

S A GOVT & POLITICS

1994 FEBRUARY

NP uses food as election bait

SEVERAL pensioners in Orlando East, Soweto, believe they were tricked into joining the National Party by organisers claiming to be working for a welfare feeding scheme.

The revelation comes only weeks after the Department of National Welfare had released a report saying that illiterate pensioners were victims of several scams in which they were made to sign documents they could not read or understand.

Irate grannies told how a woman, who they named as Nomasonto Ndungwane, made them join the NP on the pretext that she was compiling

a list for a local feeding scheme.

"She even promised to bus us to collect our pensions. We would also get a sickness allowance of R300," one grandmother said. *Soweto*

Pensioner Mr Paramente Totlang (71) now holds membership cards of two opposing political parties — the African National Congress and the NP. (304A)

He explained: "I keep the gold, green and black card to vote for the ANC on election day and the other one — which I got from Nomasonto — to get food parcels." 11/2/94

Another pensioner, Mrs Selina

Khambule (63), said she heard from a neighbour that Ndungwane was going to hand out food parcels at her house.

"When I got there Nomasonto told us about the food rations and 'ouklere' (old clothes). She asked us for our identity documents and R3 for a card. Nothing was said about the National Party.

"A few days later Nomasonto gave us cards and it later turned out they were NP membership cards."

NP regional administrator Mr Vroda Banda admitted the use of food parcels in the party's recruitment drive.

"We are not ashamed to say we give people food parcels," he said.

Star 11/21/94

We were tricked, say pensioners

■ BY HAPPY NKHOMA

Several pensioners from Orlando East, Soweto, believe they were tricked into joining the National Party by organisers claiming to be working for a welfare feeding scheme, according to an investigation by The Star.

The revelation comes only weeks after the Department of National Welfare had released a report saying that illiterate pensioners were victims of many scams as they were made to sign documents they could not read.

Several irate grandmothers told how a local resident, Nomasonto Ndungwane — whom they respected and trusted — had got them to join the National Party on the pretext that she was compiling a list for a local feeding scheme.

Disgust (304A)

"She even promised to take us to bus to collect our pensions and promised that we would also get a sickness allowance of R300," one grandmother said, spitting on the ground in disgust.

One member of the Nomasonto feeding scheme — as the local pensioners refer to the scam — Paramente Totlang (71), now holds membership cards of two opposing political parties — the African National Congress and the NP.

He explained: "I keep the gold, green and black card to vote for the ANC on election day.

"The other one — which I got from Nomasonto — I keep to get food parcels."

Totlang cannot read, but he makes sure he does not get the cards mixed up — he always

keeps the ANC card in the right pocket of his old overall and the NP card is kept in the left pocket.

Another pensioner, Selina Khambule (63), said she heard from a neighbour that there would be food given out at Nomasonto's house.

"When I got there, Nomasonto told us about the monthly rations of food and 'ou klere' (old clothes).

"She asked us for our identity documents and R3 for a card, and nothing was said about the National Party.

"A few days later Nomasonto gave us cards which it later turned out were NP membership cards."

NP regional administrator Vroda Banda admitted the use of food parcels in the party's recruitment drive.

"We are not ashamed to say that we give people food parcels. Were it not for the sanctions called on by the ANC and its allies, people would not be starving," Banda said with emotion.

When approached, Ndungwane denied any involvement with the NP. She said the food was from the Sofasonke Party, for which she had been regional chairman.

She said that it had been a one-day-only distribution as a Christmas gift for the elderly people.

When two of her organisers arrived, Ndungwane changed her story.

"I am a member of the NP but did not recruit for them."

"I told these women not to use my house for the purpose of recruiting for the NP," she said.

Election launch for DP, PAC and NP

Sowetan 1/2/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

CAMPAIGN TRAIL Parties board election band wagon with enthusiasm:

THE National Party, Pan Africanist Congress and Democratic Party are to formally launch their election campaigns this week.

This means the four major parties contesting the April 27 election are in the running.

The major front-runner, the African National Congress, became the first organisation to launch its manifesto amid fanfare in Johannesburg at the weekend with president Mr Nelson Mandela immediately beginning a tour of the Western Transvaal.

For the NP its two-day federal congress, starting tomorrow at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, will be

the climax to its campaign trail. NP leader President FW de Klerk's whistle-stop tour of the nine electoral regions began as early as last December and he has visited three of the regions already.

On the NP congress agenda is the introduction of national and provincial lists of candidates for the election.

Former MEC for Transvaal and currently NP election campaign chief Mr Olaus van Zyl is tipped for the party's PWV premiership nomination.

A highlight of the congress will be a rally addressed by De Klerk tomorrow night.

The DP will today announce the full list of its PWV provincial candidates who will stand for the national assembly and provincial parliament. On Sunday DP national leader Dr Zach de Beer and Transvaal leader Mr Tony Leon will address a party meeting in Johannesburg and launch the party's campaign.

Johannesburg management committee chairman Mr Ian Davidson is the DP's choice for the PWV premiership.

The DP's Western Cape list drawn up at the weekend is headed by Mr Hennie Bester, MP for Greenpoint, for the region's premiership.

The NP and DP campaigns will focus on gaining more provincial seats as opposed to the ANC's broader national strategy.

Although no official announcement has been made yet, it is believed the PAC will release its manifesto and lists by Thursday at the latest.

DP's premier post to Bester

CT 1/2/94 (304A)
Political Correspondent

THE MP for Green Point, Mr Hennie Bester, has been chosen as the Democratic Party's candidate for prime minister of the Western Cape.

He joins the ANC's Dr Allan Boesak and the National Party's Mr Hernus Kriel in the race for the top political job in the region after the election.

Mr Bester beat Professor

Richard van der Ross in the contest for regional premier.

The other positions decided on by the DP's regional electoral college are:

Mr Joe Marks (3), Mr Chris April (4), Mr Herbert Hirsch (5), Ms Elmarie Nielsen (6), Mr Steve Ntsane (7), Mr Demitri Qually (8), Mr Graham Retief (9), Mr Dennis Marinus (10).

Ms Florina Serfontein (11), Mr Chris Joubert (12), Ms Karen

Hvidsten (13), Mr Johannes Fortuin (14), Mr Pierre Nel (15), Mr David Curry (16), Mr Keith Gurney (17), Ms Lynita Conradie (18), Mr Andhor Marks (19), Ms Belinda Walker (20).

Mr Peter Krummeck (21), Mr Peter Visser (22), Mr Theodore Swanepoel (23), Mr Joseph Marks jun (24), Ms Julian Stander (25), Mr Farouk Daniels (26), Mr Daniel Ngo (27), and Mr Owen Hinahan (28).

Stalled Alliance

(304A)

Little hope as

CT 11/2/94

Alliance talks stall

HAPPY REUNION



Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. —

Talks between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance to break the deadlock over objections to the interim constitution ended inconclusively last night with little hope of a future settlement.

The meeting between the parties' chief negotiators broke down after less than an hour with no further meetings scheduled.

The key sticking points were the Alliance's demand for a double ballot and for regions to be able to draft their own constitutions.

The ANC insisted the single ballot was not negotiable, but its national commit-

tee will discuss the Alliance's proposals.

After a day of discussions by technical committees, negotiators decided it was "the end of the road and called it a day" as the deadlock, primarily between the ANC and the Alliance, could not be resolved.

The SACP's Mr Joe Slovo, responding to reporters' questions of whether there was any light at the end of the tunnel, said: "That would be an exaggeration."

Two days

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said the government had tried to facilitate agreement by putting forward proposals it had thought were reasonable and sufficient for both the Alliance and the ANC.

"But they found these proposals unacceptable and said it would require a change in their mandates."

Sapa reports that Mr Meyer said the elections would probably be promulgated tomorrow, allowing two days for the resolution of differences.

The ANC would take the matter to its national working committee meeting today, while the Alliance would consult its respective principals.

However, it seems that negotiators have given up hope of reaching a settlement. This implies that Inkatha will boycott the April elections, in terms of the mandate it received from the special general conference at the weekend.

Alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronje said an all-inclusive solution had to be found, but the Alliance had "compromised a great deal to get here, but it seems it is not enough".

Mr Meyer said the elections would go ahead without those parties wanting to boycott them.

11 good men to filter the foul from the fair

Star 1/2/94

Within hours of the last South African casting his vote on April 29, a group of august men and women will sit down to begin working out an answer to the most crucial question facing the country.

No, not who won. That answer will be provided by the electorate.

Instead, the group must decide the more important question: Was the election "substantially free and fair", and will the result, whatever it is, stand?

Their decision is final and there is no appeal. No matter who wins the election, these people will be, for the time it takes them to reach their decision, the most powerful in the country — and they have absolutely no idea of how to do their job.

For when the 11 members of the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) sit with the leaders of the four main international observer missions to decide the fate of the nation, there will be no rules and no guidelines to follow — not even any written criteria that describes what is or is not "substantially free and fair".

"There are broad areas that we will have to look at in consultation with the foreign observers," says commission chairman Judge Johann Kriegler, "such as the percentage poll, the amount of violence in any given area — or if results are radically different to what the polls show we can expect.

"But essentially each operation of this kind is unique — we will have to make our decision based on the information we have."

It seems a very "finger in the water" kind of empiricism for such an important decision, "but at least we have a wide variety of fingers doing the testing", says the judge.

Not quite a jury but 11 people, good and true, who are required in terms of the IEC Act to be "impartial, respected and suitably qualified ... who do not have a high party-political profile".

Apart from Judge Kriegler the commission comprises:

■ Vice-chairman Dikgang Moseneke, former Pan Africanist Congress leader.

■ The Rev Frank Chikane, secretary-general of the South African Council of Churches.

■ Charles Nupen, liberal lawyer who specialises in conflict negotiation.

■ Rosli Jager, a former mayor of Sasolburg and nominated National Party MP.

JUDGE and jury still have to write the rules that will determine whether South Africa's election is 'substantially free and fair', writes Ken Vernon (304A)



Mr Justice Johann Kriegler ... optimistic head of the Independent Electoral Commission.

■ Oscar Dhlomo, former Inkatha leader.

■ Helen Suzman, veteran liberal parliamentarian.

■ Dawn Makhobo, South African Businesswoman of the Year and senior resources manager at Eskom.

■ Ben van der Ross, lawyer and former Urban Foundation director.

■ Professor Johan Heyns, moderator of the NG Kerk and Broederbond.

■ Zac Yacoob, advocate and former executive member of the Natal Indian Congress.

In addition there are five international "non-representative" members of the commission, although no one seems to know exactly what "non-representative" means in this context.

How did this variety of fingers come to be

chosen? The good judge does not know and neither, it seems, does anyone else.

"They were appointed by the State President, presumably upon the recommendation of, or in consultation with, the Transitional Executive Council," says Judge Kriegler, "but you'll have to ask him what criteria were used."

It may still be early days for the IEC — the organisation is busy trying to occupy offices at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park and not even the telephones are working correctly — but the early days are quickly running out.

Within the next three months the IEC intends to employ some 100 000 people, at a cost that has not yet been estimated, to carry out its task to "administer, organise, supervise and conduct ... free and fair elections".

In addition, it is expected to "promote" conditions conducive to free and fair elections; determine and ascertain the results, and certify that they have been free and fair; conduct voter education; and make and enforce its own regulations.

It seems an almost impossible task, but the bustling, energetic judge has not a single doubt. "For sure we will do it! The powers that be all agree we must succeed, and besides, there is no alternative. We have been given the means, the power and money — and we intend using them."

Power there is aplenty. The power to issue search warrants and seize goods; to order the police, SA Defence Force or National Peacekeeping Force to carry out its dictates; the power to call political parties to book for infringing the electoral code; and the power to set up its own court to try, and pronounce verdict and sentence upon, those transgressing electoral laws.

Judge Kriegler agrees that the major problem the commission faces in successfully running the election, and later certifying that it was free of violence and intimidation.

"We will utilise whatever forces we have at our disposal to combat violence, and if necessary will cancel the votes of areas where we feel violence has prevented people from voting as they wish.

"The subject of intimidation is more difficult. Here the main weapon we have is the secret ballot. Read my lips — your vote is your secret."

Another

Sowetan 11/2/94

deadlock

(3044A)

Sowetan Correspondent

A FINAL ATTEMPT to reach an agreement between the Government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance came to nought last night as the fourth deadline to reach an inclusive settlement passed.

No progress was made in the three-way talks after the FA rejected a constitutional proposal tabled last week by the ANC.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Mr Walter Felgate said the talks were not yet at the "breakdown stage, which is the next item on the agenda". He said the FA had tabled a new set of proposals at last night's meeting.

These proposals are to be discussed at a specially-convened ANC national executive committee today.

Felgate told journalists that ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa had said in the meeting that chances of the ANC's national executive committee agreeing to these new proposals were "very slim".

ANC negotiator Mr Valli Moosa said the NEC would discuss the powers of provinces, including the powers to raise taxes; the principle of self-determination and the powers of provinces to draft their own constitutions.

Felgate said the FA had been told that its demand for a two-ballot system and the entrenchment of regional constitutions were not negotiable.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer cautioned: "Unless the parties (the ANC and IFP) come up with new positions, I'm afraid there is no sense in trying to find a further solution."

He said the ANC and FA would consult their leaders to see whether the non-negotiable positions could be changed.

Speaking in Potchefstroom yesterday, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said the single ballot paper, agreed to at the World Trade Centre, was not negotiable.

Do not take part

Meyer said the election would be proclaimed tomorrow. The Government's view was that no changes could be made to the interim constitution after the proclamation.

He stressed that all parties should take part in the elections in order to gain sufficient support to enable them to "improve" the constitution after the elections.

"There is no way they can play a role after the election if they do not take part."

There was also no progress made yesterday in talks between the Government, ANC and Afrikaner Volksfront, Meyer said. These talks are expected to continue today.

1994 FEB 11

Against major odds, the State President and NP leader is making some inroads into what would normally be considered very hostile territory, writes Political Correspondent Kaizer Nyatumba, who joined the party's election roadshow last week

FW winning grudging black respect

Star 11/2/94

(304P)

For the second time in two weeks, National Party leader F.W. de Klerk took to the road last week for campaigning for votes for his party ahead of the April election. The destination this time was the town of Middelburg, a small town in the north-eastern province of Northern Cape. It was a town that had been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid, and it was a town that had been a stronghold of the African National Congress (ANC).

De Klerk, who had been in the forefront of the struggle against apartheid, was seen in a very different light. He was seen as a man who was willing to listen to the views of the black community, and he was seen as a man who was willing to make concessions to the black community. He was seen as a man who was willing to make concessions to the black community, and he was seen as a man who was willing to make concessions to the black community.

De Klerk's visit to Middelburg was a significant event. It was a town that had been a stronghold of the ANC, and it was a town that had been a stronghold of the black community. De Klerk's visit to Middelburg was a significant event. It was a town that had been a stronghold of the ANC, and it was a town that had been a stronghold of the black community.

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Parties dig in as talks fail again (304A)

Political Staff

ANOTHER attempt to reach agreement between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance has failed.

No progress was made in three-way talks yesterday after the FA rejected the ANC constitutional proposal tabled last week.

Inkatha Freedom Party central committee member Walter Felgate said, however, that talks were not yet at the "breakdown stage".

He said the FA had tabled a new set of proposals last night. These are to be discussed today

by the ANC national executive committee.

Mr Felgate said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa had said that the chances of the NEC agreeing to the proposals were "very slim".

ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said the NEC would discuss the powers of provinces, including powers to raise taxes and draft their own constitutions and the principle of self-determination.

Mr Felgate said the FA had been told that its demands for two ballot papers and the entrenchment of regional constitutions were not negotiable.

FRIT 1/2/94

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer warned: "Unless the parties — the ANC and IFP — come with new positions, I'm afraid there is no sense in trying to find a further solution."

He said the ANC and FA would consult their leaders to see whether the non-negotiable positions could be changed.

Mr Meyer said the election would be proclaimed tomorrow. The government's view is that no changes can be made to the interim constitution after the proclamation.

● See page 13.

Freedom Alliance talks founder as parties give up hope of agreement

BILLY PADDOCK

11/21/94

TALKS between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance to break the deadlock over objections to the interim constitution ended inconclusively last night with little hope of a future settlement.

The meeting between the parties' chief negotiators broke down after less than an hour with no further meetings scheduled.

After a day of discussions by technical committees, negotiators decided it was "the end of the road and called it a day" as the deadlock, primarily between the ANC and the alliance, could not be resolved.

The SACP's Joe Slovo, responding to re-

porters' questions of whether there was any light at the end of the tunnel, shrugged and said: "That would be an exaggeration."

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government had tried to facilitate agreement and engineer a breakthrough by putting forward proposals it had thought were reasonable and sufficient for both the alliance and the ANC to accept.

"But they found these proposals unacceptable and said it would require a change in their mandates and they could not agree to these at the meeting," he said.

Sapa reports that Meyer said the elections would probably be promulgated tomorrow, allowing two days for the resolution of differences.

The ANC would take the matter to its national working committee meeting today, while the alliance would consult its respective principals to see if their bottom lines could be changed. Should this happen, further meetings could be organised.

However it seems that negotiators have given up hope of reaching a settlement.

This implies that the Inkatha Freedom Party will boycott the April elections, in terms of the mandate it got from the special general conference last weekend.

The key sticking points shifted yesterday as the alliance focused on its demand for a double ballot. It also wants regions to be able to draft their own constitutions.

The ANC insisted the single ballot was not negotiable, but its national committee would discuss the alliance's proposals.

Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Croome said an all-inclusive solution had to be found, but the alliance had "moved

Mountains and compromised a great deal to get here, but it seems it is not enough."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate said the alliance would wait for the ANC's response to its proposals.

Meyer said the elections would go ahead without the parties that wanted to boycott them. Government was satisfied it had moved sufficiently over the past 10 days and believed the issues could be resolved.

"The ANC and the Freedom Alliance can't find each other. Unless they change their positions in the next 48 hours, there's not going to be much progress."

series of questions to the country's main political parties. These are their replies to the first question: Do you support nationalisation? If so, which privately owned companies or utilities should be in the state sector? If not, which parastatals or government services should be privatised?

African National Congress

THE ANC has never considered nationalisation to be the panacea for our country's serious economic problems. The ANC is committed to a mixed economy, which will create opportunities for economic development and growth. In line with the interim constitution that protects private property, a whole range of policies will be at the disposal of the future ANC-led government.

While we have no intention of nationalising any corporation, it must be pointed out that some publicly owned companies such as Eskom are extremely profitable. Public ownership of a company does not at all imply that it is badly run. Nor does the privatisation of an enterprise necessarily mean that it would be more efficiently run. For example Iscor, which was very profitable when it was a publicly run company, made huge losses during the last few years since it was privatised. It is only recently that Iscor is being turned around and is becoming more profitable.

Before any attempts are made to privatise publicly owned companies, thorough research must be done, measured against the need for general growth and development that will serve the majority of South Africans.

Even when minor nationalisation is contemplated, such as the nationalisation of private land that may prohibit the construction of a road, such measures will be taken in consultation with affected groups.

Democratic Party

THE primary goals of economic policy should be to eliminate poverty and provide adequate and rising living standards for all. The DP's approach is designed to bring about the sustained long-term growth necessary to achieve these goals, stability and economic prosperity.

Before wealth can be consumed or redistributed, it must be created — and governments are seldom effective creators of wealth. The aim therefore should be to hold the public sector share of the economy as low as possible to allow the productive private sector to develop optimally. Government is an important player — regulating direction and not detail, ensuring fair play, redressing

To nationalise or not to nationalise: that is the question

By *Bill Moy* #12/194

(3049)

Imbalances and creating infrastructure where private enterprise cannot do so, as well as providing for those incapacitated in one or another form, and the unemployed. It will have to find the balance between social justice, economic efficiency and environmental protection.

Nationalisation plays no useful role in any of this, and the DP is totally opposed to it. The DP supports privatisation of undertakings where appropriate, and where government can do so without avoiding its social responsibilities, bearing in mind that monopolies do not become acceptable by being privatised.

The DP would ensure transparency and accountability in the process of commercialisation and privatisation, and believes that such a policy should be vigorously pursued to promote greater efficiency and revenues for the state. Broad private ownership should be encouraged and the proceeds and benefits of privatisation should be used for capital projects of a developmental nature.

All government services and parastatals should be evaluated against these criteria. Prime candidates for privatisation include SAA, Foskor, Alekcor and Telkom.

Conservative Party

THE CP does not support nationalisation. All over the world it has been proved that nationalisation does not improve productive efficiency.

There are no privately owned companies or utilities which should be in the state sector. On the other hand, parastatals and government services which do not assist people in improving their quality of life should be discontinued or privatised.

A mistake commonly made by political and other decision-makers is to link economic and political systems solely with material well-being. The Afrikaner's spiritual and psychological desires are just as important as their standard of living. While people are debating the nationalisation issue, attention is

drawn away from the fact that SA is staggering under the tremendous weight of a government apparatus that absorbs more than 30% of GNP and distorts the workings of our economic progress with its irrational policies. Now, even without any pressure for nationalisation, there will be pressure for even bigger government. In a unitary SA, it will be impossible to resist those pressures because the objectives of welfare activities are "noble" and regarded as a right. It will also flow from election promises.

What is needed is a dispensation in which groups of people decide for themselves what will serve their economic and non-material needs the best, for example, a Boere-Afrikaner state for the Afrikaner. In this state the government will provide services which cannot be rendered at a profit by the private sector. Businesses will be allowed to enjoy the fruits of efficiency. If they become big as a result of that it would pose no problem. They would, however, not be allowed to acquire a monopoly by anti-competitive strategies. Industries will be protected against unfair competition from abroad if they are of a strategic nature.

Inkatha Freedom Party

IN LINE with its staunch belief in free enterprise, Inkatha is emphatically opposed to nationalisation.

Nationalisation is not an effective tool in bringing about a redistribution of income and wealth and is inimical to wealth creation. Although nationalisation might improve the wages and working conditions of workers within state corporations, it fails to reach other sections of society which are perhaps in greater need. They would include the unemployed, informal sector workers, employees of small firms and rural inhabitants. Inkatha believes in the privatisation of burdened public corporations and the redistribution of equity ownership to

the disadvantaged sections of SA's community.

Far from bringing about improving levels of general welfare, nationalisation is inimical to economic growth. It frightens away investment. The management approach adopted by state nominees is often one of survival rather than expansion and growth. Coupled with this is the fact that the nominees entrusted with running the nationalised corporations are not necessarily the most capable for the job. Their choice is usually the outcome of a policy of political patronage rather than the adoption of the best-man-for-the-job criterion.

It is the privatisation of state corporations rather than nationalisation which will bring about economic growth and an improvement in the standard of living of the poor.

Since the private sector is able to utilise scarce resources far more efficiently than the public sector, we believe that economic growth can be maximised by placing as little in the hands of the public sector as is possible. However, since privatisation does bring with it price hikes as prices adjust to the market clearing rate, those corporations or sectors which cater largely for the needs of poor would remain in state hands.

Since the placing of roads, railways, airports and telecommunications in the hands of the private sector would assist in boosting economic growth these would be considered for privatisation. On the other hand, since the health, education and welfare sectors cater most fully for the needs of the poor, organisations operating within these sectors would not be considered for privatisation. Here, the state and the private sector can together cater for the needs of SA's population.

National Party

DEBATES on nationalisation continue, following ANC threats directed at the business community. The

severity of these threats has been tempered by an understanding of the factors which create growth and that this cannot be achieved through nationalisation. Growth is brought about by an economy based on free enterprise and effective competition. To achieve this government interference must be minimal.

Improved management techniques have led to the more efficient utilisation of resources with resultant higher productivity. This in turn has produced greater wealth for employers, employees and shareholders, and provided the incentive for further investment and growth.

Privatisation has been the basis for growth in most developing countries. State-owned enterprises have failed to generate high growth. This has resulted in stagnation and a lack of competition.

Privatisation has the benefits of generating cash for the government, eliminating subsidies and increasing taxation. The decision to privatise must be based on factors such as spreading share ownership, democratising managerial decision-making, benefits to consumers and avoiding transferring a monopoly from the public to the private sector. The provision of services can provide great opportunities for privatisation because it can be more labour-intensive and provide much needed employment opportunities.

Pan Africanist Congress

THE experience of nationalisation in many countries, both capitalist and socialist, has not been a happy one. Witness the bloated bureaucracy, wastage of resources and lack of commitment to making these enterprises profitable. Witness the huge amounts of taxpayers' money spent to keep nationalised industries solvent.

We will not nationalise for doctrinaire reasons. We will not nationalise to service a black elite. It does not make economic sense to take from a white elite to empower economically a black elite.

We have to generate wealth in partnership with business. We need to activate savings and investments to create new jobs. With between 5 million and 7 million unemployed, and only one in every 100 school-leavers able to secure jobs, the situation is critical.

