated," he said as

ANC members toyi-toyed and sang "Bring us Mandela".

De Klerk accused the ANC of fomenting trouble.

(304A)
He said the NP was there to serve the people of Mzinoni and with their support to create more jobs.

Addressing workers

De Klerk spent the remainder of the last day of his three-day eastern Transvaal tour by walking through a shopping mall in Standerton and then addressing National Party workers on the farm of former Transport and Agriculture Minister Mr Hendrick Schoeman in Delmas.

— Sapa.

focus on the AVF

IN SEVEN MONTHS as a journalist in South Africa, I have never seen as many angry people as I did on Saturday.

At first I wasn't sure what I was doing at the massive rightwing Afrikaner rally in Pretoria. I can neither speak nor understand Afrikaans, and I can't claim to be an expert in Afrikaner nationalism.

But even for an outsider, certain things were clear. Everyone — from hulking AWB recruits stuffed into camouflage uniforms, to middle class families in weekend casual clothing, to a small boy leading a pit bull adorned with a swastika — had one very serious goal: an Afrikaner *volkstaat*.

And many wanted a show of force. When Afrikaner Volksfront General Constand Viljoen played the dove, and suggested that Afrikaners had an option of participating in the all-race elections to show the world how much support the AVF had, the hawks screeched.

Shouting and booing

Hundreds of people jumped to their feet and began shouting and booing Viljoen. A group of AWB supporters began calling for their militant leader: "Terre'Blanche! Terre'Blanche!"

The AWB leader rose to the podium and gave an angry speech. He reassured his supporters that they would not join the "ANC elections". They would fight and die first.

It was a theme that pervaded the day. Anger, frustration and possibly even desperation bubbled over on several occasions as bodyguards jostled with journalists and demanded film from one international photographer.

For anyone who thought these people were bluffing, there were thousands of angry voices urging them to guess again.

And despite Viljoen's offer of caution in the face of an impending civil war, his organisation began handing out a document of principles, goals and history of the AVF.

In its conclusion, the AVF drew on their version of history to remind everyone that they would not back away from a fight:

Willing to fight

"The Boers were willing to fight more than one war in the past for their freedom. If the mortality rate for July to December 1901 in the British concentration camps continued for a further three years no one, not a single man, woman or child, would have survived this genocide.

"This was the price the Boer nation was prepared to pay for their freedom and independence.

"Anyone who thinks that their offspring today will simply surrender their freedom must think again."

The AVF also laid down a number of principles of "the constitutional model of the Afrikaner Volksfront". Among them:

- Rejection of a single state for the whole of South Africa;
- The realisation of the right of self-determi-

Sowetan 31/1/94
Onlookers at the massive rightwing rally in Pretoria didn't have to understand Afrikaans to know that the Boers were angry and meant business. Canadian **Glenn McKenzie** was there:



AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche (left) and AVF leader General Constand Viljoen address a rally in Pretoria.

nation of the Afrikaner people in their own smaller *Volkstaat*;

- The recognition of other peoples' right to self determination in a "New South Africa";
- The principle underlying the model of the AVF is that of political independence and the economic interdependence of these states.

Near the end of the four-hour rally, Dr Ferdi

Hartzenberg was named as the new interim president of the *Afrikaner Volksraad*. In his inauguration speech, Hartzenberg said Afrikaners should choose peaceful means of gaining "freedom" if they could.

But they would take their freedom if they weren't given it, he added.

The masses agreed.

'Yes' for white assembly

A MILITANT audience of thousands of whites on Saturday accepted a resolution that a transitional assembly be established for Afrikaners.

The proceedings in Pretoria momentarily broke down when the assembly rejected resolutions proposed by Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) General Constand Viljoen, apparently because they were not militant enough and did not provide for the instant creation of a *volkstaat*.

A suggestion by Viljoen that conservative Afrikaners participate in the April elections to prove the AVF's support was dismissed with derision by a large section of the audience.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB) leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche said Afrikaners could not live without freedom and,

if necessary, would acquire it with violence.

"Tell our leaders, give us an election, let the nation vote 'yes' but not at the ballot box for the ANC," he said.

The AVF was on the way to a new third, free Boer republic, Terre'Blanche added.

Before the temporary breakdown in the programme, Viljoen said the AVF could field tens of thousands of men at short notice if necessary, and, eventually, hundreds of thousands if required.

Politically, the Afrikaners were less powerful because they lacked numbers, but their salvation lay in their defensive capabilities, Viljoen said.

"Nothing but nothing can stop the Afrikaner from obtaining his freedom," he said. — *Sapa*.



Honorary Swazi ... De Klerk with his host, Chief C M Dlamini, and members of his family at the royal kraal in Badplaas. PICTURE: SEAN WOODS

Some surprises as FW charms rural voters

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The task facing National Party leader President de Klerk on his three-day election trail in the eastern Transvaal was enormous. Some have even likened his efforts to win black votes to that of an ant trying to move a hill. And yet it has not all been in vain.