The PAC believes business must be far more oriented to community needs. Our workers need to be much more involved in decision-making. We would advocate a law on co-determination. We would encourage policies designed to make our workers stakeholders in private enterprises through equity holdings.

In our view there will always be a good case for advocating public ownership of essential services — transport, water, electricity, and so on.

Nats release election lists

Star 2/2/94
From Page 1

arrested for treason and banned by the Government — third, also on a list of 86 candidates.

Mavuso said last night that he had "decided that in the best interests of South Africa, the National Party was the one to join."

A full 30 of the NP Northern Transvaal candidates for central government are black, but Regional and Land Affairs Minister Andre Fourie tops the list. Top black candidate is third-placed Mashia Kghosi.

A similar percentage of the region's nominations for regional government are black, with Chris Mothiba nominated in second place behind MP Victor Borchers, the premiership contender.

State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter heads both the North West regions lists for national and provincial legislatures.

He has presumably yet to indicate a preference.

Second on the North West national list is Potchefstroom MP Andries Beyers, formerly of the Conservative Party.

(304A)
Controversial

In the East Transvaal the NP national campaign is to be headed up by Chris Fisser, MP and NP spokesman in the President's Office, while Lucas Nel will be its leading candidate for the provincial premiership.

Also released last night were the NP Natal lists, with controversial Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett top of the provincial pile and Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte the top contender from the region for a seat in the national government.

More reports —
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NP makes public lists for election

Star 2/2/94
BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
and NORMAN CHANDLER

The National Party last night made public several of its lists for the elections. They include a fair sprinkling of black names but with candidates for the top jobs all white and long-standing party faithful.

Last night President de Klerk, who heads the NP PWV list for the national government and is expected to be a deputy president, described the lists as "reasonably representative of all South Africa's population groups as well as of both sexes".

He added that: "In certain provinces, the National Party would have liked to nominate more candidates from the black community (but) intimidation took its toll."

De Klerk is followed on the PWV national government list by five Cabinet Ministers — Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs),

Roelf Meyer (Constitutional Development), Sam de Beer (Education and Training), Leon Wessels (Manpower) and Derek Keys (Finance).

Soweto businessmen and well-known NP supporter David Chuenyane slots in at position number seven with House of Representatives NP leader Jac Rabie next up on the 86-strong list. (304A)

South African and Northern Transvaal rugby legend Naas Botha is a surprise name on the list, coming home in 27th position.

Unlike most other significant players, the NP is not publishing a national list so regional support will play a significant part in determining who is elected.

As anticipated, MP Olaus van Zyl is the NP candidate for premier in the PWV region with MP Sakkie Blanche second and John Mavuso — the Transvaal MEC who was once

To Page 3

Special votes will now be cast on April 26

Election dates

Star 21/2/94

changed

TEC decides that April 27 will be a public holiday, instead of April 29 as originally planned

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The date for the beginning of South Africa's first democratic election has been moved forward by one day — to Tuesday April 26.

Special votes, for South Africans abroad and for the disabled, will now be cast on April 26. Ordinary voting will take place on April 27 and 28.

Wednesday April 27 will now be a public holiday instead of April 29 as originally decided.

(304A)
"Under normal circumstances, Monday would be a better day for a holiday as far as production costs are concerned, but employers were also looking at the election with a high degree of sensitivity," a source in the South African Employers Consultative Committee on Labour Affairs told The Star.

"Election day is so important it outweighs all economic factors," he said.

This overtakes last week's decision by the Transitional Executive Council that the election would take place from April 27 to April 29, with special voting on April 27.

It was further decided yesterday that voting hours would be from 7 am to 7 pm and not 7 am to 9 pm as originally agreed.

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan said the extra two hours could create problems, given the possible political climate in the country at the time.

Yesterday's changes were made on the advice of the Independent Electoral Commission, which noted that much money had been spent to create awareness that April 27 would be the first day of the election proper.

The TEC also agreed on a R22 million State Election Fund, of which all parties contesting the election would be entitled to a share.

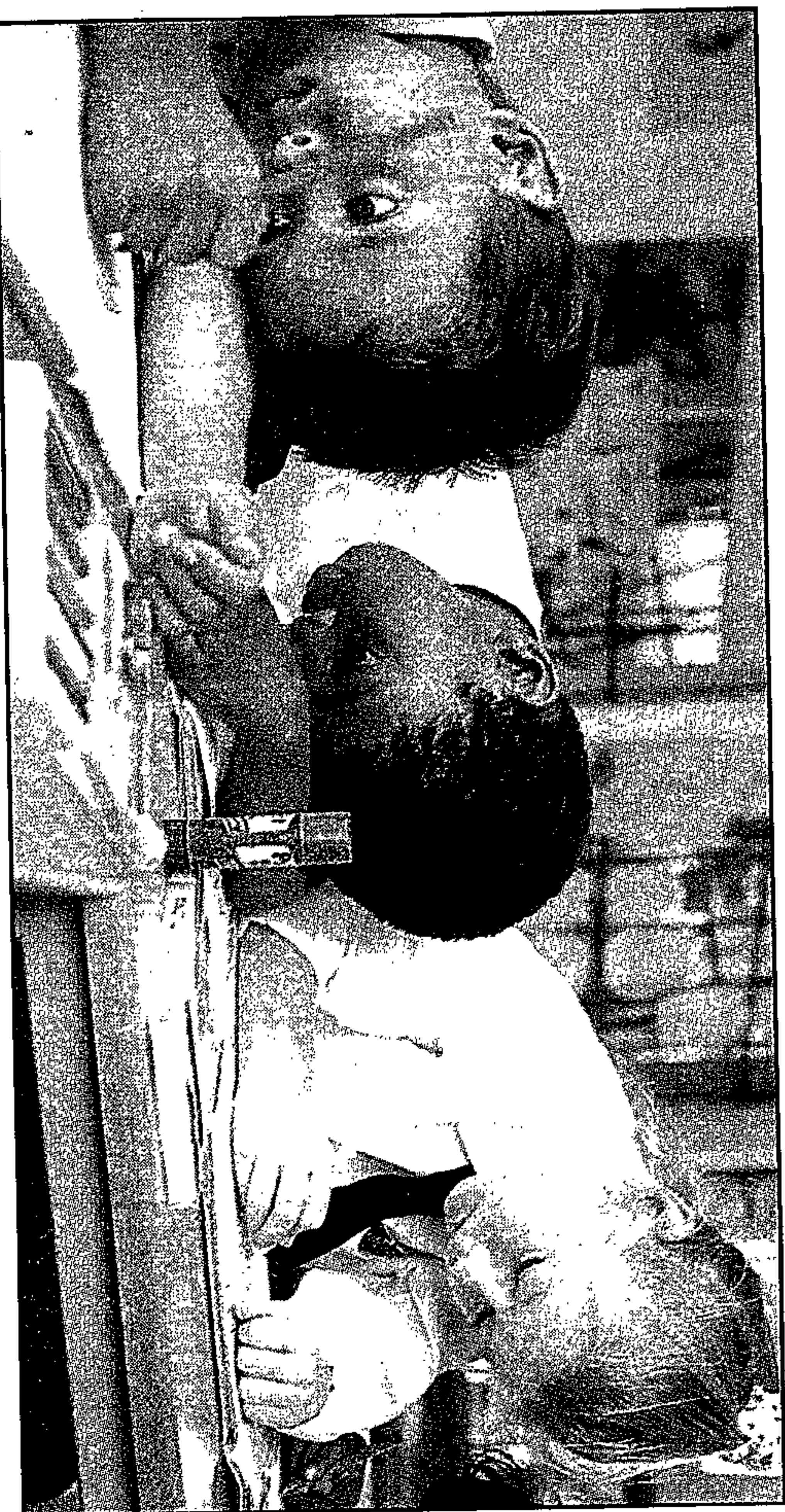
The fund was set up to ensure all parties have an equal chance in the election.

Gordhan said the State President would proclaim the election today.



The study, in the British Journal of Psychiatry, says men turn to drink, spending sprees and comfort eating to suppress worries about losing their partners. — The Star Bureau.

Starting early . . . take a long look at your child's academic reports and aptitude tests before advising them on what career they should pursue.



CAREER PATHS

Schoolteachers are in a powerful position to influence career choices of school pupils. They seldom do their jobs properly, says a local author. **MARIKA SBOROS** reports.

The virtue of correct job counselling



Most parents believe that their children will get adequate career guidance at school. They're wrong, says Margot Gore, author of *Career Choices, How You Can Help Your Child* (Maskew Miller). The present secondary schooling system provides only a general education and is not designed to equip pupils for their future careers.

School career guidance is seldom sufficiently constructive or based on the realities of the job market, and the requirements of commerce and industry. The system disregards the needs of at least 80 percent of all school pupils. Once children matriculate, their potential, aspirations and achievements are of no further concern to their school. "Their problems become their parents' problems," Gore says. She would like to see the true value of schooling measured differently — "not by the number of matric distinctions achieved, or by the percentage pass rate, but rather by the achievements of scholars five or 10 years down the road".

School teachers are the people in the most powerful position to influence career choices or interests of school pupils. Yet they tend towards an academic lifestyle and promote academic occupations, perhaps because of the very nature of their profession. Changes in attitudes to career guidance away from the bias towards academically orientated livelihoods have to be made if school-leavers are going to fit into the market place. Many pupils don't play an active part in the lessons devoted to career guidance, says Gore. They are inclined to "switch off" during these lessons, because there is nothing offered to suit or

ceive that the guidance being offered does not apply to them. This is the area in which the ogre of peer pressure (as well as parent pressure) raises its ugly head. Few scholars will provide a problem in front of classmates that they will not be going to university and will pursue a technical or business diploma, or a certificate as an artisan, craftsman or technician. And if pupils express interest in a medical career, they are so often told: "But you need an 80 percent average for medical school." They should be told about the many other occupations in the field of medicine which do not require a university degree.

It may be unrealistic to expect schools to offer effective career counselling for every scholar. But with a little active participation from parents schoolchildren could approach counsellors with more specific requests for suitable career information. Schools need to give an honest and accurate picture of academic tertiary education, its requirements, its demands, and its place and purpose in society. They also need to emphasise the importance of technological training and development, Gore says.

This should be done long before matric: "It is too late to start discussing possibilities when you are all waiting for the matriculation examination results to be announced."

The job market is like any other, says Gore. It operates according to supply and demand. Scholars need to identify areas of demand and enter these fields. Yet thousands of youngsters who go on to tertiary education insist on pursuing careers in areas with an over-supply of personnel.

Her book is written for parents and identifies subject choices that pupils need to take when planning a career path. It includes information on

IN 5 DAYS' TIME YOU COULD DISCOVER FIRST BOULDER

President de Klerk has been warned by his top generals of the very real dangers of a right-wing revolt and even a coup attempt. Patrick Laurence appraises the threat

Will the Right dare to use violence?

Star 2/2/94

(304A)

A single, overwhelmingly important question, on which the immediate future of South Africa depends, underlies the 11th hour negotiations on Afrikaner nationalist demands for a separate Afrikaner state.

If a compromise solution evades the negotiations in the trilateral discussions between the Afrikaner Volkfront (AVF), the De Klerk administration (DKA) and the African National Congress, will Afrikaner nationalists use violence to attain their ends?

A spate of explosions in the past month — the bombing of ANC offices by suspected right-wing zealots and the blowing up of railway tracks by saboteurs proclaiming loyalty to the Boere Republikeinse Leër — shows that the question is neither idle nor abstract.

So, too, does a warning to President de Klerk by the General Staff of the Defence Force of a threatened rebellion and even a possible coup bid by the rightists.

The warning — first reported by the Afrikaans newspaper, Rapport, and later confirmed independently by The Star — contains one particularly chilling aspect: a pre-

diction that in event of a rebellion a substantial portion of the defence force will side with the rebels.

Another unmistakable sign of rightist beligerence and impatience is evident in the jeers which greeted Constand Viljoen, a former Chief of the SA Defence Force, when he outlined a "strategic alternative" to the establishment of a volksstaat by force at the AVF rally in Pretoria last Saturday.

The "strategic alternative", hammered out in trilateral talks between the AVF, the ANC and the Government consists of three core elements:

■ Participation of the AVF in the election of a government of national unity in April.

■ Interpreting the AVF vote as support for the establishment of an volksstaat and to indicate where its boundaries should be.

■ Using the AVF vote to elect an Afrikaner Read or council to represent Afrikaner nationalist interests and to advance the establishment of an Afrikaner state.

The agreement is still incomplete and part of an on-going dialogue. The ANC, judging from statements by its president Nelson Mandela, wants the final decision on whether

to establish a volksstaat — and, if so, under what conditions — to be taken by the popularly elected constitutional assembly as the embodiment of the will of all South Africans. The AVF is as yet unwilling to concede that point.

Viljoen however, realising that ANC negotiators had risked alienating their hardline rivals, felt he should moot the idea as an alternative route to a volksstaat. The crowd was incensed. Viljoen, who only a few months earlier had been hailed as a folk hero by Afrikaner nationalists after he emerged as a champion of their cause, was labelled a "traitor" and a "coward".

The crowd's angry mood was manifest in its belloyed preference for the rabid demagoguery of Eugene TerreBlanche, leader of the neo-fascist Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging, over the rational approach of Viljoen. Viljoen, who believes that 1 000 days of negotiations are better than a single day of war, has since warned that the disposition of the crowd at Pretoria was the mere tip of the proverbial iceberg.

The AVF, however, both in its own right and in its capacity as a component of the

Freedom Alliance (FA), remains committed to a negotiated solution. But the problem of reaching an inclusive settlement has been complicated by the Pretoria meeting. It has raised the question of whether the AVF leadership in general and Viljoen in particular can bind AVF rank and file to any agreement which may emerge in the 11th hour negotiations.

The perception of Viljoen as a general who has strayed into unfamiliar territory and lost control of his troops has been reinforced. It recalls his failure to prevent the invasion of the negotiating centre at the World Trade Centre by TerreBlanche's armed roughnecks last June.

The prominence of TerreBlanche in AVF ranks does not augur well for a negotiated compromise: he projects himself as a fanatical extremist who must be resisted, not a man who can or should be accommodated. These gloomy prognostications must, however, be balanced against hopeful signs.

A Human Science Research Council poll indicates that while support for the Conservative Party, the dominant element in the AVF, has dropped from 30 to 20 percent in

recent months. It appears to indicate that the main body of white opinion is becoming increasingly resigned to a black-dominated government and that the will to fight for a volksstaat is declining proportionately.

But the problem is not merely one of negotiating a compromise with AVF. Its black allies in the FA, Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party and Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana government, must be accommodated as well.

One of the contentious points in negotiations between the FA and the ANC relates to the issue of "self determination", for Zulus and Tswana as well as Afrikaners.

The ANC is loathe to recognise the right of self determination as a justifiable constitutional principle, as insisted on by the FA, committed to the reunification of South Africa, the ANC fears that self determination will lead to the emergence of ethnic states, secession and the dismemberment of South Africa.

There is another apparently intractable problem: the FA, supported by the Pan Africanist Congress and the Democratic Party, have made their demand for a double-ballot,

one for national and one regional representatives, an absolute pre-condition for any settlement.

The ANC, however, is reluctant to bend: ostensibly because the two-vote system is too complicated for South Africa's newly enfranchised black voters, but really because research shows that a huge number of blacks will give their second vote to the PAC and transform it from a marginal contender supported by less than 5 percent of the electorate, to a major political force.

As a radical alternative to the ANC, the PAC already stands poised to benefit in the 1999 election from the widely anticipated inability of an ANC-dominated government to satisfy the black majority's high expectations for a better life. A boost for the PAC, an off-shoot of the ANC which claims to be the custodian of its black nationalist tradition, in the pending April 1994 election will be detrimental, perhaps even fatal, to the ANC's long-term interests.

Overall the chances of an inclusive settlement seem slight and the dangers of increased violence high.

Big names in politics, business on NP list

Star

2/2/94

(304A)

Leon at top of DP list for PWV

oughton MP and Democratic Party southern Transvaal leader Tony Leon has come out tops in the DP PWV region's 43 nominations for seats in Parliament.

And Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson heads the 86-strong list of candidates for the PWV regional legislature.

Leon (37), a parliamentarian respected for his contribution on justice issues, is followed by Yeoville MP Douglas Gibson. Third on the

- NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**
1. Leon, Anthony (MP, attorney)
 2. Gibson, Douglas (MP, attorney)
 3. Harpur, Robert (human resources director)
 4. Fuchs, Lester (MP, attorney)
 5. Vais, Williams (senior court interpreter)
 11. Verveen, Solimar (MP)

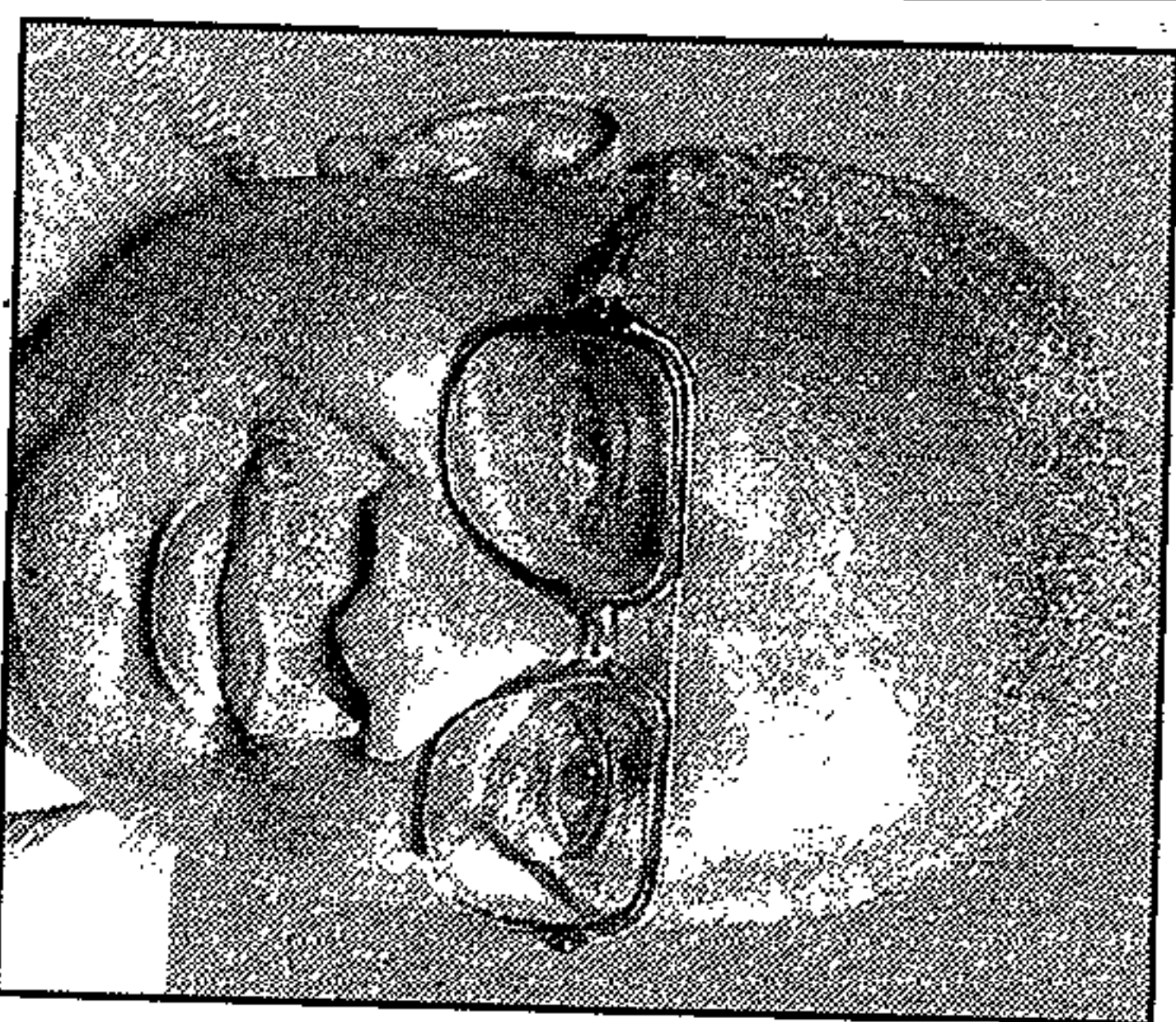
- PWV REGIONAL ASSEMBLY**
1. Davidson, Ian (Johannesburg management committee chairman)
 2. Bloom, Jack (city councillor)
 3. Mahlangu, Shongile (SABC-TV news anchorman)
 4. Goode, Brian (MP)

42. Stockhill, Judy (housewife, executive member of Peace Action)
43. Schlapobersky, Issy (city councillor)
44. Graham, Rae (city councillor)
45. Newton-Thompson, Christopher (city councillor)
46. Gardiner, Peter (Sandton management committee chairman)
47. Farrer, Humphrey (town councillor, lecturer)



THE NP list of candidates for the national and regional legislative assemblies includes Cabinet Ministers and black business personalities

F W de Klerk



John Mavuso

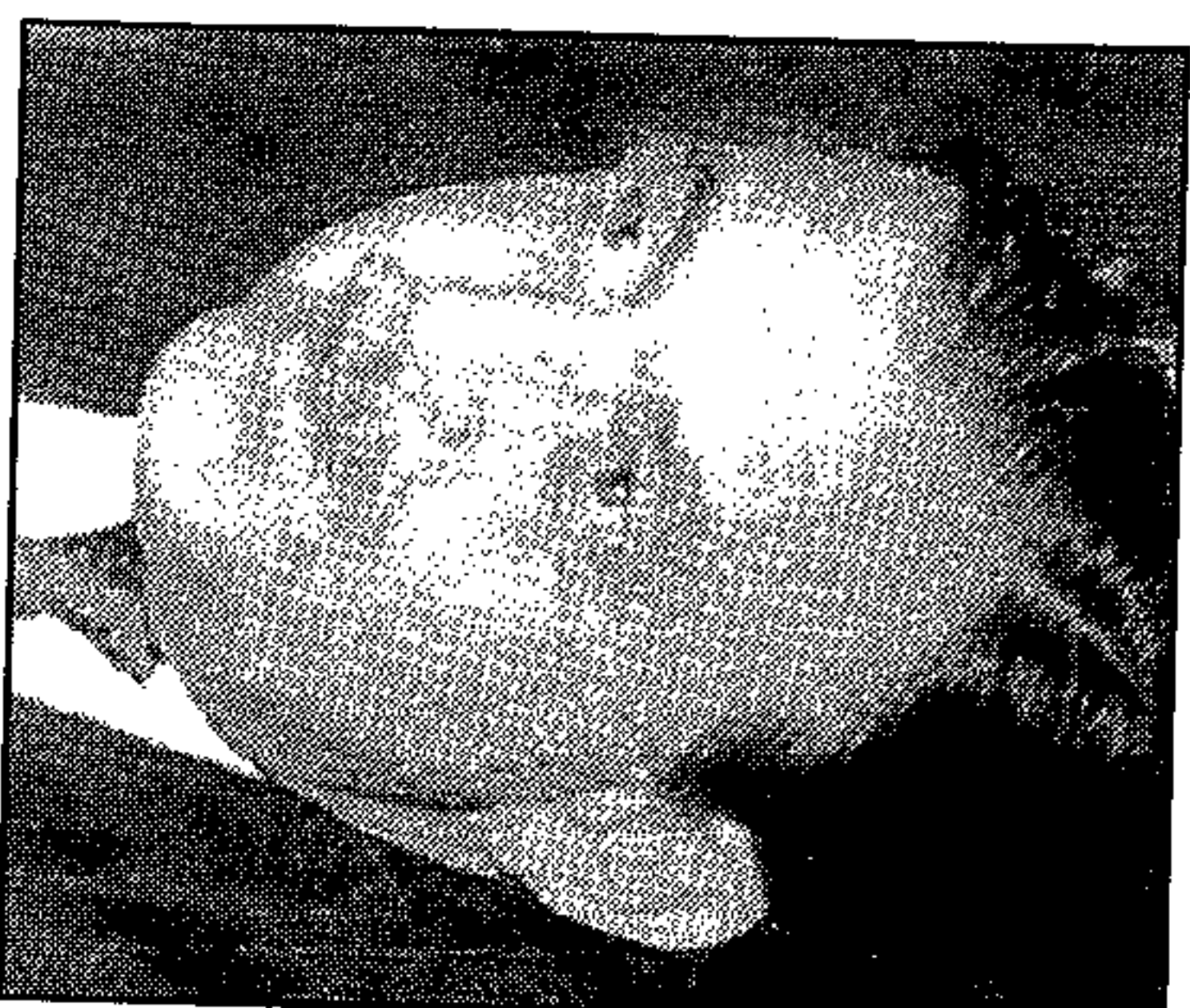
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

1. F W de Klerk
2. P. W. de Klerk
3. Roelf Meyer
4. Sam de Beer
5. Leon Wessels
6. Derek Keys
7. David Chuenyane
8. Jac Rabie
9. Dr Piet Welgemoed
10. Dr Theo Alant
11. Fanus Schoeman
12. Ike Sikistina
13. Stella Camerer
14. Dr Boy Geldenhuys
15. Marthinus van Schalkwyk
16. Nana Masangu
17. Desmond Padachey
18. Roelie Groenewald
19. Dr Fesia King
20. Dirk Bakker
21. Gert Oosthuizen
22. Piet Coetzer
23. Dr Theuns Appelgyn
24. Rev Macfarlane Phetretti
25. Tony Reeves
26. Dr Kobus Gous
27. Naas Botha
28. Kevin de Villiers
29. Dr Dries Oosthuizen
30. Clement Abrahams
31. Gustaaf du Toit
32. Eva Ngobondwane
33. Ram Pilay Sakalingum
34. Abou Kahn
35. Maggie Ratsoma
36. Papa Mogale
37. Joshua Nxumalo
38. Wally Labuschagne
39. Lois Geldenhuys
40. Gerard Hartinoh
41. Albin Moathodi
42. Sdrhea Kock
43. Adv Mahomed Japhay
44. Hanlie van Niekerk
45. Frans Sekwele
46. Magda van Biljon
47. Mariana du Toit
48. Petrina Theunis
49. Dr Johan Vlonet
50. Corrie Oberholzer
51. J J Habasone
52. Daryl Swanepoel
53. A I Nel
54. Jaan Kruger
55. Henne van der Walt
56. Faan Nofe
57. Mohammed Abdoel
58. Vronda Banda
59. Koos Steyn

Derek Keys

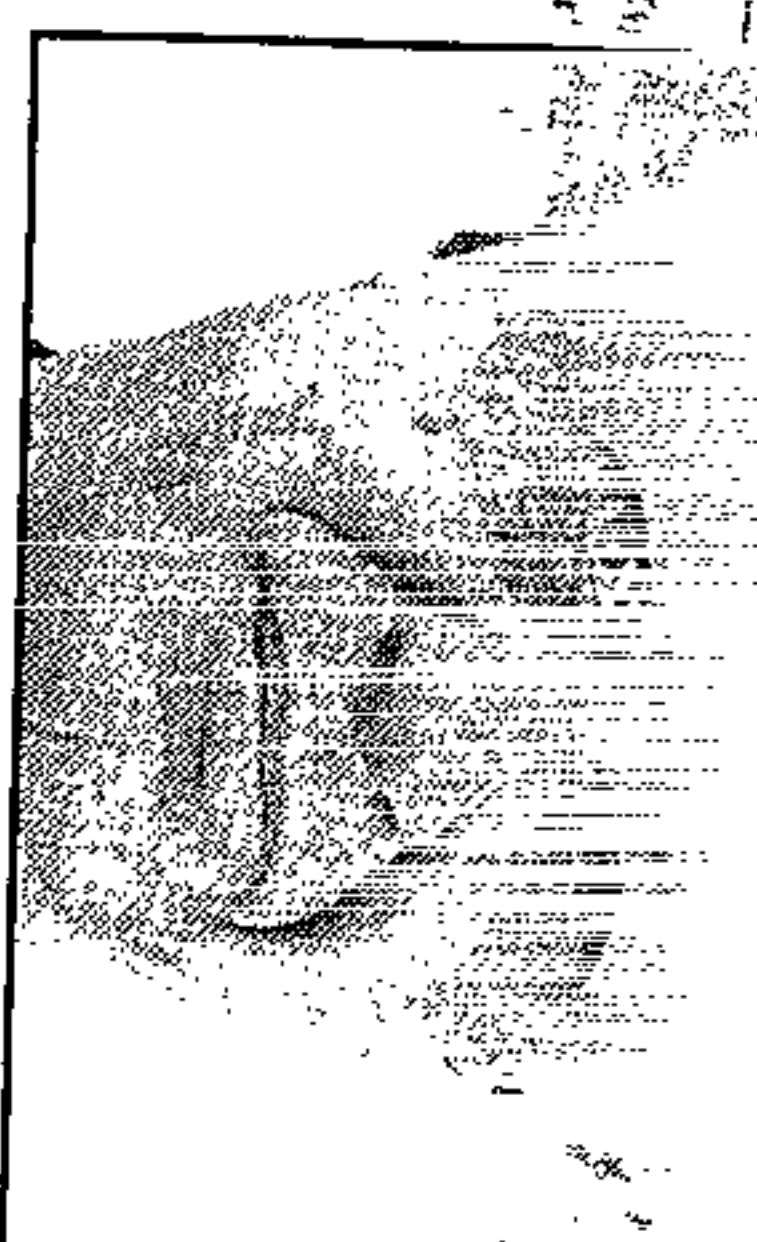


Edward Kunene



Pik Botha

Olaus van Zyl



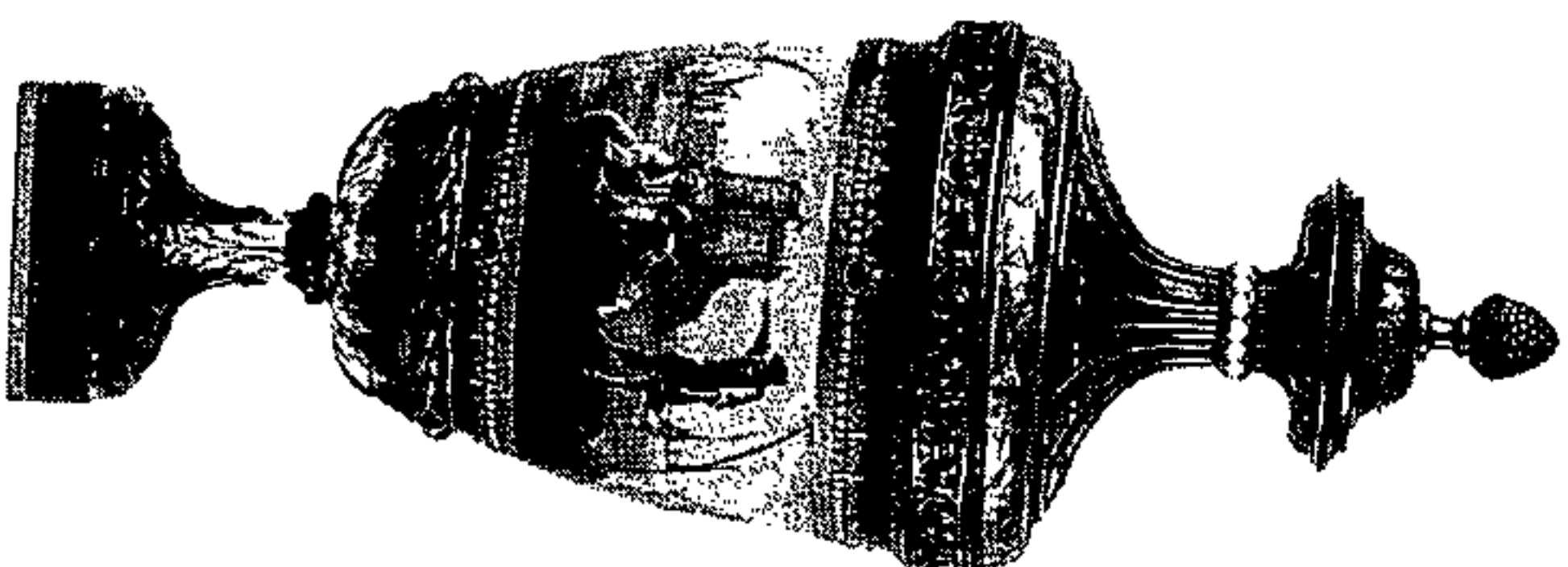
PROVINCIAL

60. Pieter Smith
 61. Mogale Mosebi
 62. Christo Opperman
 63. Christo Burger
 64. Ronnie Ontong
 65. Salar Akoo
 66. Joe Moabi
 67. Pat Magashoa
 68. Ernie Fabel
 69. Martus Marais
 70. Philemon Sekoale
 71. Oliver Powell
 72. Kobus du Plessis
 73. Vasco da Gama
 74. Henne Taljaart
 75. Piet Grobler
 76. Boagant Nkomenzulu
 77. Pule Matjele
 78. Charles Fisher
 79. Constance Phahlane
 80. Mariana Heyman
 81. Agnie Zikalala
 82. Jacques Iriel
 83. Gerrie Wolmarans
 84. Harry Ackee
 85. Merrick Levitas
 86. Xolani Gumede
-
1. Olaus van Zyl
 2. Sakkie Blanche
 3. John Mavuso
 4. Jan Bredenkamp
 5. Jull Coetzer
 6. Johan Kilian
 7. Joggie Boers
 8. Daryl Swanepoel
 9. Derek Christophers
 10. Denise Mooloo
 11. Tom Gunning
 12. Oliver Powell
 13. Vincent Thusi
 14. Gregory Wessels
 15. gng. Kobus Bosman
 16. Dr Oig Marais
 17. Usula Lion Cachet
 18. Abou Kahn
 19. Amelize van Wyk
 20. Nic Catrakilis
 21. Ben Theunis
 22. Tersia Wessels
 23. Winnie Rasentsore
 24. Nilo Botha
 25. Takis Christodoulou
 26. Mickey Abader
 27. Dennis Malan
-
28. Dr Pieter Smith
 29. Christo Opperman
 30. Christo Burger
 31. Hettie Meyer
 32. Dr Dries Oosthuizen
 33. Dr Edwin Conroy
 34. Rosemary Ngwenya
 35. Dr Humphrey Mdwanzaz
 36. Leon Louw
 37. Hannes van Straaten
 38. Leon du Buis
 39. Grafts Moathodi
 40. Henne Taljaart
 41. Edward Kunene
 42. Harry Gouvelis
 43. Ali Jaffer
 44. Edna Kilian
 45. James Duffey
 46. Harry Ackee
 47. Matilda Mochlaping
 48. Salome du Toit
 49. Joshua Nxumalo
 50. Sydwell Motokeng
 51. Francis Morkei
 52. Wynand Grobler
 53. Han Eybers
 54. Frank Pelsier
 55. Linda Lewis
 56. Johan Lemmer
 57. Jan Poubert
 58. Ben Vlecken
 59. Julius Mdialose
 60. Hanlie van Niekerk
 61. Adv Mahomed Japhay
 62. Ebrahim Lambat
 63. Piet Olivier
 64. Al Snymen
 65. Agnie Zikalala
 66. Simon Gada
 67. Judy Duma
 68. Victor Mfome
 69. Prof Piet van Niekerk
 70. W Potgieter
 71. Arrie Korf
 72. Dr Pieter Pretorius
 73. Albert Khumalo
 74. Theuns Oosthuizen
 75. Corrie Oberholzer
 76. Gertie O'Reilly
 77. Monical Perold
 78. Letsatsi Radebe
 79. Gideon Molosi
 80. Helmut Keller
 81. Dr Faan Berade
 82. Ben de Wet
 83. Dirk van der Hoff
 84. Camiel de Vrieschawwer
 85. Frikke van Wyk
 86. Estelle Visser

8. Cuffe, Raibe (PMD student)
 9. Waters, Mike (DP East Rand campaign manager)
 10. Levy, Andrew (industrial relations consultant, professor)
 11. Mogale, Walter (theologian, former ANC exile)
 12. Dutton, Tony (technical manager)
 13. Nel, Frederick (student)
 14. Karp, Marie (attorney)
 15. Mosena, Michael (human resources manager)
 16. Sinuts, Michael (attorney)
 17. Benharil, Manichand (sales manager)
 18. Magoliso, Jerry (salesman)
 19. Coetsee, Louis (tax assessor)
 20. Romm, Nina (artist)
 21. Walker, Melanie (television presenter)
 22. Sinehane, Victor (banqueting manager)
 23. Benfield, Brian (professor, company director)
 24. McNaughton, Paul (MacPhail chief executive officer)
 25. Middelburg, Van (Toral SA former executive director)
 26. Gash, Carveth (Webber Wentzel executive consultant)
 27. Cleaton-Jones, Fran (Women's Lobby treasurer)
 28. Reznik, Isaac (Union of Orthodox Synagogues executive director)
 29. Reynolds, Mike (chartered accountant)
 30. Nkom, Goodness (building commissioner)
 31. Still, Anthony (Development Bank of Southern Africa project leader)
 32. Phindis, Marc
 33. Noero, Gillian (researcher, analyst)
 34. Graft, Zilla (attorney)
 35. Mdialose, Zebun (human resources manager)
 36. Kruger, Henrik (attorney)
 37. Franklin, Trevor (chartered accountant)
 38. Scott, Andrew (vice-principal)
 39. Sargeant, Timothy (computer consultant)
 40. Frelinghaus, Heather (translator)
 41. Madico, Mervyn (service manager)
 42. Hunt, Dennis (technical manager)
 43. Tapping, Mark (retired banker)
-
1. UC 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100

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and Collectors' Items

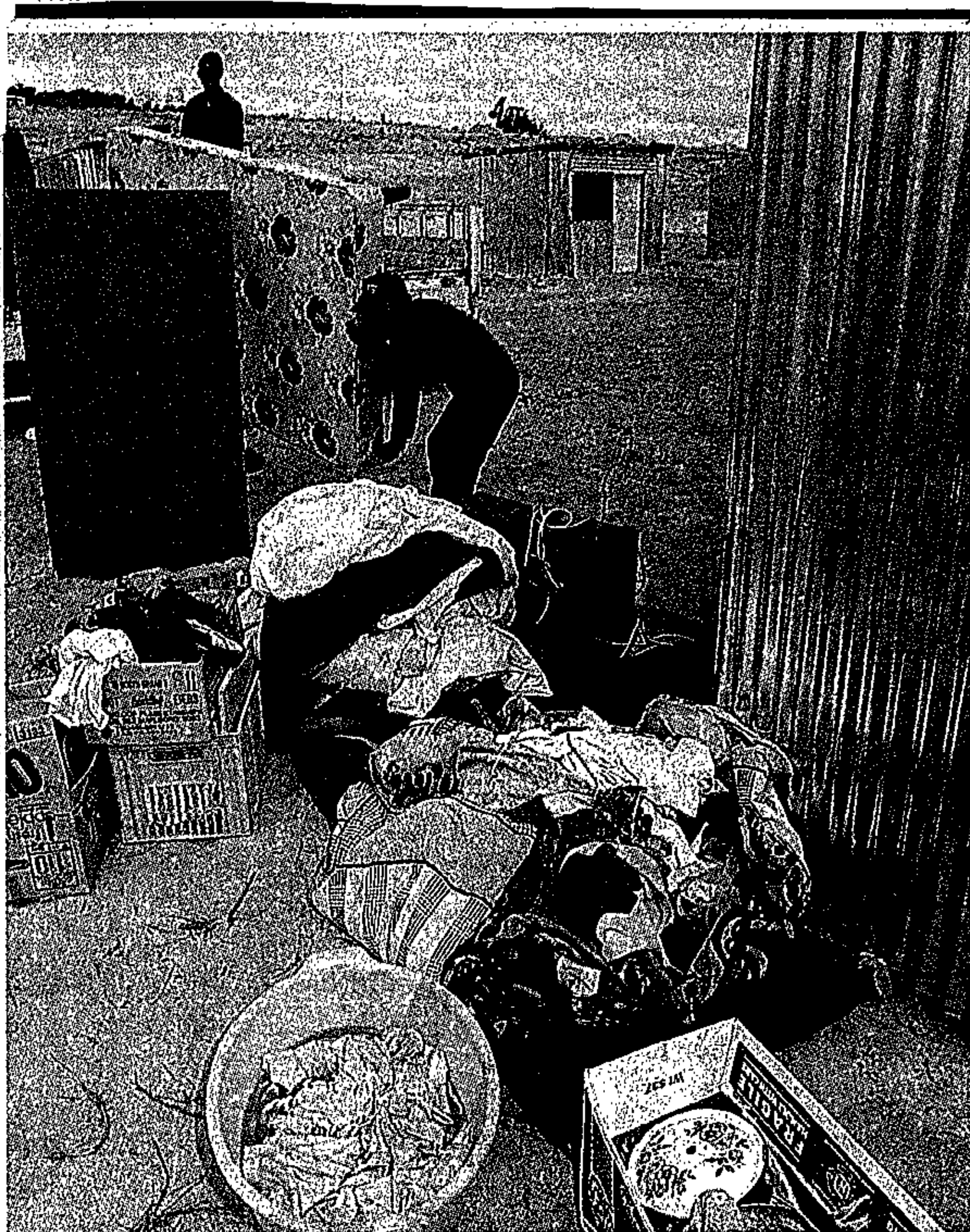
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Sunday, 6 February, 10 am to 1 pm & 2 pm to 5 pm

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off Oxford Road, Rosebank, Johannesburg



ON THE MOVE . . . Squatters who illegally occupied houses in Tafelsig in October were yesterday forcibly removed. Here a man unloads his possessions outside his new shack home. Picture: CLIVE SMITH

Council didn't provide, say 'homeless' squatters

Staff Reporter

UNDER a heavy police and army presence another 98 of the squatters who illegally occupied council houses in Tafelsig, Mitchells Plain, last October were evicted yesterday and removed to the nearby new site.

The City Council said the operation had gone off smoothly. However, the squatters expressed dissatisfaction with the morning's events.

Mr Khaya Maseko of the Tafelsig Action Committee said the council had failed to provide the families with the

building materials in time for yesterday's deadline.

He said only the wooden frames and not the corrugated iron sheets were at the sites, leaving about eight families "homeless" and without shelter.

Council spokesman Mr Ted Doman said the council was not obliged to provide dwellings at the time of eviction. The council provided serviced land and a loan of R720 for building materials, he said.

Mr Doman added that there were about another 90 squatters who still had to be moved.

Squatter leaders chosen by Nats

By ANTHONY JOHNSON

CABINET stalwarts — and squatter leaders Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana from Crossroads and Mr Mali Hoza from Khayelitsha — are among the leading candidates appearing on National Party lists for parliament.

But NP Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers, who tops the region's choice for the central parliament, complained last night that various "Xhosa-speaking" members of the party had been forced to withhold their candidacies because of fears for their safety and that of their families.

He said the current climate of violence and intimidation was "a deeply disturbing development which casts a shadow over the election".

Topping the Western Cape candidates for the provincial parliament are Law and Order Minister Mr Her-nus Kriel (1), Deputy Minister of Land

and Regional Affairs, Mr Lampie Fick (2), and Minister of the Budget and Housing in the House of Representatives, Mr Gerald Morkel (3).

Significantly, an early contender for the position of Western Cape prime minister, Cape Administrator Mr Kobus Meiring, only appears ninth on the consolidated list.

Candidates likely to make it as MPs in the regional parliament after the election include controversial Crossroads squatter boss Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana (15) and former Khayelitsha mayor Mr Mali Hoza (21).

Following Dr De Villiers are Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry Mr David Graaff (2), Minister of Sport Mr Abe Williams (3), MP for Durbanville Mr Frik van Deventer (4) and Swellendam MP Mr Nic Koornhof (5).

302A

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CT 2/2/94

$\frac{2}{3} \times \frac{4}{5} = \frac{8}{15}$

Wednesday February 2 1994 SOWETAN

NEWS De Klerk displays NP black:

Two blacklisted in the DP top 10

Sowetan 21/2/94

WHITE English-speaking males dominate the top slots of the Democratic Party lists for the PWV and regional assemblies — but two blacks stand a good chance of winning seats.

Announcing the provisional lists at a Press conference yesterday PWV provincial leader Mr Tony Leon said the lists represented "an excellent blend" of languages, expertise, culture and religion.

While Leon tops the regional list for parliament and Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson heads the PWV assembly list, SABC TV news archivist Mrs Sibongile Mahlangu is third on the PWV assembly list and court interpreter Mr William Mnisi is fifth on the parliamentary list.

Mr Jack Bloom, a Johannesburg city

councillor, is placed ahead of Tembisa-based Mahlangu on the regional list. Mr Douglas Gibson, MP Yeoville, Mr Robert Harpur, a Pretoria-based human resources manager, and Mr Lester Fuchs, Hillbrow MP, are ahead of Benoni-based Mnisi. (304A)

In a constituency of at least four million votes, DP election strategist Mr Paul Asherson said about 75 000 votes would be required to win a parliamentary seat and 35 000 votes for regional parliament.

In the 1989 white election the DP polled 175 000 votes in the region.

Should the DP gain no more votes in the black community, they will gain two parliamentary seats and up to five regional seats. This would ensure only one black candidate, Mahlangu, gets a seat.

Election date brought forward

Sowetan 2/2/94

By Mathatha Tsedu
Political Editor

■ **NEC MEETS** Unlikely the ANC

and government will accommodate FA:

THE TRANSITIONAL EXECUTIVE COUNCIL has changed dates for the first nonracial general elections in April, bringing the start one day earlier.

Instead of the elections starting on April 27, special voting will now be on April 26, with the general elections on April 27 and 28.

April 27 will be a public holiday but not the 28th. Those entitled to vote on the 26th include invalids and those in foreign countries.

Voting will start at 7am and last until 7pm every day of the elections. In making the announcement in Pretoria yesterday, the TEC said after a session that the move to change dates followed rec-

ommendations from people and bodies outside the TEC.

The Independent Electoral Commission had also recommended this, they said. The change came in the form of a withdrawal of a resolution that had been adopted, making April 27 the starting date for the elections.

Speculation

The changes announced yesterday put paid to speculation that the elections may be postponed to accommodate parties on the far right, such as the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Afrikaner

Volksfront, who are still engaged in trilateral talks with the ANC and the Government over the interim constitution.

These parties have argued for a postponement and yesterday's announcement is seen as an indication by the TEC that a postponement was out of the question.

President FW de Klerk is expected to promulgate the election today but political observers said yesterday Friday was the likely day in order to give the stalled trilateral negotiations a few more last days to sort themselves out.

30449

AVF warn on talks deadlock

CT2/2/94 (304P)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Afrikaner Volksfront will launch a non-violent protest campaign if negotiations with the government and the ANC for a volkstaat finally collapse.

In the meantime, however, the talks door remained open, AVF co-leader General Tienie Groenewald said yesterday.

His comments followed AVF co-leader General Constand Viljoen's statement on Agenda on Monday night that an uprising could be unavoidable if a volkstaat was not proclaimed before the April election.

He said he did not want to make threats, but that the latest talks deadlock could be the last straw.

General Viljoen said a referendum to gauge the support for a volkstaat could be held this month, and that a volkstaat coun-

'Protest campaign' threatened

cil could be established before April 27.

In his statement Gen Groenewald said: "We haven't completely given up on a negotiated settlement. There is still hope." He confirmed trilateral talks could resume tomorrow.

The envisaged campaign would begin with passive resistance "before moving into more decisive forms of action" such as shutting down the country's mines and power supplies.

Passive resistance could in-

clude a refusal to pay taxes, mass action similar to that used by the ANC when the Codesa multi-party talks collapsed, and right-wing local government protest action.

The AVF wasn't planning "any acts of terrorism such as the planting of bombs or landmines", Gen Groenewald said.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said the ANC would not be blackmailed by threats of an uprising.

● The CP and the AVF yesterday welcomed a decision by the Virginia Town Council to become a part of the proposed volkstaat rather than the new South Africa.

The MP for Virginia, Mr Kobus Beyers, said the decision had been taken at a special council meeting with only one opposing vote, even though there was only one CP member on the council. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

Nats, ANC get their shows on the road

CF2/2/94 (304A)

Political Correspondent

ELECTIONEERING will move into high gear today with both the National Party and the ANC launching their national election campaigns in opposite ends of the country.

In Johannesburg, President F W de Klerk will officially begin the NP's election drive at the party's federal congress at the World Trade Centre.

In Paarl, Mr Nelson Mandela will formally launch the ANC's campaign by leading a "freedom rally" starting at the Victor Verster prison from

which he walked to freedom almost four years ago.

The NP's two-day federal congress, with the theme "peace and progress", will be attended by over 1 500 delegates, including most candidates on the party's election list.

Mr Mandela will use the fourth anniversary of the unbanning of the ANC to lead a large procession of prominent former political prisoners, exiles and relations of people killed in the apartheid era.

Ballot

row grows

304A
CT2/2/94

Own Correspondent

THE South African Chamber of Business and Anglo American Corporation chairman Mr Johan O. Ogilvie-Thompson yesterday launched a stinging attack on the government and the African National Congress over their decision not to give way over a single ballot.

Their attack follows the breakdown of talks between the government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance on Monday night over the double ballot and the powers of regions.