Take Friday, for instance. On the second day of his roadshow, De Klerk had to try to ignore a small group of vociferous ANC

supporters who toyi-toyed outside a KwaGuqa, Witbank, flat inside which he was taking tea with his host.

When he came out of the flat, a number of people spontaneously broke away from the chanting crowd to shake his hand — much to the chagrin of those who had organised the protest.

The daughter of De Klerk's host, 21-year-old Rebecca Skhobela, who made tea for the president, wore an ANC T-shirt.

She said that she was a member of neither the ANC nor the

NP, and that the T-shirt belonged to her boyfriend.

This week Skhobela will be travelling to Hammanskraal Police College to begin her police training.

And some black NP supporters had some fascinating reasons for joining the party, ranging from its economic policies to the fact that it "took care" of them.

Asked why she would vote for the NP, one woman said: "Well, ANC, NP — same thing."

Pressed further, she responded, "(F W) de Klerk, (Nelson)

Mandela — good friends".

In what must be the highlight of the roadshow, members of a formerly hostile 500-strong group of ANC supporters at Driekoppies Dam applauded politely — and with some newly found respect for him — when De Klerk stood up and told them about his contribution to the new dispensation and answered questions.

Then there were the farm-workers who were forced by their employers to accompany them to some of De Klerk's meetings.

At a Lilliefontein farm outside Belfast, farmworkers sat passively during the President's Afrikaans speech.

When De Klerk finished speaking, most told The Star they had not understood a word of what he had said.

When told that one farmer had advised the President to speak in Afrikaans because all the workers understood it, one journalist said: "Maybe the farmer was a member of the Conservative Party. Maybe that's what the right wing means by sabotage."

NP to announce poll hopefuls

BY MICHAEL SPARKS

After nearly three years of negotiations, the National Party will return to the World Trade Centre this week to announce its candidates to fight the election which is the culmination of talks at the Kempton Park venue.

President de Klerk will announce the 400 names from nine lists from the nine regions for the central parliament, and a further 400 names for the nine regional legislatures, at the party's federal congress which begins on Wednesday.

The names which had been

Star 31/1/94
forwarded from the regions were voted on at the weekend in what one source described as "a very democratic process within the party".

Premier

While the NP is keeping tight-lipped about its list of hopeful members of the new parliament, De Klerk is expected to head the list for the PWV region, followed by Transvaal NP leader and Foreign Affairs Minister Pk Botha and Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer.

Former MEC Olaus van Zyl is

expected to be nominated as premier for the region.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is expected to be nominated for the Western Cape premiership.

Also on the list is NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers and Cape Administrator Cobus Meiring.

In Natal, sources confirmed that Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte was expected to head the national list.

Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett would head the list for the regional legislature.

Impatience for immediate creation of volkstaat

'See Right's angry mood'

Stuur 31/1/94

(2044A)

CONSTAND Viljoen earns the ire of thousands when he suggests the Right should test its support in April

The Government and the ANC should take cognisance of the angry mood of militant right-wingers demanding self-determination and a volkstaat, Afrikaner Volksfront leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said in Pretoria on Saturday.

He was speaking at a news conference after a meeting of the AVF's own transitional assembly during which the audience clearly displayed their impatience for the creation of a volkstaat.

The orderly proceedings momentarily broke down when the assembly rejected resolutions proposed by AVF General Constand Viljoen, apparently because they were not militant enough and did not provide for the instant creation of a volkstaat.

A suggestion by Viljoen that conservative Afrikaners take part in the April election to prove the AVF's support was dismissed with derision by a large section of the audience.

In the confusion Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene TerreBlanche, who was not on the speakers' programme, took the stage and said the Afrikaner could not live without freedom and if necessary would acquire it with the required violence.



Support . . . General Constand Viljoen comforts his wife after he was shouted down by a huge crowd in Pretoria on Saturday.

PICTURE: AFP

The AVF was on the way to a new third, free Boer Republic, TerreBlanche said.

Before the temporary breakdown in the programme, Viljoen said the AVF could field tens of thousands of men at short notice and also, eventually, hundreds of thousands if required.

Thousands of people packed the showground's hall where the assembly was held, while more gathered outside to follow the proceedings over loudspeakers. Candidates for the

assembly sat in the front rows, their wives dressed and wearing hats as if for the annual opening of Parliament.

There was no simple solution to the complex problems of a volkstaat, Viljoen said.

"Today we'll have to decide: If we want a volkstaat before April 27 we would have to seize it violently . . ." The crowd chanted "Now, now".

"The other option would be a strategic alternative to violence, and both involve risks."

When he explained that a

violent volkstaat secession would have serious economic and security implications, and would probably lead to total anarchy, the crowd changed its stance and shouted "No".

Viljoen added, though, that the violent option would be considered if the AVF was driven into such a position.

When he proposed that the Afrikaner volk should vote for the AVF in April to prove its support among Afrikaners, the idea was raucously dismissed.

— Sapa.