Warning that the insistence on a single ballot — electing representatives for regions and the central parliament — could endanger peaceful and successful elections, Mr Ogilvie-Thompson said in a statement that a double ballot was "vital if the views of the people of SA are to be widely represented and expressed". He said the major parties had, through long and difficult negotiations, secured an opportunity to bring together South Africans in a true democracy.

He said he found it all the more alarming that the reasons advanced for the single ballot system appeared to be rooted in expediency rather than principle.

And he called on the ANC and the government to return to their original flexibility on the issue. This would renew pressure on the dissenting parties to return to the negotiating process and take part in the election.

Sacob president Mr Cedric

Savage said he was concerned at the apparent failure of Monday's talks, and in the view of business confidence and social stability it was essential that consensus be reached on constitutional changes.

"Sacob wishes to add the voice of business to widespread expressions of disappointment over the single ballot paper proposed for the April elections," he said.

The ANC refused to comment directly on the business statements, saying its national executive committee was meeting to consider a range of proposals regarding the Freedom Alliance.

'Practical'

An announcement would be made today. Earlier this week, Mr Mandela said: "For people voting for the first time and where illiteracy is high, a double ballot system would be a disaster."

A government spokesman said the single ballot was "purely a practical consideration".

Inkatha has been the Freedom Alliance's main protagonist for a dual vote, while both the DP and the PAC have also called for the

double ballot.

Mr Ogilvie-Thompson said: "There is growing evidence that international opinion is alarmed by this unnecessary constitutional impasse which is jeopardising international confidence in South Africa."

ANDREW DUFFY reports that Anglo, which controls nearly 40% of the JSE by market value, said the chairman's statement had been passed on to other business leaders. The immediate response was mute, Anglo said. Old Mutual and Rembrandt Group, which between them control a major chunk of the JSE, refused to be drawn, adding that it was company policy not to comment on political issues.

But the Institute of Directors, whose membership is made up of directors representing 90% of the JSE, came down strongly in support of Mr Ogilvie-Thompson.

Meanwhile, reports ANTHONY JOHNSON, the Democratic Party said yesterday that it would be "a tragedy and a disgrace" if the insistence by the ANC and the National Party on a single ballot destroyed any hope of a peaceful and inclusive election in April.

88

RA
PE

NEWS De Klerk displays NP black nominees • DP blacks make it to short list

Two blacklisted in the DP top 10

Sowetan 21/2/94

WHITE English-speaking males dominate the top slots of the Democratic Party lists for the PWV and regional assemblies — but two blacks stand a good chance of winning seats.

Announcing the provisional lists at a Press conference yesterday PWV provincial leader Mr Tony Leon said the lists represented "an excellent blend" of languages, expertise, culture and religion.

While Leon tops the regional list for parliament and Johannesburg management committee chairman Ian Davidson heads the PWV assembly list, SABC TV news archivist Mrs Sibongile Mahlangu is third on the PWV assembly list and court interpreter Mr William Minisi is fifth on the parliamentary list. Mr Jack Bloom, a Johannesburg city

councillor, is placed ahead of Tembisa-based Mahlangu on the regional list. Mr Douglas Gibson, MP Yeoville, Mr Robert Harpur, a Pretoria-based human resources manager, and Mr Lester Fuchs, Hillbrow MP, are ahead of Benoni-based Minisi. (30449)

In a constituency of at least four million votes, DP election strategist Mr Paul Asherson said about 75 000 votes would be required to win a parliamentary seat and 35 000 votes for regional parliament.

In the 1989 white election the DP polled 175 000 votes in the region.

Should the DP gain no more votes in the black community, they will gain two parliamentary seats and up to five regional seats. This would ensure only one black candidate, Mahlangu, gets a seat.

New NP train sets off

Sowetan 21/2/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

STATE President FW de Klerk officially opens the National Party's federal congress today which will end with the announcement tomorrow of a "fully multiracial" election candidates list.

De Klerk, who is national leader of the NP, posed for Press photographs with black candidates at the Union Buildings in Pretoria yesterday, publicly showing off the "new NP" image which is central to the party's campaign.

The black candidates who will be running for office in the proposed government of national unity include controversial MPC Mr John Mavuso, former PAC member Mr David

Chuenyane, former Lebowa Minister of Finance Mr Chris Mofutha and former Venda Development Corporation chief executive officer Mr E Nditwani. (30449)

Former Umkhonto we Sizwe commander Mr Vronda Banda is expected to be on the provincial parliamentary list.

Election manifesto

The 2 000 delegates expected at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park will also focus on the party's election manifesto and decide on changing the NP's confederal image to a federal political party.

De Klerk will deliver the keynote address in a public rally at the same venue tonight.

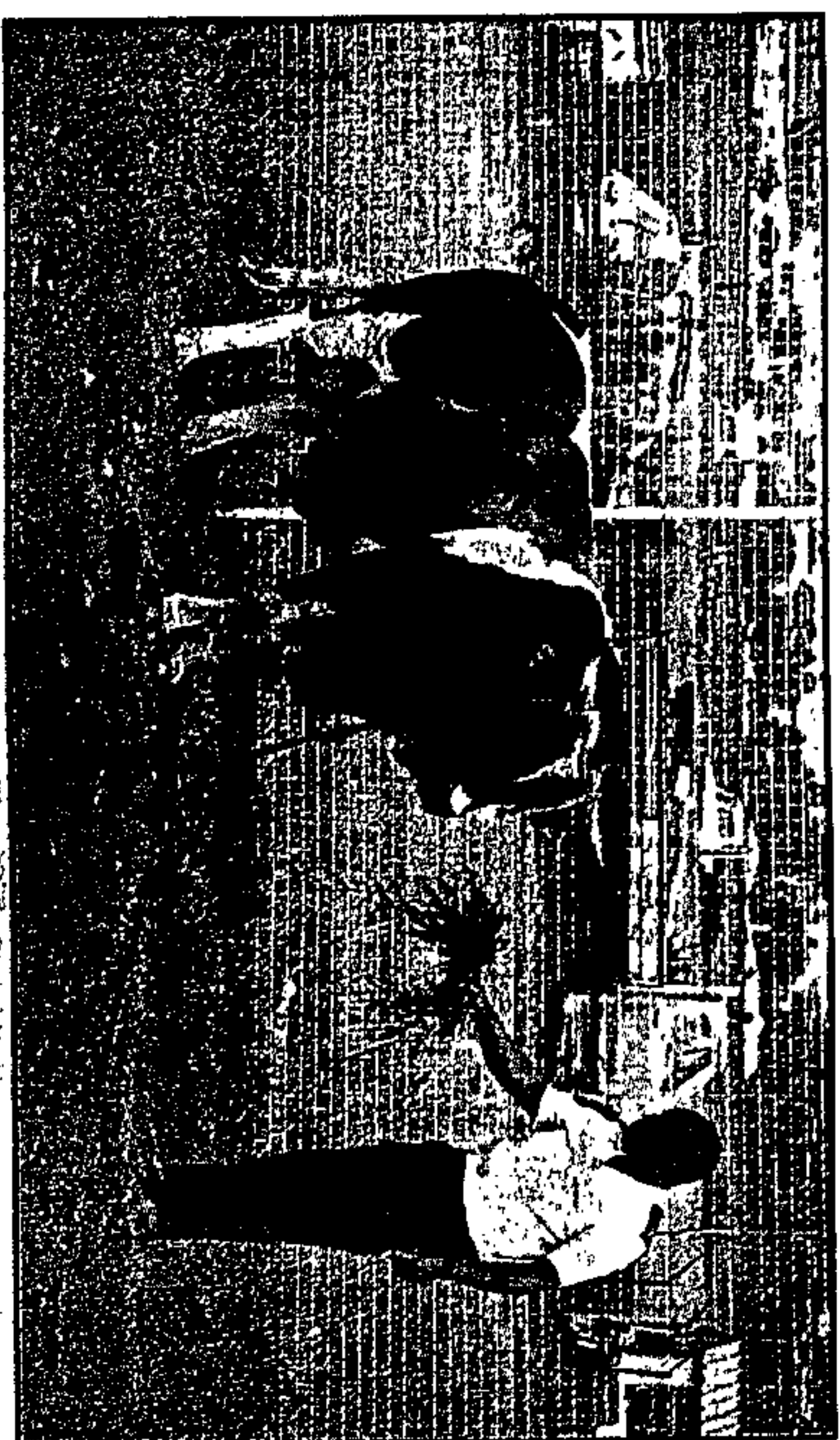
Tomorrow morning all the NP

candidates for national assembly and regional assemblies will be announced ahead of a closed candidates' conference to brief all nominees on strategies for the election campaign on Friday.

Among candidates already known are Natal leader Mr George Bartlett, who will head the list for the Natal assembly.

Former MEC for Transvaal and currently NP election campaign chief Mr Olaus van Zyl is tipped for the party's PWV premiership nomination while Minister of Law and Order Mr Hennis Kriel is the party nominee for the Western Cape's premiership.

Latest opinion surveys say the NP would poll 14 percent of the national vote, making it the second most "popular" party after the African National Congress.



Youths in Naledi, Soweto, stabbed and tortured this bull whose owner could not be traced by people in the township. The animal, stumbling around with multiple wounds was rescued by the SPCA. Here the SPCA's Enos Matokate tries to rehabilitate it shortly after it was discovered last week. PIC: VELL NHIAPPO

GET READY FOR A CAREER IN BUSINESS



Ballot issue to top talks agenda

ARG 2/2/94

(304A)

JOHANNESBURG. — Trilateral talks involving the government, African National Congress and Freedom Alliance are scheduled to resume tomorrow with the issue of a double or single ballot at the top of the agenda.

Spokesmen of the government and ANC indicated today that they regarded the choice of a single ballot as a practical choice and not an issue of principle.

Anglo-American Corporation chairman Julian Ogilvie-Thompson and the SA Chamber of Business yesterday joined in the furore over the issue — both warning that continued intransigence by the government and ANC on the issue could endanger the April election.

ANC president Nelson Mandela and senior ANC negotiators have said the ballot issue was not negotiable.

ANC spokeswoman Gill Marcus said today the ANC's preference for a single ballot was not based on considerations of principle.

She said the ANC would prefer a double ballot under ideal circumstances. However, a double ballot could create practical problems, not the least of which were widespread voter confusion.

She stressed, however, that this was not a comment on specific discussions taking place, but rather an outlook on the question in general.

A government spokesman said the government also did not regard its preference for a single ballot as a matter of principle.

An Alliance source said while the ANC's concession to a double ballot would greatly improve relations between the Alliance and the ANC, it

would not necessarily be sufficient to bring the Alliance into the constitutional process.

He said the Inkatha Freedom Party was the major force behind Alliance demands for a double ballot.

The ANC's national executive committee met yesterday to discuss an Alliance package of proposals placed before it at talks on Monday night.

Cape-based Checkers/Shoprite chairman Christo Wiese said today it would be "stupid and a very bad sign to let the elections founder on a technicality".

And Pick 'n Pay chairman Raymond Ackerman said it was "vital for peace" and the bid for the 2004 Olympic Games that politicians struck a deal.

Mr Wiese said the government and ANC might be holding back as part of strategy. — Business Editor and Sapa.

Business (304A) plea over one ballot ARG 2/2/94

JOHANNESBURG. — The insistence by major parties on a single ballot appears to be the key factor in the "log-jam" in constitutional talks which could jeopardise a peaceful and successful election.

Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie-Thompson said this in a statement yesterday.

He said major parties had, through long and difficult negotiations, secured an opportunity to bring together South Africans in a true democracy.

"I find it difficult to believe that they now appear willing to throw it away through a refusal to follow standard international practice, and, through the double ballot, ensure that the views of the people of South Africa are widely represented and expressed."

Meanwhile, the SA Chamber of Business is worried that the failure of the latest constitutional talks between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance would negatively affect business.

Sacob president Cedric Savage said it was desirable for the participants to reach "the maximum consensus on any further amendments to the interim constitution and election procedures".

Sacob added its voice to those wanting the ANC to change its position on a single ballot paper for the April elections.

"This (the single ballot) is an unnecessary and unfortunate infringement of the fundamental right of voter choice. It also weakens the role which regionalism ought to play in the new dispensation right from the outset."

ANC president Nelson Mandela made his rejection of the single election ballot paper clear on his tour of the western Transvaal earlier this week.

He said he was not prepared to budge on the issue. — Sapa

NP theme for poll is peace, prosperity

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE National Party launches its election campaign this week with the slogan "peace and prosperity".

It is also planning an increasingly aggressive campaign against the African National Congress.

The NP's federal congress at Kempton Park will be opened by President De Klerk tonight.

Party officials are confident the NP is gaining on the ANC, although latest opinion polls show it is still lagging.

The NP election manifesto will be released tomorrow. It presents the National Party as a centre-right movement.

It commits the party to work for economic growth to provide more work opportunities and also promises lower taxes, a restructuring of the education system and steps to combat crime.

Key features of the NP campaign will be attacks on the ANC for its ties with the Communist Party and criticism of its economic policy which, the NP maintains, could bankrupt the country.

The NP will also try to draw potential Democratic Party supporters by urging them not to "waste" their vote in the fight against the ANC by voting for the DP.

Indicative of the NP's new aggressive style is a full-page advertisement in newspapers throughout the country today.

Referring to the ANC's "freedom march" in Paarl today, the advertisement says: "Today Mr Nelson Mandela honours President De Klerk with a 'flame of freedom'. On February 2, 1990 Mr De Klerk announced the death of apartheid and set South Africa on the road to democracy."

● Full list of NP candidates, page 5.

Election set for April 26

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG. — The date for the start of South Africa's first democratic elections has been moved forward by a day to Tuesday, April 26.

Special votes — for the disabled and South Africans abroad — will be cast on April 26, while ordinary voting will take place on April 27 and 28.

Wednesday April 27 will be a

public holiday instead of April 29 as originally decided.

The new dates overtake a decision by the Transitional Executive Council last week that the election would take place from April 27 to April 29, with special voting on April 27.

The TEC also decided yesterday that voting hours would be from 7am to 7pm and not 7am to 9pm as originally agreed.

De Villiers heads NP's candidate list in W Cape

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

AKG 2/2/94
THE National Party has released the names of its election candidates — with President De Klerk topping the list in the PWV.

Minister of Public Enterprises Dawie de Villiers heads the list in the Western Cape, while Minister of Law and Order Hernus Kriel tops the Western Cape regional list.

Mr Kriel is the NP's candidate for the region's premiership.

In the PWV area Mr De Klerk is followed by five ministers — Pik Botha (Foreign Affairs), Roelf Meyer (Constitutional Development), Sam de Beer (Education and Training), Leon Wessels (Manpower) and Derek Keys (Finance).

Squatter leader Johnson Ngxobongwana is a candidate for the Provincial Parliament.

Candidates for the National Assembly are:

1 Dawie de Villiers (Minister of Public Enterprises), 2 David Graaff (Deputy Minister of Trade and Industry), 3 Abe Williams (Minister of Sport), 4 Frik van Deventer (MEC), 5 Nick Koornhof (MP for Swellendam), 6 Sakkie Pretorius (MP for Tygervalle), 7 Francois Jacobsz (MP for Helderberg), 8 John Gogotya (labour consultant), 9 Myburgh Streicher (MP for De Kullen), 10 Hennie Smit (MP for George), 11 Piet Marais (Minister of National Education), 12 Anna van Wyk (former President's Council member), 13 Melt Hamman (MP for Ceres), 14 Marletha Badenhorst (vice-chairman of the Cape NP), 15 Marlo Masher (MP for Karree), 16 Kobus Dowry (radio announcer), 17 Chris Wyngaard (MP for Wuppertal), 18 Koos Albertyn (farmer and former ministerial representative), 19 Rodney Rhoda (chemist), 20 Esme Chalt (former MP and Presi-

dent's Council member), 21 Glenn Carelse (Deputy Minister of Welfare).

22 Pauline Cupido (co-ordinator for literacy), 23. Abdul Mohamed (MP for Rylands), 24 Nic Theron (retired police officer), 25 Peter Harris (MP for Strandfontein), 26 Stan Simmons (MP for Belhar), 27 Melchior Johnson, 28 Leo Dilley (businessman and former MP), 29 Deon Adams (MEC), 30 Paul Kleinsmidt (MP for Elsies River), 31 CM Morkel (civil servant).

32 W J Scheepers (minister of religion), 33 Sulaiman Ebrahim (MP for Grassy Park), 34 Jacob Ridder, 35 Lorna Scheepers, 36 C J Fischer (manager), 37 M M Panday (shipping clerk), 38 Stan Fisher (MP for Mitchell's Plain), 39 Johannes Schippers (pensioner), 40 K A Sambaba, 41 Charles Redcliffe (financial adviser and former MP), 42 G H J Thomas (MP for Matroosfontein).

Candidates for the Provincial Parliament are:

1 Hernus Kriel (deputy chairman of the Cape National Party and Minister of Law and Order), 2 Lampie Fick (Deputy Minister of Home Affairs and Regional Affairs), 3 Gerald Morkel (Minister of the Budget in the House of Representatives), 4 Willem Doman (MP for Vasco), 5 Arnold de Jager (MP for Oudtshoorn), 6 Peter Marais (MEC), 7 Ryno King (MP for Worcester), 8 Adriaan Jordaan (MP for False Bay).

9 Kobus Meiring (Cape Administrator), 10 Patrick McKenzie (MP for Bonteheuwel), 11 Marta Ockers (MEC), 12 Piet Meyer (MP for Vredendal), 13 Quarta du Toit (clinical psychologist), 14 Aletta Rossouw (housewife), 15 Johnson Ngxobongwana (community leader), 16 Ron Hendricks (minister of religion), 17 Annette Reinecke (insurance broker).

18 Pierre-Jeanne Gerber (businessman), 19 Anwar Ismail (MP for Esselen Park), 20 Nic Isaacs (MP for Bishop Lavis), 21 Mali Hoza (community leader), 22 Temba Nyati (MEC), 23 Antoinette Versfeld (school principal), 24 Cecil Herandien (Deputy Minister of Housing in the House of Representatives), 25 Mark Wiley (director of companies), 26 Neels Ackermann (MP for Bellville), 27 Koos Lloyd (businessman and former MP), 28 Hendry Cupido (MP for Kasselsvlei), 29 J N Malan (city planner), 30 Abe Williams (former President's Council member).

31 Annette van der Merwe (secretary), 32 Gert Kotze (MP for Malmesbury), 33 Louis Kreiner (city councillor), 34 Andre Ekermans (civil engineer), 35 Lester Sampson (MP for Diaz), 36 Deon Adams (MEC), 37 D Dantom (minister of religion), 38 Dennis de la Cruz (MP for Ottery), 39 Melt van der Spuy (farmer), 40 Ludwig Andersen (businessman), 41 Willem Steenkamp (former President's Council member and author), 42 Andries Esterhuysen (former President's Council member).

Business joins lobby for double ballot voting system

ANGLO American Corporation chairman Julian Oglivie Thompson and SA's largest business organisation Sacob yesterday publicly threw their weight behind political parties backing a double ballot system for the April elections (30447)

Warning the ANC and government that their decision to push for a single ballot could endanger the elections, Oglivie-Thompson said a double ballot was "vital if the views of the people of SA are to be widely represented and expressed".

He called on the ANC and government to return to their original flexibility on the issue, as this would renew pressure on the dissenting parties to return to the negotiating process and take part in the elections.

BILLY PADDOCK

The ANC refused to comment directly on the business statements, saying its national executive committee (NEC) was meeting to consider a range of proposals regarding the Freedom Alliance. An announcement would be made today.

The ANC spokesman said the NEC was considering the issue of a double ballot, but it would not be drawn on the possibility that it would concede on what president Nelson Mandela has called a "non-negotiable".

A spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said government had never accepted a single ballot as ultimately democratic or as a principle.

2/21/94

"It is purely a practical consideration, where we feel that a double ballot could be damaging in giving a true democratic reflection of our voter profile at this stage."

The Inkatha Freedom Party has been the Freedom Alliance's main protagonist for a dual vote, while the DP and PAC have also called for a double ballot.

TIM COHEN reports that President F W de Klerk met Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for two hours at the Union Buildings yesterday. No statement was issued but they agreed to meet again. Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi was not present.

Oglivie-Thompson said the major parties had, through long and difficult negotiations, secured an opportunity to bring to-

gether South Africans in a true democracy.

"I find it difficult to believe that they now appear willing to throw it away" through a refusal to follow standard international practice. "I find it all the more alarming that the reasons advanced for the single ballot appear to be rooted in expediency rather than principle," he said.

He said the question of provincial powers was more complex, but agreement on the double ballot should make it easier to prevail on parties outside the process to rejoin. This would help allay the mounting concern of South Africans and international investors whose confidence and support were essential if a new government was to

□ To Page 2

Double ballot

2/21/94

□ From Page 1

begin to meet its promises.

"There is growing evidence that international opinion is alarmed by this unnecessary constitutional impasse which is jeopardising international confidence in the future of SA," Oglivie-Thompson said.

ANDREW DUFFY reports that Anglo, which controls nearly 40% of the JSE by market value, said the chairman's statement was prompted by the collapse of Monday's talks between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance (30447)

It said the statement had been passed on to other business leaders. The immediate response was mute. Old Mutual and the Rembrandt Group refused to be drawn, saying it was company policy not to comment on political issues.

But the Institute of Directors, whose membership is made up of directors representing 90% of JSE-listed companies, strongly supported Oglivie Thompson.

"It is time the major parties made this concession to bring others back into the process," its executive director Richard Wilkinson said. "They've come so far. Why

should they get hung up over this?"

Sacob president Cedric Savage said he was deeply concerned at the apparent failure of Monday's talks, and in view of business confidence and social stability it was essential that consensus be reached on constitutional changes.

"In particular Sacob wishes to add the voice of business to widespread expressions of disappointment over the single ballot paper proposed for the April elections," he said. This was an "unnecessary and unfortunate infringement of the fundamental right of voter choice" and weakened the role which regionalism ought to play in the new dispensation.

Sapa reports that the DP urged parties to show flexibility in order to achieve an all-inclusive political settlement. DP federal spokesman Ken Andrew said if negotiators could not reach agreement, outstanding issues should be resolved by independent mediators.

He said the ANC's and NP's insistence on a single ballot could destroy any hope of a peaceful and inclusive election.

● Comment Page 6

NP names its candidates

PRESIDENT FW de Klerk yesterday expressed disappointment that more blacks were not on the NP's lists of candidates for national and regional parliaments, saying intimidation had taken its toll. *Billay*

Blacks make up about 25% of the candidates on the lists which were released last night prior to the NP special federal congress which gets under way tonight.

The highest positions on the NP lists are dominated by Cabinet Ministers and senior members, while many existing backbenchers are set to lose their seats in favour of a new generation of NP members.

De Klerk heads the NP list for the PWV region in the national assembly, followed by Cabinet Ministers Pik Botha, Roelf Meyer, Sam de Beer, Leon Wessels, Derek Keys, Jac Rabie and Piet Welgemoed.

Former SA rugby captain Naas Botha and former Allied MD Kevin de Villiers are 27th and 28th on the PWV lists. *2/2/94*

TIM COHEN

Topping the national list are Privatisation Minister Dawie de Villiers (Cape), Deputy Agriculture Minister Tobie Meyer (Eastern Cape), NP Chief Whip Keppies Niemann (Northern Cape) and MP Chris Fisser (Eastern Transvaal).

Senior Ministers topping the lists for regional governments include Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel (Western Cape), Mineral and Energy Affairs Minister George Bartlett (Natal), Local Government Minister Tertius Delpont (Eastern Cape), Agriculture Minister Kraai van Niekerk (Northern Cape) and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee (Free State) and State Expenditure Minister Amie Venter (North-western region). *(304A)*

De Klerk said the lists were "reasonably representative" of SA's population groups as well as of both sexes.

Election dates shift

Biday
ADRIAN HADLAND *2/2.194*

PRETORIA — SA will go to the polls on April 27-28, and not April 28-29 as previously announced, the TEC agreed yesterday.

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan said the Independent Electoral Commission and voter educators had made urgent representations that millions of rands had been spent publicising the April 27 date.

This had led the management committee to recommend changing the dates, with special votes beginning on April 26 and general voting on April 27 and 28. April 27 would be a public holiday. *(BOLAF)*

The times for voting were also changed with polls now closing at 7pm, instead of 9pm, in a bid to prevent violence. The dates and times will be promulgated today.

'No whites in peace force'

UMTATA — Transkei would complain to the TEC defence subcommittee that no white soldiers had been included for training in the national peacekeeping force, Transkei military ruler Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa said yesterday.

"I have been shocked to learn that no white troops have been included in the training for the national peacekeeping force," he said yesterday.

The SADF had sent only black soldiers to the force, Holomisa said, adding the only whites involved in the force's training were instructors.

He called for the force to reflect SA's national character.

"The Transkei government sends a loud and clear 'no' to an 'own affairs' national peacekeeping force," he said.

In view of allegations of SADF complicity in violence "and its role in the training of surrogate forces", it had to be questioned whether the peacekeeping force would not fall prey to the "machinations and designs" of the SA government, Holomisa said.

misa said.

LOYD COURTS reports the Afrikaner Volksfront yesterday accused the peacekeeping force of political bias, ill-discipline and unreliability.

Volksfront press secretary Stephen Maninger said his organisation had received reports from reliable sources that a large segment of the force had chanted "kill the boer, kill the farmer" at its De Brug base on January 29.

Maninger said this was another indication that the force was not apolitical, was nothing more than the re-emergence of the ANC's armed wing, Umkhonto we Sizwe, that it could not be trusted with the safety of the public and that it was ill-disciplined and unreliable.

"We predict that once this force is deployed it may become SA's version of (Zimbabwean President Robert) Mugabe's Fifth Brigade, and be sent to suppress all political opposition in places such as Kwa-Zulu and other areas where the ANC does not have complete control," he said.

Supreme test for KwaZulu

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — KwaZulu's refusal to co-operate with the TEC will be tested in the Supreme Court this week, following the TEC's announcement yesterday that legal papers would be served on the territory's police commissioner, Lt-Gen Roy Doring.

TEC chairman Pravin Gordhan said KwaZulu Police Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the KwaZulu government had been listed as the second and third respondents in the civil case.

During has refused to heed the TEC's request. He said the KwaZulu government rejected the TEC's authority and had ordered him not to attend.

Volksfront threatens mass protest campaign

DAVID GREYBE

THE Afrikaner Volksfront will launch a non-violent protest campaign if negotiations with government and the ANC for a volksstaat finally collapse.

In the meantime, however, the talks door remained open, Volksfront co-leader Gen Tienie Groenewald said yesterday.

"We haven't given up on a negotiated settlement," he said. He confirmed talks could resume tomorrow.

The envisaged campaign would begin with passive resistance "before moving into more decisive forms of action" such as shutting down mines, power supplies and public transport.

The Volksfront was not planning "any acts of terrorism", Groenewald said.

He expected the Volksfront to decide within the next week or two whether to embark on the protest plan.

Right-wing sources warned yesterday it was becoming difficult to contain the anger of rank-and-file members, as witnessed in Pretoria on Saturday when right-wingers shouted down Volksfront leader

Gen Constand Viljoen when he suggested taking part in the election.

The Volksfront has demanded a whites-only referendum this month to gauge support for a volksstaat.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC would not be blackmailed by threats of an uprising.

He denied claims by Volksfront sources that ANC negotiators had at first agreed in talks to a whites-only referendum on a volksstaat but later changed their minds.

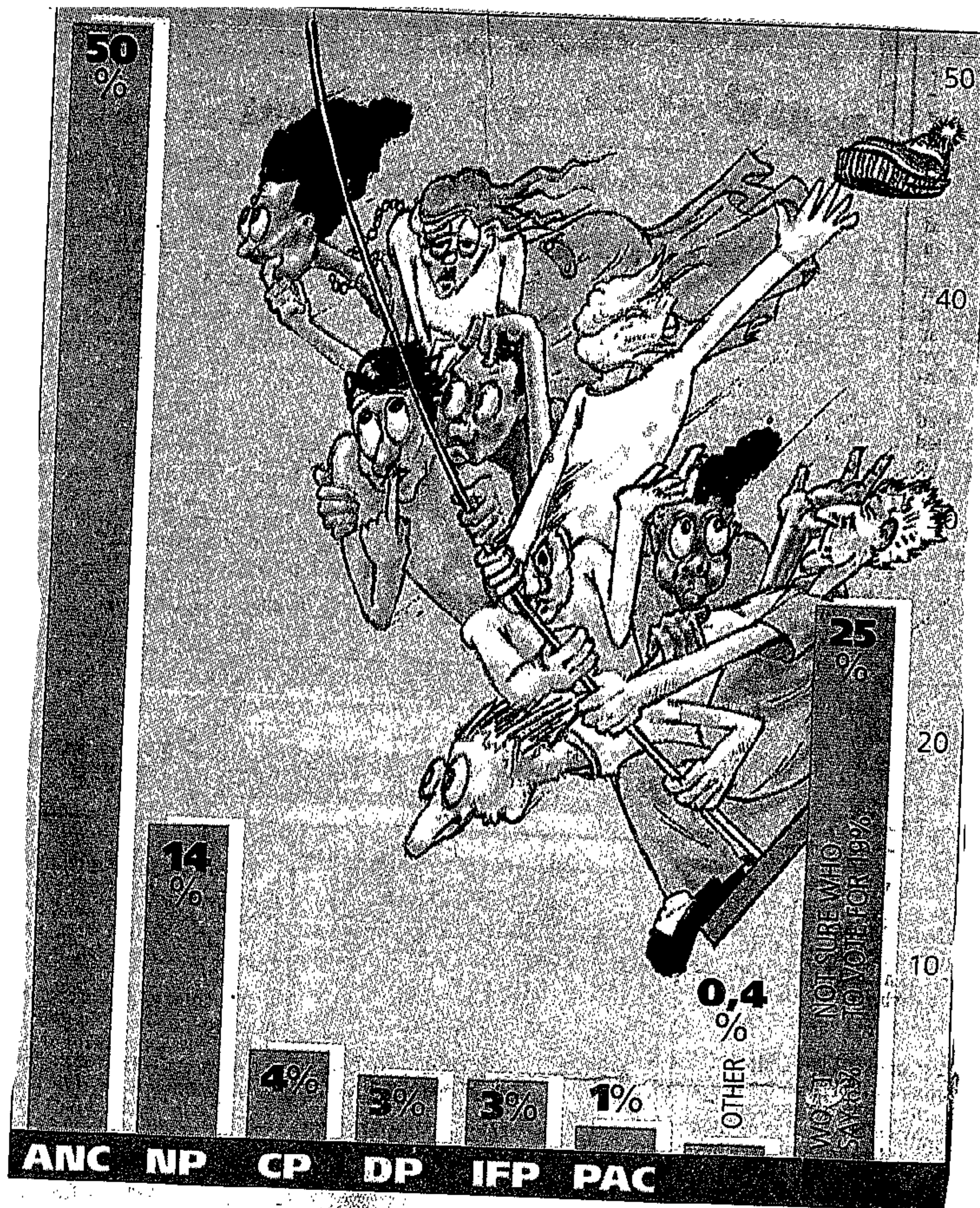
"We've never agreed to a referendum. The right wing must show its support by taking part in the election," Niehaus said. Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said the police had a contingency plan to deal with extremists on both the left and the right who tried to disrupt the election.

He said a political solution to the right-wing demand for a volksstaat was preferable, but the police would deal with any disruption "with the full force of the law".

● See Page 6

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GRAPHIC: FRANCOIS SMIT, GAIL IRWIN

Heads it's ANC, tails it's ANC

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The majority of South Africans — across the political spectrum — have accepted that the ANC is likely to win the April election.

The Star-MMR poll indicates that 67 percent of all potential voters, irrespective of which party they personally favour, believe the ANC will win most votes. Only 7 percent believe the National Party will emerge the strongest party.

Both the Conservative Party and Inkatha Freedom Party were tipped by only 1 percent to win, while 0.6 percent thought it would be the Pan Africanist Congress and 0.2 percent the Democratic Party.

A total of 17 percent of those asked which party would win said they were "not sure", and 5 percent refused to say.

A breakdown of the perceptions of party supporters is intriguing in that it suggests a "realism factor" not present in other southern African "liberation" elections, where many believed until the last moment that parties which eventually fared poorly would win.

Not surprisingly, 95 percent of ANC backers believe their organisation will waltz home, while 1 percent of the organisation's supporters say the National Party will win.

Should the ANC win, DP supporters will prove to have been the most realistic of those in opposition parties. A full 80 percent of DP backers tip

the ANC to win, while 6 percent say it will be the NP and only 5 percent the DP.

Interestingly, nearly half (47 percent) of IFP supporters think the ANC will win most votes and only a quarter (25 percent) think the IFP will win. (30/47)

Half (51 percent) of NP supporters say the ANC will win while 32 percent think it will be their own party. Even a majority (54 percent) of CP supporters say the victors will be the ANC with only 11 percent putting their faith in their own party.

PAC supporters may prove to be the most optimistic of all. A full 47 percent firmly believe the PAC will win, while 46 percent acknowledge it will probably be the ANC.

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC will today formally accept the Freedom Alliance's key demands for a double ballot in the April election, and exclusive powers for regional governments, reliable sources have confirmed.

The major concessions, to be presented as part of a compromise package to the FA at a meeting in Pretoria, could break a three-month deadlock which has seen FA members — notably the Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) — threatening to turn to armed resistance if their demands were not met.

Sources close to the ANC said the organisation's last-minute concession, decided upon by the national executive on Tuesday, was linked to three conditions.

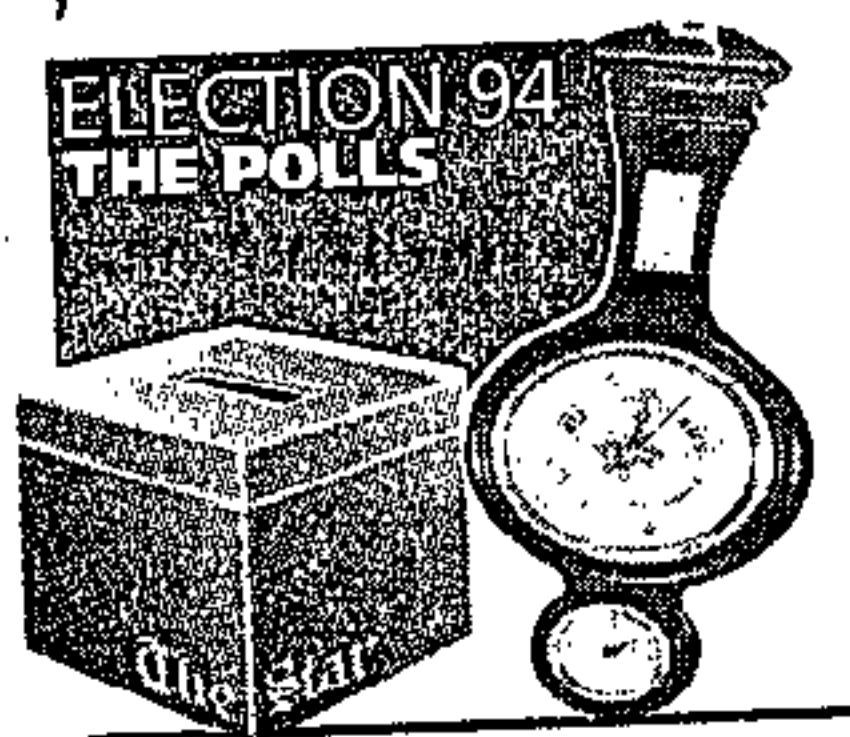
■ FA members commit themselves in writing to contesting the election.

■ The election dates will not be changed as a result of the technical constitutional changes which would be needed.

■ There must be no "filibustering" in the few weeks that lie ahead to harmonise the agreement with other legislation already agreed upon.

The sources said the ANC had also agreed to the extension of exclusive powers to regional governments, provided the present deadlocking-breaking mechanism agreed upon at the World Trade Centre would be dispensed with. Instead, all decisions would have to be taken with a two-thirds majority in the national assembly which would also double up as a constituent assembly.

Political circles were yesterday abuzz with rumours that



(304A)
WE are putting forward proposals that no reasonable person could, or should, refuse
— Joe Slovo

there might be movement on the single ballot/double ballot issue, which has led to intense pressure being placed on the ANC, and to a lesser extent the Government.

Although ANC negotiators would not officially confirm that a concession would be made on the double ballot issue, they would also not deny outright that such a compromise was in the offing.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo told The Star his organisation would make proposals today which the FA would find difficult to turn down. "We will put forward proposals in relation to the package as a whole which no reasonable person could or should refuse."

Apart from FA members — key among them being the IFP — parties demanding two ballots in the election include the DP, the PAC and QwaQwa's ruling Dikwankwetsa Party.

FA members also want exclusive — as opposed to concurrent — powers for regional governments, and would like

these governments to write their own regional constitutions subject to approval by the constitutional court.

The pro-two-ballot lobby this week won the backing of big business, with Anglo American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson and the South African Chamber of Business (Sacob) both strongly coming out in favour of two ballots in the election for the 400-member national assembly and the nine provincial legislatures.

Ogilvie Thompson and Sacob warned that Government and ANC intransigence on the issue would endanger the whole election process.

The Democracy Trust, whose patron is Sir Laurens van der Post, added its voice to the outcry yesterday. In an open letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa, the trust said it was concerned by the lack of commitment to true democratic principles shown "in your alliance's refusal to move from its adherence to the single ballot in the current constitutional impasse".

"It completely nullifies the merits of a proportional representation voting system, which enables the voter to exercise his democratic right to vote for different parties at the national and regional levels."

In another development, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday called for an emergency meeting of the multiparty Negotiating Council to be convened if the impasse in the trilateral negotiations was not resolved by today.

De Beer said it was unacceptable that the three groups should be negotiating behind closed doors and attempting to determine all South Africans' future while the country teetered on the brink of possible chaos, even civil war.

Star 3/2/9

Yes to double

Hope of breakthrough as ANC offers two major concessions

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT
Cape Town — The "Stranger" could be in Atlanta serial killer Warren's, who has been believed since 1982 and is alleged killed at least 30 children by strangulation. He was convicted of

May

'Swing' votes will be decisive

Star 3/2/94

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

One-quarter of South African adults have yet to state a clear party preference for the country's first all-race election.

A huge 25 percent potential "swing vote" could play a pivotal role in shaping the first government of national unity, and the country's future.

According to the findings of a Star-Marketing and Media Research (MMR) poll, the ANC is almost sure to win the election but its present certain support is pegged at just less than 50 percent. (304A)

This leaves the question of a two-thirds ANC majority wide open — and puts the spotlight on the importance of the coming 12 weeks of campaigning.

The 25 percent chunk of floating voters — 19 percent say they haven't decided who to support, and 6 percent refuse to say — could be critical in determining whether the ANC reaches the 66 percent threshold which would effectively give it the power to rewrite the constitution if it wished to.

These figures support the belief among many campaigners from various parties that a meaningful chunk of the electorate can still be swayed, and will see the parties direct their energies at securing the votes of these people.

The scientifically conducted survey of 2 751 adults — seen in their own homes and questioned in the language of their choice — suggests that as things stand, the ANC commands almost 50 percent of support, the National Party 14 percent and the Conservative Party 4 percent.

The Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party are level-pegging at 3 percent and the PAC has only 1 percent of voter support.

MMR cautions that these figures do not include the "deep rural" vote, which could lead to distortion — especially in terms of the IFP's vote as the organisation enjoys considerable backing in remote areas north of the Tugela River.

In addition, it must be noted that specific conditions in South Africa mean that polls

► To Page 3

'Swing' votes will be decisive

Star 3/2/94
◀ From Page 1

have inherent weak spots. These include the absence of reliable census material, inexperience among voters, the fear factor and the difficulty of predicting how many ballots will be spoilt.

Nevertheless, the potential swing vote will mean that party campaigners will concentrate their energies on the undecided.

A comprehensive breakdown reveals that of every 10 people in this category four are African, four are white, one is coloured and one is Indian.

Taking into account population sizes of the various groups, this indicates that a substantial 35 percent of Indians, 27 percent of whites and 26 percent of coloureds are undecided about which party to vote for.

In the African community the figure drops to 13 percent.

The Indian community in particular appears to be in a state of flux, with the survey also finding that, relative to size, it was moving to the ANC more than any other community at present.

More females (24 percent) are undecided than are males (14 percent).

Natalians (29 percent) are more likely to be undecided than those in the Cape (18 percent), Transvaal (17 percent) and Free State (18 percent).

Significantly, the swing voters

were equally well disposed towards both President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela. Next highest on their rating was ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa followed by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and DP leader Dr Zach de Beer.

The swing voters, asked to rate the parties out of 100, placed the ANC at 54, the NP at 50, the DP at 48, the IFP at 41, the CP at 36 and the PAC at 30. (304A)

MMR did a projection of how it appeared the swing vote would go, taking into account previous voting patterns and, particularly, party affinity. This projection — or "potential vote indicator" — also attempted to take into account the deep rural vote (see bar chart on Page 13).

Significant

These results indicated that if the ANC can indeed secure the support of those undecided voters who are leaning towards it, the 66 percent threshold is achievable.

According to the projections the NP could be significantly boosted to 19 percent — ensuring it a relatively significant say in government.

The IFP shifts up to 5 percent, as does the CP. The DP stays put on 3 percent while the PAC doubles its support to 2 percent.

The poll also found some in-

teresting shifts in voter patterns over the past two years, with ANC support increasing from 44 percent to 50 percent and NP support dipping from 18 percent to 14 percent (see Page 13).

The poll also finds that 8 percent of the electorate will not vote. These are much more likely to be white (12 percent), coloured (11 percent) or Indian (11 percent) than African voters (6 percent).

In a possible reflection of the turmoil in Natal, the non-voters (14 percent) are more likely to come from that province.

The most common reason given for not wanting to vote was that respondents were not interested in politics. However, most Africans in this category said they would not be voting because they did not really understand what was going on in politics. Indians also indicated a lack of trust for political leaders and parties, while many whites gave "personal reasons" as their motivation.

Very few said they would not be voting because of fear of violence and intimidation.

■ More poll details are given on Page 13. The rest of the poll's fascinating findings will be published in The Star tomorrow. These include leaders' popularity, surprise findings on how many of us would like to live overseas if given the choice, and predictions on life after April.

Is candidate a liar, asks DP's Gibson

Star 3/2/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD

POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

1 The DP and ANC were embroiled in a row yesterday over a top DP election candidate who appears to have withdrawn his candidacy.

Alexandra theologian Walter Mojapelo is number 11 on the DP PWV region's list of candidates for the national parliament (304A)

2 ANC Sandton MP David Dalling issued a statement yesterday, apparently in his own handwriting but signed by Mojapelo, in which the latter said he was a strong ANC supporter.

3 DP regional chairman Douglas Gibson replied: "Mojapelo is a member of the DP and sought nomination as a DP candidate. Either Mojapelo is a liar or has been intimidated."

We will provide prosperity — NP

■ OWN CORRESPONDENT

Cape Town — "Peace and prosperity" is the rallying cry of the National Party in the election campaign as set out in its manifesto which was issued today.

In a foreword to the manifesto President de Klerk says only the NP has the experience, resources and expertise to meet challenges of economic growth, decent facilities and national reconciliation.

De Klerk points out that the ANC has no experience of government, is toying with discredited policies and includes in its leadership many communists with hidden agendas.

He said the NP promised peace and security based on the rule of law, prosperity based on

Star 312194
free enterprise, sound economic policy and a fair tax system, autonomous regional government bringing government closer to the people, decent and affordable education, health and social services and protection of minority rights. (304A)

The richly illustrated booklet portrays him as "the man for justice and peace" and mentions the Nobel Prize.

It promises that the NP will make South Africa safe for all its people. The party is also presented as having safeguarded democracy by negotiating federalism.

Protection of basic rights, and private property, jobs, housing, education, and health care are among the other promises.

The prosperity and well-being of each individual depends on a

thriving economy.

In the area of housing it points out that the NP government has made huge portions of lands available for housing new urban communities. It promises that the party will vigorously pursue a new housing endowment policy launched in January.

Referring to affirmative action, the manifesto says more opportunities can only be created if the economy is strong and growing, thus creating new jobs. Equal opportunities have been created in the civil service.

The manifesto ends up by claiming that the new NP has changed, that it has the best policies, the best leader and the best support as it is a truly national party, the only one with wide cross-cultural and cross-ethnic support.

NP will keep its promises - FW

Sowetan 31/2/94

Sowetan Correspondent

NEW VISION National Party

says it has closed book on apartheid:

VOTERS WOULD BE FACED with a clear choice on April 27 - between "the new National Party and the old ANC", State

President FW de Klerk said last night.

De Klerk was opening his party's federal congress at the World Trade Centre on the fourth anniversary of his historic speech to Parliament four years ago which led to the unbanning of the liberation movements.

He warned that no one would stop the NP in its historic mission.

The NP would not turn back.

"We will continue negotiating before and after the election. We are prepared to make reasonable adjustments. But we will not be blackmailed. And all attempts to create anarchy will be met with force," De Klerk said.

He said the NP was "new and fresh because it has closed the book on apartheid" and had the courage to

(We are prepared to make reasonable adjustments. All attempts to create anarchy will be met with force)

(304A)
change the party and the country.

The speech was dominated with electioneering and stabs at the ANC.

He said the ANC had put its plans for the new South Africa on the table. His party would do so in the next few

days, but there was a crucial difference between the two plans - the NP would fulfil its election promises.

"The ANC will not keep its promises. It cannot. It does not know how to because it has never done so," he said.

Referring to the intimidation of NP supporters in the Eastern Transvaal last week, De Klerk said he would continue visiting the townships.

"For me and the NP there will be no forbidden or no-go areas," he said.

Addressing himself to other parties which wanted to defeat the NP, De Klerk said they should not waste their efforts on the NP but should rather unite in fighting the ANC.

Turning to parties which wanted to boycott the election, he said such a course of action was a *cul de sac*. A stayaway vote would play into the hands of the ANC.

Thursday February 3 1994 SOWETAN

FW proclaims elections

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

PRESIDENT FW De Klerk yesterday signed the election proclamation which effectively leaves just 10 days in which to win rightwing support for the April election.

In terms of the Electoral Act parties must register for election 10 days after its proclamation. This ends on Saturday February 12.

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate said last night today's talks in Pretoria between the government, Freedom Alliance and the African National Congress were therefore crucial.

(30449)
He said it had been made clear by Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer that if constitutional amendments were to be made by the negotiating council and by Parliament, they would have to be carried out next week.

This means that the three parties will have to resolve their differences by Sunday night at the latest.

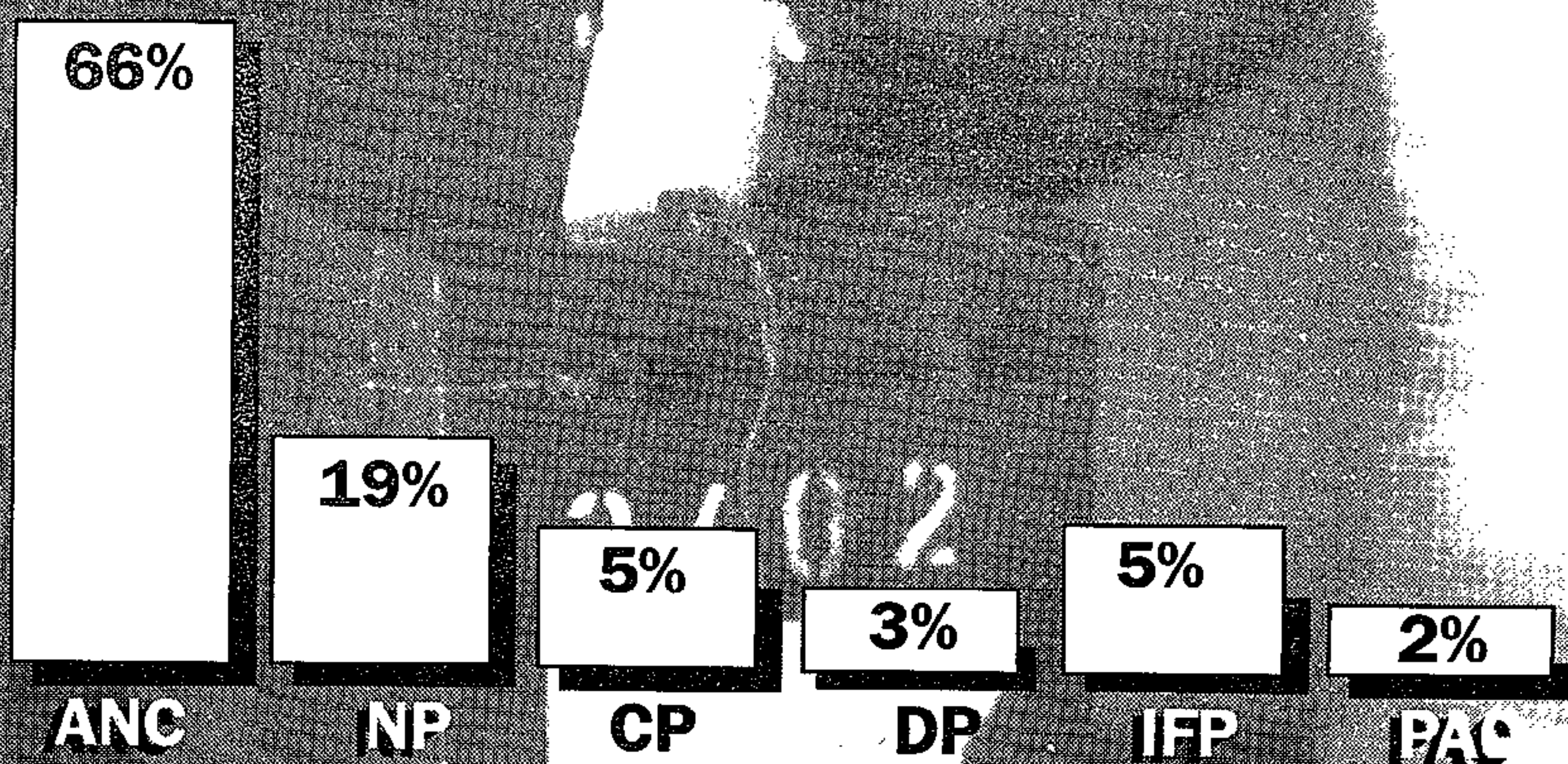
Inkatha, the Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana, therefore, face a looming deadline if they are to participate in the poll.

The ANC NEC considered a package of Freedom Alliance proposals at a meeting this week.

ANC sources indicate that the NEC will not move on the demand for two ballots in the election.

POTENTIAL VOTE INDICATOR

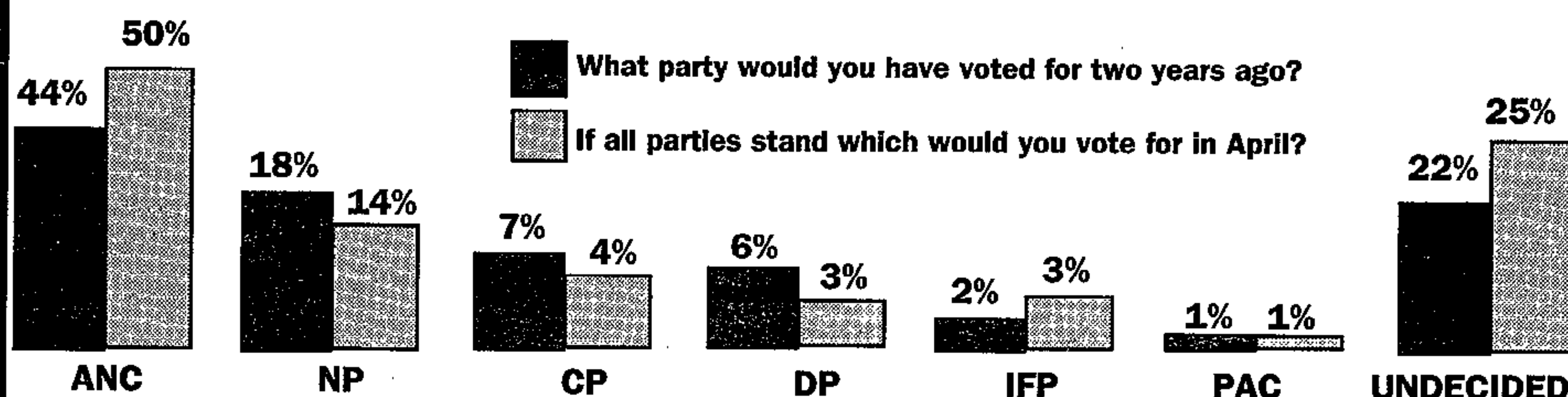
PROJECTIONS TO NATIONAL POPULATION (Incl. deep rural)
AND ALLOCATION TO SWING VOTERS TO RELEVANT PARTIES*



* SWING VOTE WAS ALLOCATED ON BASIS OF PREVIOUS VOTING PATTERNS AND PARTY AFFINITY

Graphic: J Tsatsi

CHANGES IN VOTING - FROM 2 YEARS AGO



ANC will win majority

304A
3/2/94

THE AFRICAN National Congress will win a clear 50 percent majority of the electorate in April — an increase from 44 percent two years ago, a *Sowetan* survey done by Marketing and Media Research has found.

However, if the 25 percent made up of "swing" voters — those who are at present undecided or refuse to say how they will vote — are taken into account, the ANC could notch up 66 percent of the vote.

This would be enough for the ANC to draw up the final constitution on its own.

According to the poll, the Inkatha Freedom Party was the only other political organisation to increase its share of the vote from its position two years back.

The Inkatha share rose from just two percent to three. However, the number of swing voters also rose from 22 percent to 25.

Those polled were asked which party-politi-

cal organisation they would support if all parties took part in the April election and which one would they have supported two years ago.

Opposition

The main opposition to the ANC will be the National Party with 14 percent of the vote, down from 18 percent.

However, it would gain 19 percent with the spread of swing votes. The Conservative Party comes in third with four percent, down from seven, while the Democratic Party, the official opposition in the tricameral parliament, gains fourth place with just three percent. Its share of the vote dropped from six percent.

The IFP pegs with the DP at three percent. The Pan Africanist Congress remains consistently at one percent. The swing voters are made up of 19 percent who are not sure who they will vote for and six percent who refuse to say.

Inkatha could notch up a further two percent of the spread of swing votes.

This would level-peg it with the CP with five percent of the electorate making them the third largest political organisations in the country.

Commitment

The PAC would also benefit with support rising from one to two percent. The DP would remain at three percent.

ANC and PAC supporters show the highest level of commitment to their organisations with 98 percent support because they like their parties — rather than the two percent who dislike other parties.

The IFP has the highest level of soft support with 44 percent of its voters pledging loyalty only because they dislike other parties. A lack of voter sophistication could impact negatively on the overall election result.

When is very sure very sure?

WHILE every eight out of 10 people are *very sure* they will vote for the party of their choice, figures differ sharply when members of the major political parties are questioned individually.

The latest opinion survey released by Media and Marketing Research on behalf *Sowetan* says 12 percent of those polled are *somewhat sure* and only five percent are *not sure* whether they will vote for their party of choice.

The survey shows that large numbers of supporters of the African National Congress, Pan Africanist Congress and Conservative Party and National Party, in that order, are very sure

they would vote for those parties.

The ANC scored the highest with at least nine out of every 10 (91 percent) of its supporters very sure to vote for it and only six percent somewhat sure while three percent are not sure.

PAC voters

The PAC and CP scored equally with 82 percent supporters of each party very sure. Twelve percent of PAC voters are not sure they would make their cross for the party, with only five percent CP faithfuls not sure.

Twenty-one percent of voters who claimed they would vote Democratic Party said they

were not sure they would actually vote DP come the election. Only 46 percent said they were "very sure".

Inkatha Freedom Party supporters were split. Fifty percent were very sure of casting their vote for the party while 36 percent were undecided.

Are party supporters realistic?

PAC supporters gave the ANC a score of 80 out of 100 whereas ANC supporters gave the PAC a score of 50 out of 100.

Nearly half of IFP supporters think the ANC will win most votes in the election, and one-quarter think the IFP will win. Nobody else believes this, according to the survey.

FW makes poll dates official (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — President F W de Klerk yesterday promulgated the April 27-28 election in a notice in a special Government Gazette.

The move places an obligation on parties to register for the election within the next 10 days and places renewed pressure on the Freedom Alliance, the ANC and the government to speedily reach an agreement on amendments to the interim constitution.

Significantly, the government has begun to moderate its stance on its earlier insistence on a single ballot.

Following the growing opposition to a single ballot from a broad cross-section of political parties, the business community, diplomats, media and the public, a top government source told the Cape Times yesterday the government was "moderating" its earlier opposition to the two-ballot system which allows voters to back different parties at regional and national level.

ANC: NP candidates 'Broederbonders'

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE National Party was still in all but name a party run by and representative of white men, who made up nearly three-quarters of its candidates' lists, the ANC said yesterday.

"All provincial candidate premiers but one are white Afrikaans men, most probably former or serving members of the Broederbond," the ANC said.

President F W de Klerk had claimed "South Africa is changing because the

NP has changed", but the NP's national and regional election lists showed that for Mr De Klerk and his party nothing had changed.

The ANC said Mr De Klerk had claimed the NP list was reasonably representative of the population as well as both sexes, but either he "does not believe what he is saying, or he still believes white men are the only ones able to run the country, despite the disastrous evidence of the past 45 years".

CT 3/2/94 (304A)

FW lashes out at ANC

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — An ANC victory in the coming election would cast South Africa back into the dark ages, President F W de Klerk charged last night.

Launching the National Party election campaign at the party's federal congress at the World Trade Centre, the NP leader told over 2 000 enthusiastic, flag-waving delegates that the ANC was secretly controlled by "communists, militants and extremists" whose economic agendas would

plunge the country into poverty and chaos after the election.

"They are quiet now but will shout loudly if the ANC wins control," he said in his February 2 anniversary speech which was largely devoted to a scathing attack on the ANC which he branded a dangerous party incapable of keeping its election promises.

Mr De Klerk said the ANC could never be trusted with the future of the country, and voters should "cut the ANC down to size" on polling day.

CT 3/2/94 (304A)
He told the crowd that Mr Nelson Mandela's "arrogant belief" that the ANC would win the election was misplaced. "This is an election, not a coronation!" he added to thunderous applause.

He said the ANC had dirty hands in political violence, intimidation, boycotts and disruption of education.

In apparent reference to the Freedom Alliance, Mr De Klerk warned the supporters of parties favouring boycotts and delays that this path would lead to a cul-de-sac of resistance and violence.

'Nkosi Sikelel', Stem for Nats

The hymn, Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika was sung by delegates at the opening of the NP Federal Congress.

Congress chairman Mr David Chuenyane opened proceedings with thunderous "vivas". Soweto minister the Rev M M Phenenthi read the Scripture and then the multi-racial gathering sang Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika.

Proceedings were closed by a singing of Die Stem.

Smaller parties 'will gain'

CF3/2/94 (3049)

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

DOUBLE ballots in South Africa's first democratic elections in April will enable smaller, regionally-based parties to gain a stronghold in their regions.

Voters will be able to vote for different parties at national and regional levels.

In effect, South Africa's approximately 20 million voters

will have two votes — one for the party they want to govern nationally and another for the party they wish to rule their region.

Supporters of the double ballot argue that this would be far more democratic than a single vote for both national and regional parliaments.

The government and ANC say they agree with this view, but argue a double ballot system will be

too complicated, particularly as the majority of the electorate have never voted before.

If agreement on a double ballot system is reached, it will mean that voters in Natal could vote the IFP into power in the regional parliament but vote for the ANC or NP nationally — and the voters in the Western Cape could put the DP in control of the regional parliament but not support it nationally.

Move to down on ballot

CT3h4u

(304A)

Positive signals on eve of talks

By ANTHONY JOHNSON and BARRY STREEK

THE ANC and the government last night appeared willing to back down on their demand for a single ballot in return for a commitment from the Freedom Alliance to participate in the election.

The dramatic about-turn on the ballot issue came just hours before today's last-gasp meeting between the three parties aimed at finding all-inclusive agreement on the interim constitution.

Hopes for a breakthrough on the controversial single ballot issue follows a groundswell of opposition and pressure from political parties, big business, foreign diplomats, the media and the public at large. Yesterday markets responded positively to the reports of a compromise.

SMALLER PARTIES WILL GAIN

See PAGE 2

deal with a strong rise in Johannesburg Stock Exchange prices and the share and capital markets bullish.

ANC sources said one of the options discussed by its national executive committee (NEC) yesterday was a new proposal that included as its central feature a climbdown on the single ballot demand if Inkatha and other Alliance parties gave an up-front commitment to participate in the April poll. But the ANC would not confirm the reports of a rumoured concession.

"Matters are quite delicate," ANC spokeswoman Ms Gill Marcus said. The ANC's markedly softer line on the double ballot issue — until yesterday's leaders, including Mr Nelson Mandela and Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, were emphatic that the issue was not negotiable — also suggested that a compromise was on the cards.

Earlier yesterday, Ms Marcus said the ANC's preference for a single ballot was not based on principle. She said the ANC would prefer a



HISTORIC WALK... ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela with ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak (on his left) lead a procession from the gates of Victor Verster prison in Paarl yesterday where the ANC celebrated the fourth anniversary of its unbanning.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Mandela retraces his steps

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela re-enacted his walk to freedom from Victor Verster prison in Paarl yesterday when he and 300 former detainees celebrated the fourth anniversary of the ANC's unbanning.

Later at Paarl's Dal Josafat Stadium, over 10 000 people cheered while scores of ex-political prisoners paraded around the oval under banners of Robben Island, Pretoria Central and Death Row. They were joined by about 50 returned exiles.

Among those present were ANC veterans Dr Abhe Sachs,

Mr Robert McBride, Mr Carl Niehaus, Mr Harry Gwala and Mr Ebrahim Ebrahim.

At the prison gates Mr Mandela laid a wreath to honour all those who had suffered under apartheid and pledged that "never again" would people be detained for their political beliefs.

After delivering a message of reconciliation, Mr Mandela released white doves and lit a torch which was carried to the stadium several kilometres away by the ANC's Mr Patrick Lekota.

The streets of Paarl were lined with flag-waving ANC

supporters, including school children, municipal and factory workers and domestic servants.

After hours of waiting, hundreds of screaming supporters broke onto the track and mobbed Mr Mandela and ANC Western Cape chairman Dr Allan Boesak as they toured the stadium on the back of an open bakke.

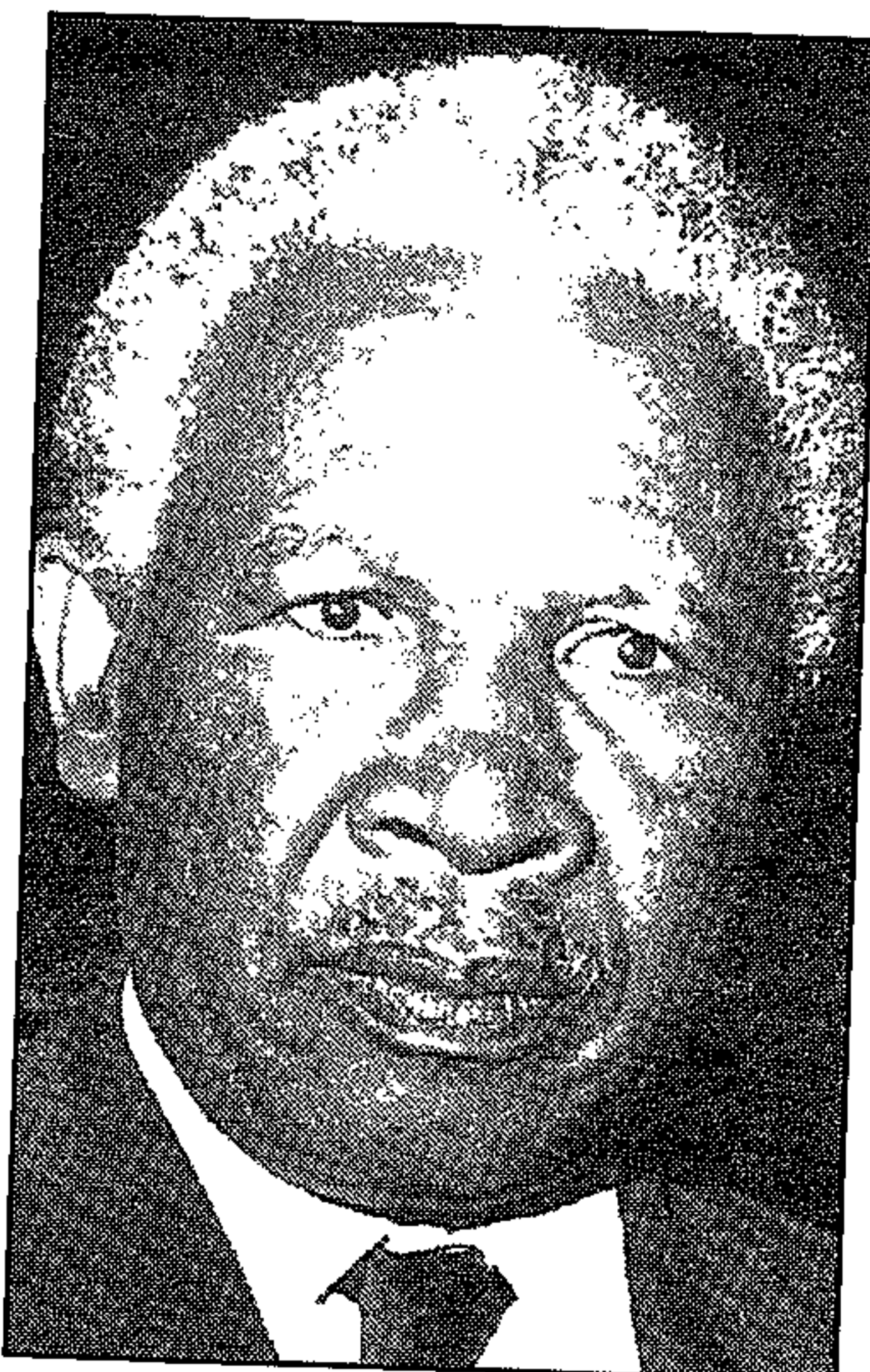
In a simple speech, marked by anecdotes of his prison days and well-received attempts at speaking Afrikaans, Mr Mandela urged his audience to vote on April 27 to secure a 70% ANC victory.

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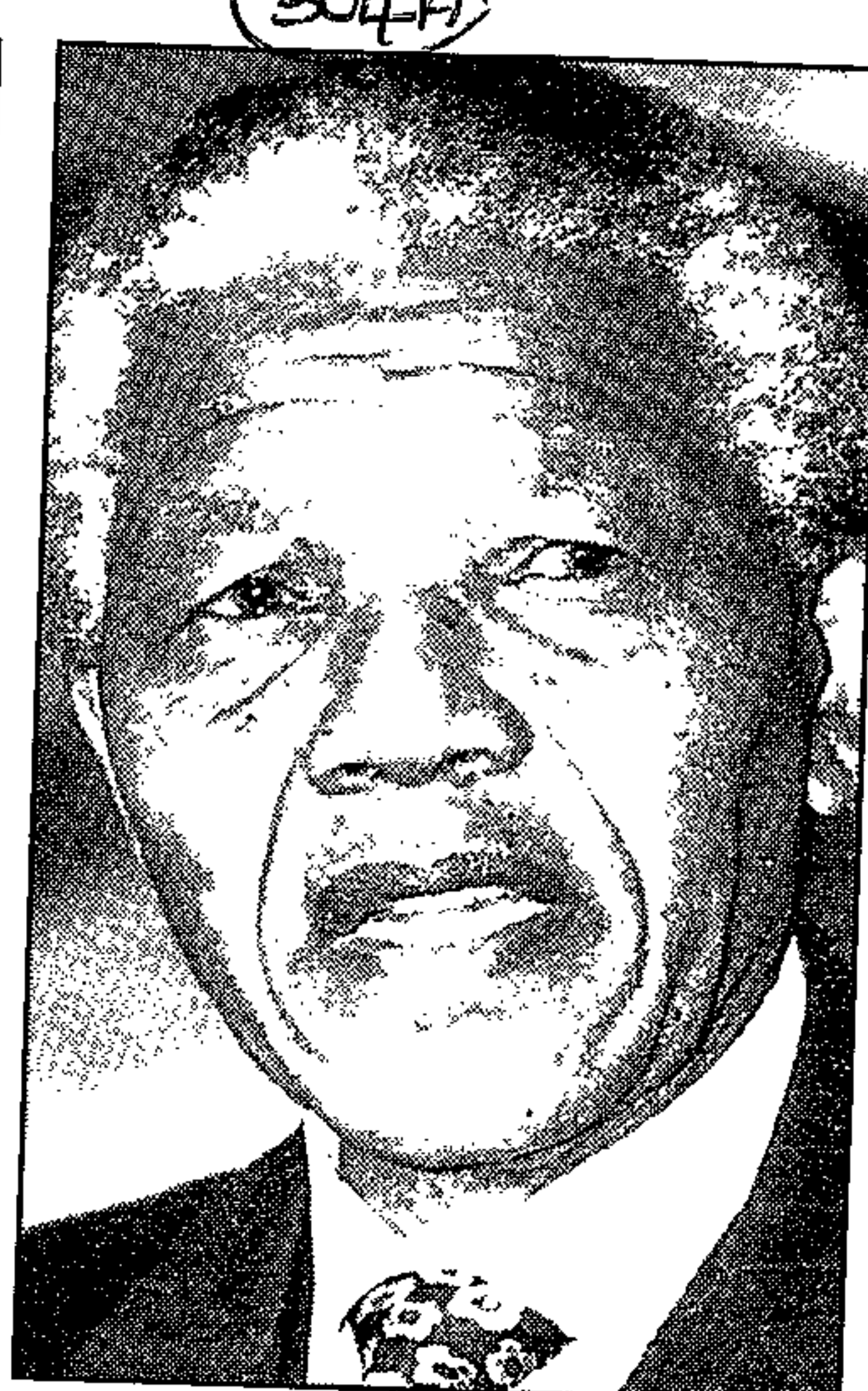
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For the modern here is complete garters and girdle flow up the entire and see our lat



Mr FW de Klerk ... national leader of the NP.



Mr Clarence Makwetu ... PAC president.



Mr Nelson Mandela ... ANC president.



Prof Itumeleng Mosala ... Azapo president.

All party followers respect Mandela

NELSON MANDELA is rated higher than any other leader by his African National Congress followers and by supporters of his party's bitter opponents, says the latest survey commissioned by *Sowetan*.

The Marketing and Media Research poll shows that out of every ANC supporters gave Mandela a rating of 99 out of a 100.

De Klerk's support

State President FW de Klerk could get a rating of 49 out of a 100 from ANC followers interviewed, while he got a rating of 89 from National Party supporters.

What would come as a surprise is that PAC supporters rated Mandela 83 out of 100 potential and their own leader Clarence Makwetu scored at 93. How-

■ SWING VOTES Could decide who rules SA after the elections:

ever, ANC supporters gave Makwetu a 53 out of 100 rating.

In another surprise, Conservative Party supporters would give Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi a rating 57 out of a 100 compared with ANC followers who gave him 19 out of 100.

Inkatha supporters are behind Buthelezi giving him a rating of 90, the poll says.

De Klerk got a 50 score from the IFP, 46 from the PAC, 70 from the Democratic Party and the lowest support came from the CP with 34.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg scored 81 among his followers, 21 from ANC and 20 from PAC.

South African Communist Party general-secretary Charles Ngqakula got a rating of 54 among ANC voters but a high 71 rating from the PAC.

Ramaphosa supported

PAC supporters polled gave the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa a rating of 77 while his own followers gave him a 79 rating, the poll found. Of the DP supporters, Ramaphosa scored 50, a high compared to 37 from the NP flock.

With swing votes De Klerk and Mandela are neck-to-neck but both are only at 40 out of a 100.

Why the people won't be voting

AT LEAST eight percent of the potential voters will not cast their votes on April 27, a *Sowetan* survey on voter trends has revealed.

This number is likely to increase if the decision by the Inkatha Freedom Party to boycott elections stands.

Another contributing factor to the high percentage of non-voters is the call to boycott elections by the Azanian People's Organisation and members of the Freedom Alliance.

Twelve percent of whites will not vote compared to 6 percent of the African electorate. Eleven percent of Indians and coloureds will not vote.

Most of the non-voters come from Natal (14 percent) where the dominating factors are fear and confusion. Eight percent are from the Transvaal, while 6 percent are from the Cape and OFS, respectively.

More women (10 percent) than men (7 percent) will not vote.

This is significant as women constitute more than 54 percent of the total population.

According to the survey, more non-voters are likely to come from outside of metropolitan areas.

The general and main reason for not voting is that they are not interested in politics or elections.

The second reason is that they do not understand what's going on politically, followed by a lack of identification documents.

The main reason for Africans not voting is that they do not understand what's going on politically, while whites based their decision on personal grounds.

Indians and coloured non-voters are simply not interested in politics.

Some of the reasons given were:

- My vote won't make a difference;
- Too much violence and fighting;
- They do not know enough about political parties;
- They don't trust parties or leaders;
- They don't know how to vote; and
- They fear violence and intimidation.

Racial breakdown of political support

MORE THAN three out of four black voters would have voted for the African National Congress if the elections were held last December, according to *Sowetan's* Market Research Africa poll.

In contrast, only one out of fifty black voters (two percent) polled said they would vote for Chief Gatsha Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party. But according to Market Research Africa spokesperson Helen Hunt, that figure could be artificially low because rural blacks were underpolled.

Another two percent of black voters backed the Pan Africanist Congress, and a mere one percent of black voters supported De Klerk's National Party.

Blacks make up more than two-thirds (72 percent) of the South African voting population. Of those surveyed, 60 percent were black.

In another surprising result, fewer than one out of seven coloured voters polled said they supported the ANC.

In contrast, the NP has made significant inroads in recruiting coloured support. Forty-six percent of coloured voters said they would vote for the NP.

A large number of coloured voters were undecided when they participated

in the survey. Thirty-two percent of those polled said they didn't know who they would vote for.

Many Indian and white respondents to *Sowetan's* poll showed similar political preferences. Thirty percent of both Indian and white voters said they would vote NP.

Another thirty-eight percent of both Indian and white respondents were undecided.

But the similarities end there.

While more than a third (37 percent) of Indians polled said they would vote for the ANC, a mere two percent of whites picked Nelson Mandela's party. According to the poll 15 percent of whites supported the Conservative Party and/or AWB.

Another curious result shows the IFP enjoying a higher proportion of support from whites than from any other racial group. Six percent of whites said they would vote for Inkatha if the party participated in elections.

Seven percent of whites polled supported the Democratic Party.

While the ANC dominated our poll countrywide, the party appeared strongest in the Orange Free State.

Almost two-thirds (61 percent) of OFS residents backed Mandela.

Elsewhere, the ANC picked up 53 percent support in the Transvaal, and 45 percent in the Cape. Slightly more than a third (38 percent) of Natal residents said they backed the ANC.

Regional breakdown of political support

While the ANC seems to dominate the OFS, the region is where the National Party appears weakest. Only seven percent of those polled in the OFS supported the NP.

The National Party picked up more support in the Cape than in the other three regions. Twenty-one percent of Cape respondents chose to support the NP, while the party picked up 11 percent and 12 percent in Transvaal and Natal respectively.

Not surprisingly, Natal is where the IFP showed the most support.

Seven percent of the province's voters chose the IFP, compared with two percent in both the Transvaal and Cape regions. Inkatha's support in the Orange Free State appears to be negligible.

The PAC seemed marginally stronger

in Transvaal than in the other regions. The party was supported by two percent of Transvaal respondents compared with one percent in each of the other regions. Ferdi Hartzenberg's CP, along with Eugene Terre'Blanche's AWB, showed more strength in the Transvaal and OFS than elsewhere.

Six percent of respondents in those two provinces professed to support either of the two rightwing parties. Only two percent of voters elsewhere supported the white rightwing.

Natal appeared to have the highest number of "swing voters" (voters who hadn't made up their minds). A quarter of Natal residents (26 percent) hadn't decided which political party to support.

Twenty-one percent of voters in the Transvaal and Orange Free State were also undecided.

Gender breakdown of political support

Few women would vote for the PAC, according our pollsters.

The number of woman respondents who chose to support the party was almost negligible, while two percent of men said they supported PAC.

The ANC also showed more support from men than from women. Fifty-three percent of men said they would vote ANC. Forty-six percent of women gave similar responses.

In contrast, support for the National Party is slightly higher among women than men. Fourteen percent of women polled chose the NP, while 13 percent of men did the same.

Almost one quarter of the women polled were undecided about who they will support in the elections. That compares to 18 percent of men who don't know who to vote for.

Age breakdown of political support

The ANC is most popular among young people while the National Party is better liked by grey-haired voters.

Fifty-eight percent of young adults aged 18 to 24 claimed to support the ANC, compared with only a third of the voters over the age of fifty.

In contrast, eighteen percent of the over-fifty age group supported the NP. But support for De Klerk's party dropped to 13 percent for the 18-24 age group.

You have the right to a GREATER Soweto.

You have the right to a regular water supply.

To have working sewerage systems.

To have rubbish removed from your streets.

To have the use of street lighting.

You have the right to feel proud of where you live.

And you can.

The Greater Soweto Crisis is over.

We have won the battle. If we all stand together and pay our monthly fee of R45 we can right the wrongs.

We can turn Greater Soweto into the GREATEST Soweto ever!

Monthly payments start from 1 February 1994.



PAY YOUR R45.

LET'S MAKE SOWETO GREATER.

Issued by: The Metropolitan Chamber

CARTER & A COUPLE 3753

SOWETAN ELECTION SURVEY

3044

EXPECTATIONS OF LIFE UNDER THE NEW GOVERNMENT

There will be:	AFRICAN %	WHITE %	COLOURED %	INDIAN %
Good SCHOOL for all children	72	29	58	58
More JOBS created	70	25	52	52
Lots of HOUSES built	65	44	49	48
A POLICE FORCE which will reduce crime	53	32	44	47

GRAPHIC: J TSATSI

Fears and hopes of rich, poor in SA

SOUTH AFRICANS furthest down the economic ladder are the most optimistic about life under a new government, a *Sowetan* survey conducted by the Marketing and Media Research has shown.

Whites were the most pessimistic, followed by Indians and then coloureds.

More Africans believed that the new government would create more jobs, provide good schools for all children and build more houses.

Compared to 72 percent of Africans, 58 percent each of the Indians and coloureds believed the government would provide good education. Only 29 percent of the whites polled expected the same.

More jobs

A mere 25 percent of whites thought more jobs would be created, compared with 70 percent of Africans. Indians and coloureds stood at 52 percent each.

Of the Africans polled, 65 percent believed there would be better hous-

NEW SOCIETY Those with the least to lose are the most optimistic:

South Africans furthest down the economic ladder are the most optimistic about life under a new government

ing. Indians stood at 48, coloureds 49 and whites 44 percent.

Regarding the South African Police under the new order, 53 percent of blacks, 32 whites, 44 coloureds and 47 Indians thought it would reduce crime.

Few South Africans believe that

violence will drop before the April 25 to 28 general election. Just four percent believe this may be possible, while 26 percent believe it may materialise shortly after the election.

While 32 percent believe violence levels will never drop, 38 percent believe levels of violence will remain at a high long after the election.

Coloureds polled feared rightwing violence the most, followed by whites and then Africans and Indians.

The same number of Africans -- Indians thought the Far Right would wage war against the rest of the country.

More than any other racial group, Indians expected more whites to leave the country.

Whites followed at 58, coloureds at 55 and Africans at 38.

ANC garners more members

WHILE most organisations were losing members, the ANC was the only organisation that has shown significant growth, according to a *Sowetan* survey.

The National Party, the Democratic Party and the Conservative Party have all lost members.

While the PAC did not show any significant growth or loss, closer scrutiny shows that the organisation grew by from 0,9 to 1,3 percent, the pollsters said.

The survey has revealed that the ANC's largest growth has been in the age group 25-49. Six percent of the growth was as a result of defection from the NP, 10 from DP.

The ANC gained more women than men. The Orange Free Staters showed a greater move to the organisation than the other three provinces.

Indian community

The Indian community has "tended" to move to the ANC more than any other race group.

The survey found that more Indians left the NP.

The NP has lost more women than men. The older the person, the more likely he is to defect from the NP to other parties, the survey found. It shed its supporters to the ANC, IFP, CP and DP. It however gained 16 percent from the DP and 12 from the CP.

East west, home best

MOST South Africans prefer remaining in their homeland to emigrating, a *Sowetan* survey has revealed.

Seventy-six percent of those polled indicated that they wanted to live in South Africa.

Africans polled the highest at 83 percent, followed by Indians and coloureds at 72 percent each and whites at 63 percent.

Seven percent of potential emigrants would prefer to settle in Africa. Five percent of those interviewed chose to settle in USA and 4 percent Europe.

Canada, New Zealand and South America attracted only one percent of the interviewees each, while the Far East and Australia attracted 3 and 2 percent, respectively.

Unreliable voter patterns

POLLS are controversial, and American and British polling methods cannot be transposed directly to the South African scene owing to the lack of a democratic tradition and unreliable census figures.

The projection of the findings which seeks to place the so-called swing vote in the favour of the parties they would

be most likely to choose, must rely on "previous voting patterns and party affinity".

Affinity

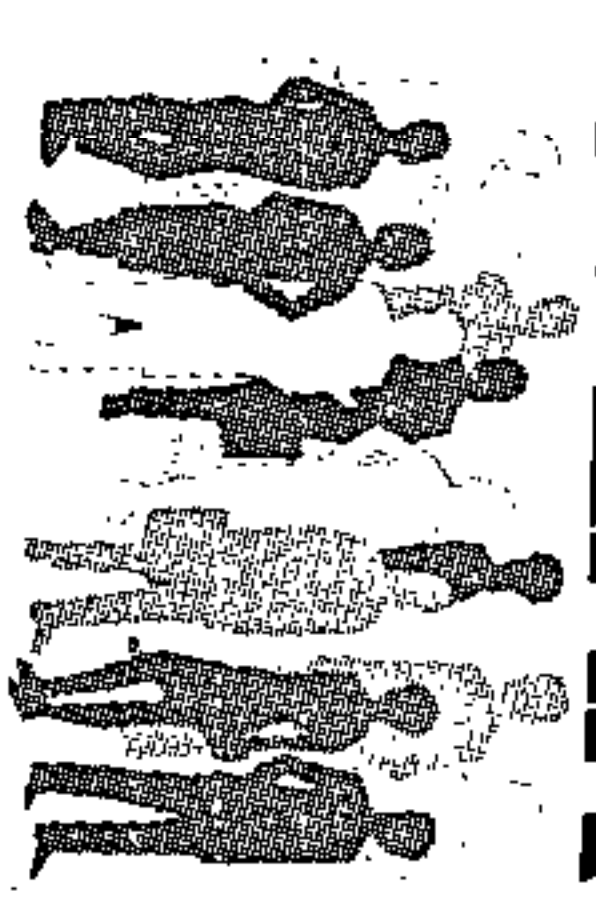
But at least 72 percent of the potential 22,5 million voters, blacks, have never had the chance to reveal "pattern" or "party affinity".

The only way to assess their affinities is to ask the hypothetical question: "If you could have voted, what would your choice have been?"

Another major migraine for pollsters here is the lack of reliable and accurate census figures. The effect of the deep rural vote and illiteracy will also have to be taken into account.

Two-year switch

VOTERS SPEAK



Face

to face
with the
voters

☐ Poll shows Nats, CP and DP have lost support since '91

Which parties have enjoyed upturns in support since 1991? And which have slipped? Argus Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD reports on the findings of The Argus-MMR poll.

WHITE-dominated parties have lost ground in the past two years while those with predominantly black membership have gained some support. The Argus-MMR poll indicates.

The ANC's support has risen from 44 percent to 50 percent, while the IFP has crept up from two percent to three percent. The IFP's figure might, however, be distorted by the fact that the "deep rural" vote was not tapped in the survey.

Those polled were asked to indicate their preference two years ago and how they would vote now.

National Party support has dropped from 18 percent to 14 percent during the period, but the Conservative Party and Democratic Party show proportionately heavier losses. CP support is down from seven percent to four percent, while those who say they will support the DP have fallen, from six percent to three percent.

The only party not showing any significant change is the Africanist Congress (AC) at only one percent.

At the same time those undecided or refusing to say how they will support have increased from 22 percent to 25 percent.

A breakdown of the trends indicates that the ANC has gained quite significantly in the Indian community. Relative to their population size, Indians have moved to the ANC more readily than any other race group. The ANC's gains from the Indian community appear to have been made at the expense of the National Party, survey indicates.

Free Staters have also moved to the ANC in greater proportions than in the other three existing provinces. More females than males have moved to the ANC.

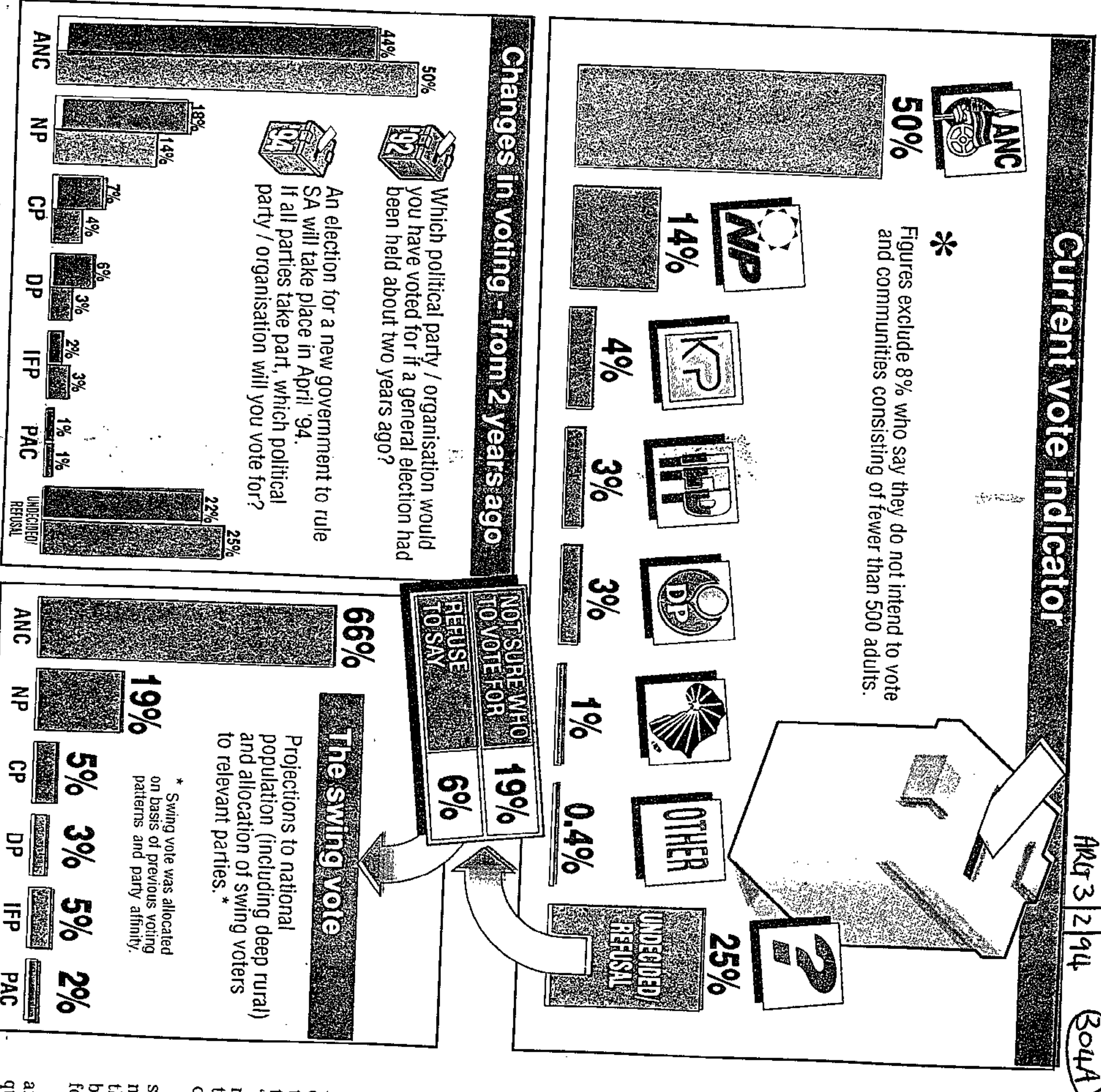
The NP has lost more female supporters than males, and the figures indicate the older the person the more likely they are to defect from the NP — presumably an indication that former NP supporters who could not swallow the party's change of direction have moved on.

Of the NP support two years ago, six percent have moved to the ANC, four percent to the IFP, three percent to the DP, two percent to the CP while a significant 19 percent say they are not sure who they would support. 62 percent of NP supporters have stayed loyal.

The figures make worrying reading for the DP, with only 41 percent of supporters remaining loyal while another 25 percent are not sure who they will support. Of those who have left, 16 percent have moved to the NP, 10 percent to the ANC and 3 percent to the IFP.

According to MMR, a significant proportion of upper income people have left the DP. Its support levels in the Cape and Natal have dipped more than in the Transvaal and Free State.

Only 47 percent of CP supporters have remained loyal while 12 percent have moved to the NP, eight percent to the IFP, three percent to the AWB, five percent to unlisted other parties and 22 percent say they are not sure how they would vote.



Graphic: BOB GRIFFINSON, The Argus

THE Argus-Marketing and Media Research (MMR) poll was conducted between November 29 and December 29, 1993, and was intended to indicate as accurately as possible the latest trends in voting intentions and political attitudes in the country.

A total of 2 751 adults were interviewed face-to-face in their homes, in their chosen language, by trained Market Research Africa (MRA) interviewers.

MRA drew a random sample — in technical terms an "area stratified probability sample" — representative of just under 90 percent of the electorate living in cities, towns and larger villages of South Africa. The survey excludes communities with fewer than 500 inhabitants and therefore underrepresents the "deep rural" vote. Please note that the effect could be to underestimate the African vote in particular.

In addition it was not possible to predict the possible number of spoilt votes, as the majority of voters will be taking part in an election for the first time.

The survey was designed and analysed by MMR. Any queries regarding the reliability or significance of the findings should be directed to them.

Move to derail elections 'would be disastrous'

Sapa-Reuter reports from Johannesburg. **ARC 3/2/94 (304A)**

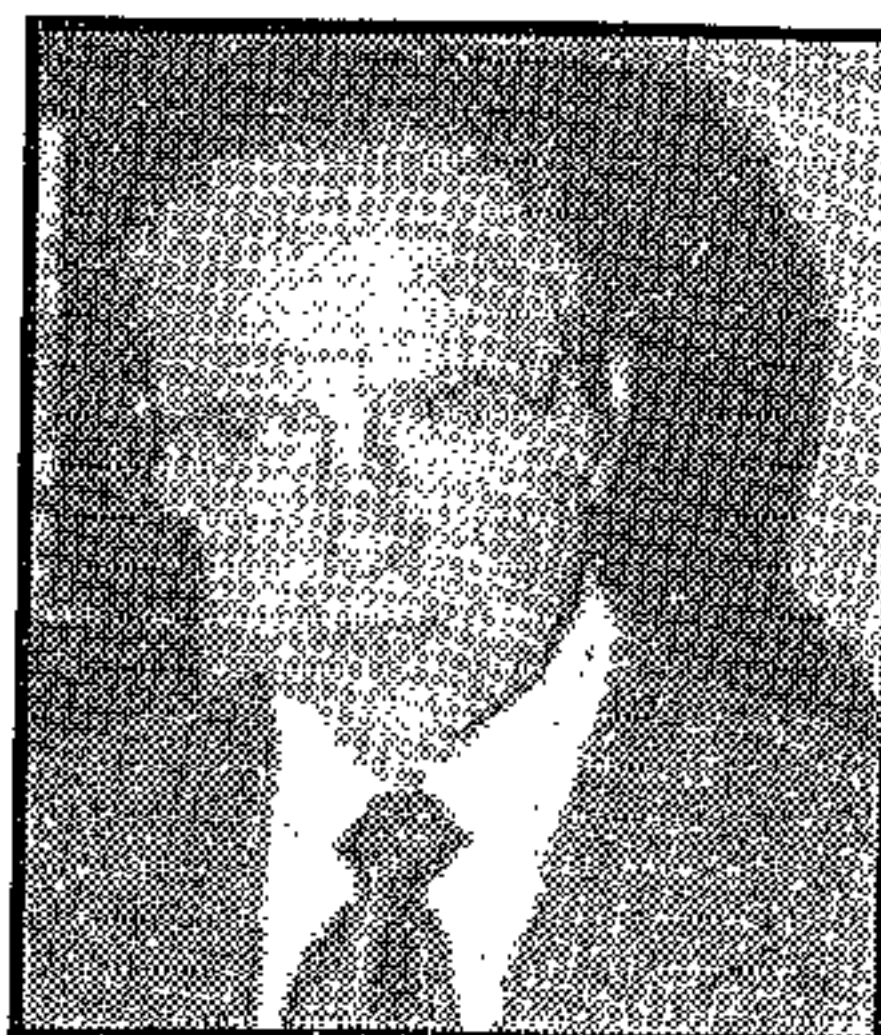
UNITED States Ambassador Princeton Lyman has warned South Africans that any move to damage or derail the country's first all-race elections in April would be a disaster.

"It is the position of the United States that the movement toward democratic elections cannot be derailed or seriously impeded without terrible and damaging effects on the country," he told a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch.

He said those committed to elections had, in one sense, waited 300 years, and, in another sense, four years since African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela was freed from prison.

"Delaying that process can only produce a backlash among those who have committed themselves to the path of negotiations and undermine the very commitment to democracy that is at the heart of much of the discussion about the constitution," he said.

Referring to opposition among right-wing whites and some black leaders to the interim constitution leading to black majority rule, worked out over the past two years of



PRINCETON LYMAN:
"Terrible and damaging effects ..."

negotiations, Mr Lyman said people were more important than paper.

"It is our opinion that the (interim) constitution does represent a sufficient basis for starting the process of democracy," he said.

Constitutions were inevitably matters of compromise, he said. If they were successful, they were living documents open to interpretation and amendment.

The United States had discussed the issue with Chief Buthelezi, who has so far refused to take part in the elec-

tions with his Inkatha Freedom Party.

"We have made it very clear we believe Inkatha should be in the elections ... we have encouraged them very strongly," Mr Lyman said.

The ambassador said constitutions depended on principles providing for effective government, human rights and checks and balances on power.

He said democracy negotiators had enunciated a series of principles to guide South Africa. The United States, Europe and Japan had made clear that relations with a future government "would be conditioned on the parties adhering to their pre-election commitments".

He also said the international community had emphasised it could help South Africa only if the democracy process remained peaceful.

"We cannot save South Africa from itself, should it descend into civil war. There should be no misunderstanding on that score," he said.

But Mr Lyman said he was optimistic. "The potential is enormous and the odds are on the side of success," he said.

'Malevolent' extremists

ARG 3/2/94 (204A)
It's official!

GARNER THOMSON of The Argus Foreign Service reports from London.

Sapa reports from Pretoria.

EVEN if a compromise is reached before the elections in April, there can be no illusions about the "malevolent aims" of those on the white and black extremes, Britain's Guardian newspaper warns.

In a leading article headlined "The Peril Outside", the newspaper adds: "In theory, it should obviously be better if the Freedom Alliance ... were campaigning from within, rather than sabotaging from without. But the mood of the last few days suggests that even from within they will still do their best to disrupt."

Beyond constitutional niceties, the Guardian says, "there should be no secret about the nature of these movements."

"Their rank and file may be confused and easily manipu-

lated, but their leaders are purposeful and fundamentally anti-democratic."

The paper adds: "Those who have had illusions about Buthelezi — and he has shaken far too many hands in Western capitals — should have the honesty now to admit their dreadful mistake."

"If they look northwards to Angola at the murderous behaviour of Jonas Savimbi — once much admired in the same Western quarters — they should reflect on just how big a mistake it may yet be."

It brands Buthelezi's call for "the politics of resistance" as being no different from the "limited violence" approved at the AVF rally on Saturday.

"It means more murder and mayhem," the article concludes grimly.

PRESIDENT De Klerk has issued a proclamation on South Africa's first all-race democratic election in a special Government Gazette.

According to the proclamation, special votes will be cast on April 26 and general voting will take place on April 27 and 28 from 7am to 7pm.

In terms of electoral law, no party can take part in the elections unless it is registered.

Parties wishing to take part have to register within 10 days — by February 12.

The registration has to be lodged in writing with the director-general of the Department of Home Affairs and accompanied by a fee of R25 000 for the national poll and R5 000 for the provincial poll.

Mr De Klerk also declared April 27 a public holiday.

NP promises peace, prosperity, security

ARCT 3/2/94 (304A)

□ 'New party' releases election manifesto

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

"PEACE and prosperity" is the rallying cry of the National Party in its election manifesto, which portrays the party as an entirely new one, open to all.

The publication of the manifesto today coincides with the party's special congress at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park, which was opened by President De Klerk last night.

De Klerk slates ANC over 'hidden agenda'

JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress had a hidden agenda and would revert to its old policies of centralism if it obtained too much power, President De Klerk said today.

Speaking to the media during the National Party's federal conference at Kempton Park, Mr De Klerk said the NP believed in a balance of power as well as the division of power to various levels of government.

"The ANC made these concessions reluctantly, but they have a hidden agenda to revert to their old policies of centralism if they get too much power," he said.

The NP had refrained from making unachievable promises in its manifesto.

"We will do what is possible within the bounds of what the country can afford. We say that only if there is economic

growth will we be able to build houses, schools and clinics.

In a foreword to the manifesto, Mr De Klerk says only the NP has the experience, resources and expertise to meet the challenges of economic growth, provision of decent facilities and national reconciliation.

Mr De Klerk says the African National Congress has no experience of government, is toying with discredited policies and includes in its leadership many communists with hidden agendas.

The NP promised peace and

growth will we be able to build houses, schools and clinics.

"Because of fatal flaws in the ANC's policies, if they are approved, there will not be economic growth and their policies will not be worth the paper they are written on."

The ANC was still a captive of the old ideology of communism — which was as objectionable as apartheid — Mr De Klerk said.

"I have distanced myself from the wrongs of the past, but the ANC has not done so," he said.

Replying to a question about why he thought blacks would vote for him in the election, he said: "Many blacks have told me they are going to do so".

"They will do so because the present situation in the townships is, to a great extent, due to the ANC, its Youth League and its intimidation." — Sapa.

security based on the rule of law, prosperity based on free enterprise, sound economic policy and a fair tax system, autonomous regional government bringing government closer to the people, decent and affordable education, health and social services and protection of minority rights.

The National Party would make South Africa safe for all its people.

The party is also presented as having safeguarded democracy by negotiating federalism.

The manifesto promises peace as well as freedom. It says peace in oppression is not really peace. Protection of basic rights and private property, jobs, housing, education and health care are among the other promises.

The prosperity and wellbeing of each individual depends on a thriving economy, says the manifesto.

Referring to housing, it says the NP government has made huge portions of land available for new urban communities. It promises that the party will vigorously pursue a new housing endowment policy launched in last month. This is meant to deal with the needs of a growing population.

Referring to affirmative action, the manifesto says more opportunities can be created only if the economy is strong and growing. Equal opportunities had been created in the public service.

Socialist policies had been thoroughly discredited while the policies of the new NP would attract foreign investment, trade and tourists.

Violence the biggest threat to democracy, says Kriel

Political Staff

PRETORIA. — Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel has called for a peace summit to reaffirm the spirit and principles of the National Peace Accord in the face of continuing violence.

Speaking at the National Party's federal congress in Kempton Park today, Mr Kriel said the NP regarded violence as the sin-

gle biggest threat to democracy.

"The NP declares violence, political intolerance and intimidation — and all those who practice these evils — as public enemy number one," he said.

He promised to fight the violence with every resource available.

As opposed to organisations like the ANC, which paid only lip service to peace,

the NP believed concrete strategies must be implemented, Mr Kriel said.

He urged that a peace summit involving all political leaders be planned, that leaders jointly and unambiguously condemn violence and intimidation, that leaders take responsibility for the actions of their supporters involved in violence and publicly discipline them, and that they commit themselves to free and fair elections.

ARG 3/2/94

30 4A

ANC leads
but 25%
are still
undecided

Voting triode

Political Staff
A QUARTER of adults have yet to state a clear party preference for the election — a 25 percent potential swing vote that could play a pivotal role in shaping the government and the country's future.

According to the findings of an Argus Marketing and Media Research (MMR) poll, the ANC is almost sure to win the election but its present certain support is pegged at just under 50 percent.

This leaves the question of a two-thirds majority for the organisation wide open — and puts the spotlight on the importance of the coming 12 weeks of campaigning.

The 25 percent chunk of floating voters — 19 percent say they haven't decided who to support, and six percent refuse to say — could be critical



Current vote indicator

* Figures exclude 8% who say they do not intend to vote and communities consisting of fewer than 500 adults.

Major move on ballot issue may be put to Alliance

Political Staff
JOHANNESBURG. — The African National Congress plans to offer new proposals to the Freedom Alliance today amid intense speculation that a compromise is in the offing which could break the deadlock over participation in the election.

Political circles are abuzz with rumours that there may be movement on the single ballot/double ballot issue, which has prompted widespread criticism of the ANC and the government.

Yet another round of trilateral talks — involving the ANC, the Freedom Alliance and the government — is to be held in Pretoria.

Today's meeting, which follows Monday's inconclusive talks at which alliance negotiators are believed to have made new proposals, has been preceded by strong speculation that a double ballot — one of the alliance's key demands — may be agreed to.

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said his organisation would make proposals today which the alliance would find difficult to turn down.

Apart from alliance members — key among them being the Inkatha Freedom Party — parties demanding two ballots in the election include the

Democratic Party, the Pan Africanist Congress and Qwa Qwa's ruling Dikwankwetla Party.

Alliance members also want exclusive — as opposed to concurrent — powers for regional governments, and would like these governments to have the right to write their own regional constitutions subject to approval by the Constitutional Court.

The pro-two ballot lobby this week won the backing of big business, with Anglo-American chairman Julian Ogilvie Thompson and the SA Chamber of Business both coming out strongly in favour of two ballots.

In an open letter to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday, the Democratic trust said it was worried about the lack of commitment to true democratic principle shown in their alliance's refusal to move from its adherence to the single ballot in the current constitutional impasse.

In another development, D leader Zach de Beer yesterday called for an emergency meeting of the multiparty Negotiating Council to be convened the impasse in the trilateral negotiations was not resolved by today. See page 3

VOTERS SPEAK



support the belief among many campaigners from various parties that a meaningful chunk of the electorate can still be swayed.

The scientifically-conducted survey of 2 751 adults seen in their own homes and questioned in the language of their choice suggests that the

ANC commands almost 50 percent of support, the National Party 14 percent and the Conservative Party four percent.

The Democratic Party and Inkatha Freedom Party are level-pegging at three percent and the PAC has only one percent of voter support.

MMR cautions that these figures do not include the "deep rural" vote, which could lead to distortion, especially in terms of the IFP's vote, as the organisation enjoys considerable backing in remote areas north of the Tugela River.

In addition, it must be noted that specific conditions mean that polls have inherent weak spots.

These include the absence of reliable census material, inexperience among voters, the fear factor, and the difficulty of predicting how many ballots will be spoilt.

A breakdown reveals that of every 10 people who are undecided, four are black, four are white, one is coloured and one is Indian.

Taking into account population sizes of the various groups this indicates that a substantial 35 percent of Indians, 27 percent of whites and 26 percent of coloureds are undecided about which party to vote for. In the black community the figure drops to 13 percent.

The Indian community in particular appears to be in a state of flux, with the survey also finding that, relative to size, it was moving to the ANC more than any other community.

People in Natal (29 percent) are more likely to be undecided than those in the Cape (18 percent), Transvaal (17 percent) and Free State (18 percent).

Significantly, the swing voters were equally well-disposed towards both President De Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

Next highest was ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa followed by IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and DP leader Zac de Beer.

The swing voters, asked to rate the parties out of 100, put the ANC at 54, the NP at 50, the DP at 43, the IFP at 41, the CP at 36 and the PAC at 30.

MMR did a projection of how the "swing vote" would go, taking into account previous voting patterns and, particularly, party affiliation. This projection also attempted to take into account the "deep rural" vote.

However, according to the projections the National Party could be significantly boosted to 19 percent — ensuring it a relatively significant say in the new government of national unity.

The IFP shifts up to five percent, as does the CP. The DP stays put on three percent while the PAC doubles its support, to two percent.

The poll also found some interesting shifts in voter patterns over the past two years, with the ANC up from 44 percent to 50 percent and the NP down from 18 percent to 14 percent.

The poll also finds that 8 percent of the electorate will not vote.

These are much more likely to be white (12 percent), coloured (11 percent) or Indian (11 percent) than black (six percent).

In a possible reflection of the turmoil in the province, non-voters are more likely to come from Natal (14 percent) than the other provinces.

They are also more likely to be women than men, from the upper-income groups and living out-

(Turn to page 3, col 8).

Voting

riddle

as 25%

undecided

(From page 1).

side metropolitan areas.

The most common reason given for not wanting to vote was that they were not interested in politics.

However, most blacks in this category said they would not be voting because they did not really understand what was going on in politics.

Indians also indicated a lack of trust in political leaders and parties, while many whites gave "personal reasons" as their motivation.

Very few said they would not be voting because of fear of violence and intimidation.

The poll indicated that 67 percent of all potential voters, irrespective of which party they personally favour, believe the ANC would win most votes while only seven percent believed the National Party would.

A breakdown of the perceptions of party supporters is intriguing in that it suggests a "realism factor" not present on other southern African "liberation" elections, where many believed until the last moment that parties which eventually fared poorly, would win.

Not surprisingly, 95 percent of ANC backers believe their organisation will waltz home, but there are some doubters and one percent of the organisation's supporters say the National Party will win.

Interestingly, nearly half (47 percent) of IFP supporters think the ANC will win most votes and only a quarter (25 percent) think the IFP will win.

Half (51 percent) of NP supporters say the ANC will win while 32 percent think it will be their own party.

The rest of the poll's fascinating findings will be published in The Argus tomorrow.

These include individual leaders' popularity, surprise findings on how many people would like to live overseas if they had the choice, and what they believe life will be like after the election.

4%

3%

3%

New bid for Freedom Alliance deal

ANC may back down on double ballot

Blay 3/2/94

IN ANOTHER bid to broker a deal that would draw the Freedom Alliance into the April elections, the ANC, the alliance and government meet today to consider a new package of ANC proposals, that could include a concession on a double ballot. (304A)

The ANC's national executive committee (NEC) met until the early hours of yesterday to decide on the package. It is understood there were differences over the details, with some arguing that Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's bluff should be called. (AP)

NEC members yesterday refused to discuss the proposals. However, indications were that some were arguing for a package containing conditional proposals, including a limited compromise on the constitutional issues of regional powers while conceding the double ballot. In return the alliance would have been asked to unconditionally commit itself to participating in all transitional structures, including the TEC, as well as in the elections.

SACP chief Joe Slovo said the package dealt with all the issues on the negotiating table. "The package we are offering is very reasonable and such that anyone who wants proper democratic elections could not turn it down."

ANC spokesman Gill Marcus said the negotiations were at a very delicate stage.

BILLY PADDOCK

She said the ANC's preference for the single ballot was not a matter of principle. "If you can address the practical problems, we would be prepared to support the double ballot because we ideally like a double ballot."

But alliance spokesmen said it would reject a proposal that conceded only on the double ballot and did not meet other demands on regional powers and functions.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said that while Buthelezi was a strong proponent of the double ballot, it would not on its own be sufficient to bring the alliance or Inkatha into the elections.

"There are a host of constitutional issues we want resolved to our satisfaction," he said. To some extent the issue of taxation had been addressed but work was still needed on regions' powers and functions.

An ANC source, echoing the sentiments of government negotiators, indicated that part of the strategy was to woo Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and meet the specific demands he had put to President F.W. de Klerk last month. If the king could be accommodated through securing his position and that of KwaZulu self-determination and concessions on a double ballot, it could leave Buthelezi out on a limb.

□ To Page 2

Freedom Alliance Blay 3/2/94 □ From Page 1.

Meanwhile, Cosatu warned employers, specifically Anglo American, that "the unasked for intervention on the ballot issue at a highly sensitive time in the negotiations process, and in a way that attempts to pre-empt its outcome, reveals yet again that employers are extremely partisan" (304A)

Cosatu said employers had refused to sign the declaration on peace, democracy and economic reconstruction under the excuse of political neutrality. "They have also used this excuse to refuse to conclude a framework agreement aimed at voter education for workers, and the involvement of shop stewards in elections monitoring. At the same time they are planning to release thousands of managers to dis-

charge these tasks, on the basis of their alleged 'lack of political bias'."

Now employers had chosen "the most controversial political issue of the day to come down heavily on the side of those who have consistently delayed and undermined the negotiations process".

They had placed themselves in an unholy alliance with certain parties, including the far right. "Employers should be warned that such interventions could trigger a major reaction from workers on the shop floor, who perceive employers as acting in a way that undermines and delays the democratisation process."

● Comment: Page 10

FW launches a stinging attack on ANC

THE NP's special federal congress began last night with the singing of Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrika and a "gloves off" speech by President F.W. de Klerk containing a stinging attack on the ANC. *B/Dag*

"The ANC would cast us back into the dark ages. It is secretly controlled by communists, militants and extremists. They are quiet now but they will shout loudly if the ANC wins control," he told about 3 000 delegates at the World Trade Centre.

In his most strident speech yet on the NP's main opponent, De Klerk described the ANC as a party that would not keep its

TIM COHEN

promises. "It cannot. It does not know how to and it has never done so." *3/2/94*

Voters would face a clear choice between the new NP and the old ANC, whose only political experience was the politics of protest and destruction, and which was mesmerised by discredited ideologies.

The ANC's reconstruction plan was a fantasy in which it was searching for a new species of flora called the "money tree".

"Banknotes grow on it to pay for the ANC's promises," De Klerk said. *(30/4/94)*

The ANC stood guilty of political violence, intimidation, strikes, boycotts, disrupting education and intolerance.

"Our message is a simple one. You can trust the NP but never the ANC.

"In the face of the ANC's arrogant belief that it is going to win, I want to tell (ANC president Nelson) Mandela ... this is an election not a coronation."

The meeting is due to discuss the NP's election manifesto, which is expected to propose lower taxes and an overhaul of the education system. Delegates sang Die Stem before they left last night.

10 000 polling stations for election

PRETORIA — SA would have close to 10 000 polling stations for the April election, the UN has reported.

In a report to the general council of the UN, Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali said it was likely the current estimate of 7 880 polling stations would be increased to 10 000 once detailed evaluations of voting sites had taken place.

The final decision would be taken by the Independent Electoral Commission.

He said more than 5 000 international observers would be used to monitor the polling stations, including 2 840 from the UN, OAU and Commonwealth.

About 40% of the polling stations were located in non-violent rural areas which could be monitored effectively by mobile teams covering between four and 10 stations a day, Boutros-Ghali said.

In non-violent urban and semi-urban areas, representing about 50% of the sta-

tions, mobile teams could observe up to 20 polling stations a day.

One observer would be placed at each of the stations falling in the 10% of areas with a history of violence. (3049)

Boutros-Ghali said a trust fund would be established to allow observers from developing countries to participate in monitoring SA's election.

He announced that a joint operations unit would be established to prepare the deployment of observers.

The operations unit, chaired by UN mission on SA head Angela King, would be responsible for preparing a joint statement of the UN, Commonwealth, OAU and European Community regarding the fairness of the vote.

However, the final decision on verifying the results of the election would be taken by the Independent Electoral Commission.

ADRIAN HADLAND

Proclamation starts election clock ticking

THE election clock began ticking yesterday when President F W de Klerk officially proclaimed the election, giving parties 10 days to register their participation.

The proclamation implicitly sets in motion a deadline for negotiations. As Parliament cannot be convened for 60 days before an election, parties have only 10 days to reach a settlement and amend the interim constitution and Electoral Act (304A).

When parties register, the Electoral Code of Conduct will become effective,

TIM COHEN

requiring them to condemn violence and intimidation, refrain from publishing false or inflammatory allegations and allowing all parties access to voters. B.A.A.

The proclamation also sets in motion strict rules for the media. 3/2/94

The proclamation follows a request from the TEC for De Klerk to promulgate the election, recommending that it be held from April 26 to 28.

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ADRIAN HADLAND

TEC boldly calls parliament to heel

364A

WM 4-10/3/94

Chris Louw

THE Transitional Executive Council has finally turned the tables on parliament to emerge as the more authoritative body.

While members of the emasculated tricameral parliament duly obeyed instructions by the country's multiparty negotiating council to pass amendments to the constitution, the TEC took the initiative to call two senior cabinet members to heel, and to instruct State President FW de Klerk to finally act against the Bophuthatswana homeland.

The TEC's coming of age follows weeks of frustrating squabbles and an apparent inability to have decisions enforced.

This week's special session of parliament, called to amend the transitional constitution in an effort to accommodate the intransigent Freedom Alliance's demands, provided the first real opportunity for the TEC to bare its teeth.



Cyril Ramaphosa

ANC general secretary Cyril Ramaphosa emerged as the strongman, demanding that cabinet members heed instructions from the TEC, accusing one minister of being arrogant, and questioning the imminent retirement of a senior policeman.

Parliament just went through the motions. In the last days of the De Klerk era, it soon became clear, the tricameral parliament cannot take any decisions without the express permission of the TEC.

The two bodies met within walking distance from each other — the parties of the old order in parliament and the TEC's new order in the building of the President's Council.

Louis Shill, minister of National Housing, was made aware of just how far his powers have been eroded when he was summoned to appear before the TEC next Tuesday to explain who gave him the right to announce a R90-billion housing scheme — normally the prerogative of an acting minister.

The summons came only a day after he announced the scheme in a show resembling old NP election strategy —

pulling financial rabbits out of the hat to win over voters.

This time he was not allowed to get away with it. Shill was accused by Ramaphosa of taking arrogant and premature action which could jeopardise multiparty agreements being finalised by the National Housing Forum.

It was, said Ramaphosa, a clear abuse of his position to gain political advantage for the National Party government in claiming credit for something which was in fact the product of multiparty negotiations.

Ramaphosa agreed to a suggestion from Shill's cabinet colleague, Dawie de Villiers, to give the minister an opportunity to address the council. This will take place next Tuesday.

In the meantime, Shill is under orders from the TEC to desist from further action on the housing scheme.

Law and Order minister Hernus Kriel was also called to task. On the insistence of Ramaphosa and Trans-

vaal Indian Congress member Pravin Gordhan, he has been ordered to submit the information and intelligence reports on which he based a recent claim that the ANC was the main threat to the democratic process.

"If we are a threat to democracy," Ramaphosa said, "clearly we would like to correct that. A minister never makes an empty statement."

Kriel also has to explain the government's failure to act against the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

The TEC also wanted to know why 51-year old Major General Leon Mellet, SACP media liaison head, was retiring — allegedly for health reasons.

Gordhan said it had to be established whether Mellet was really suffering from ill health or whether his retirement was to escape serving under an ANC government — in which case he should resign.

Ramaphosa made it clear the TEC was dissatisfied with efforts to placate Bophuthatswana, which still refuses to take part in the April elections. The TEC agreed to ask De Klerk to enable free political activity in the homeland by proclamation.

wm 4-10/2/94
204A

Double ballot may split alliance

THE ANC's decision to offer the Freedom Alliance a double election ballot is bound to put unbearable pressure on the fickle unity of the member parties.

The offer — tied to a firm undertaking by the alliance to participate in the April elections — was, by late Thursday, not expected to break the deadlock. The Inkatha Freedom Party's media spokesman, Dr Ziba Jiyane, said that all minimum demands still had to be met.

In a television broadcast on Sunday Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated that the two ballot system was the IFP's "one final demand". If the two ballot system was agreed to, he said he could persuade his central committee to participate in the elections.

Jiyane, a moderate, was not sure the ANC offer would convince Buthelezi to

compromise. "But your guess is as good as mine," he said.

Moderates in the IFP are insisting on the party's participation in the elections. The ANC's offer was just what they needed to strengthen their case.

If the offer is not accepted by the IFP leadership, a breakaway by moderates becomes a possibility. Many of them may join the National Party which, according to opinion polls, enjoys more support in Natal than the IFP.

The Conservative Party will also come under severe pressure. Opinion polls show that 80 percent of its supporters plan to vote in April, even if their party does not stand in the elections.

The ANC, the government and the Freedom Alliance were still locked in discussions at the time of going to press.

Charter reflects women's needs

Two years' research by the Women's National Coalition has reached fruition with the presentation of a draft women's charter.

Ferial Haffajee reports

ONE of the first documents to be presented to the government of national unity in June will be a draft women's charter.

The Women's National Coalition last week brought two years' work to virtual completion when it presented the charter to a conference of over 300 delegates representing more than 80 women's organisations.

The Coalition is unlikely to demand the charter's inclusion in the Bill of Rights. Instead, it will be used as a political document to lobby parliament and organise women.

The charter is detailed, offering something for all South African women. Flowing from Coalition research into women's needs, it

includes sections on the economy, law, education, development, rape and battery.

It speaks as much to urban executives through calls for equal taxation as to rural woman by stating that "custom, culture and religion shall be subject to the equality clause in the Bill of Rights" and by promising them a say in development projects.

Women leaders will find comfort in its promise that no tier of government will be without women representatives. Many ideas in the charter aim to improve the lot of women in the informal sector while other working women are catered for by a package of proposals which includes equal access to education and training, equal pay and improved child-care facilities.

The charter dodges the issue of polygamy, promotes freedom of choice on abortion and calls for the legalisation of prostitution. These nettles may take time to grasp but changes likely to occur soon after the installation of a government of national unity may see higher numbers of women judges and magis-

WM 4-10/3/94
trates, gender balance in the human rights and gender commissions as well as in the constitutional court. The charter also calls for state-funded counselling centres for women who are battered and raped, but does not promise free health care.

In a move that took some by surprise, the ANC Women's League supported a National Party motion for the dissolution of the Coalition. "Most regions felt that because the charter is ready, there is no reason for the Coalition to continue," said Thandi Modise, deputy president of the League.

The conference instead decided to extend the life of the Coalition to the end of June when the charter will be presented to the first parliamentary session of a government of national unity.

New faces will lead the Coalition: some full-time staffers have left, while parliamentary candidates who also held leadership positions in the Coalition have had to step down. The Coalition's steering committee is to meet soon to decide on replacements.

Viljoen's last hope

WM 4-10/2/94
Jan Taljaard (3049)

CONSTANT VILJOEN is heading for an inevitable choice of destinies: to be branded a traitor by accepting a deal that may never get the rightwing its volkstaat, or to enter a bloody conflict whose outcome is as uncertain.

As cries of "Now! Now!" resounded in Hall J at the Pretoria showgrounds last Saturday, it seemed that the latter choice might be forced upon him.

Moments earlier Viljoen told close on 20 000 rightwingers that the only way a volkstaat can be achieved is by force. To the hordes of the AWB at the front of the hall, this was sweet music. His proposal of a "strategic alternative" — a yet-to-be-detailed way in which rightwingers may gain statutory representation — did not go down well.

To Viljoen and other moderates, this alternative may mean a foot in the door, but to the AWB it smacked of treason. The movement has stated that the volkstaat's borders will be drawn by battle lines. But most observers agree that a war emanating solely from these quarters will be brief, if brutal.

This week's bomb explosions at offices of the National Union of Mineworkers and the destruction of railway lines in the Western Transvaal were not so much an overture to the main battle as a sneak preview of how it may end.

But when Viljoen mentioned that 10 000 men can be pushed into the field, he was not referring to the AWB so much as the ordinary rightwinger who has been urged to join SADF commando structures. This is where the real military strength of the rightwing lies.

But it remains to be seen how many of these people — with property, farmers with prospects of a good season — will go to war. It is the general himself who seems the least eager. In the end, his hope may lie among those ordinary people who sat at the back of Hall J. Although not as vociferous as the AWB there were more of them, and if there is still reason to be found, it is there that Viljoen may chance upon it.

DP nominates blue collar candidates

(SOLA) WMY-10/2/92
Paul Stober

ALTHOUGH the FWV region of the Democratic Party has put Houghton's Tony Leon on top of its list of nominees for the national assembly, the party — traditionally the home of white liberals — has put forward a number of blue collar candidates, "even if they're not exactly in electable positions".

"These people are proud to put their name to the DP's list and you should not underestimate their ability to bring people with them," said DP spokesman Jack Bloom.

At number 82 on the regional list, last but not for three housewives and a teacher, is William Masila, a cleaner from Bedfordview. Much higher up the list at 24, is Zacheria Ransell, a South African Commercial, Catering and Allied Workers' Union shop steward.

Women represent 50 percent of the top 20 candidates for the regional legislature. Women for Women in Government chair Nina Romm and former Miss South Africa Michelle Bruce are among the women included on the list.

But, with the latest Human Sciences Research Council opinion poll giving the DP about two percent of the national vote, the party's only representative in the assembly is likely to be Leon.

Witdoek's leaders on NP lists

The NP has nominated two infamous Crossroads strongmen as candidates for the Western Cape region, reports **Chris Louw**

THE names of two notorious "Witdoek" whose followers were involved in attacks on United Democratic Front members in Crossroads in the 1980s appear as candidates on the National Party's election lists released this week.

Twenty five people were killed and tens of thousands left homeless during the bloody confrontations. Four squatter camps were laid to waste.

Johnson Ngxobongwana, a previous mayor of Old Crossroads, and Mali Hoza, who ruled Khayelitsha with a rod of iron, are 15th and 21st

respectively on the NP's list for the Western Cape provincial candidates for the April election.

Their high positions on the list make their election to the Western Cape legislature a formality.

The men had close links with security forces — and more specifically the riot squad — during 1986. Alleged collusion between the police and the Witdoek in fighting ANC-aligned "comrades" led to the complete demolition of huge living areas on the Cape Flats.

Four squatter camps — Nyanga Bush, Portland Cement, Nyanga Extension and KTC — were destroyed in the fighting, and an estimated 30 000 people, most of them politically neutral, were left homeless.

A total of 3 300 civil cases were instituted against the police by individuals who lost their homes. An amount of R2-million was later paid in an out-of-court settlement after a law

suit was instituted against the South African Police by the Legal Resources Centre in Cape Town.

Although Ngxobongwana and Hoza's direct involvement in the planning of the attacks could not be proved, there is no doubt that their followers — the Witdoek — were responsible for the "untold suffering" in laying to waste the four squatter communities. The fighting was a result of the Witdoek wanting to rid squatter areas of threats to their power by young comrades.

It is understood that both men recently approached the ANC to be included as candidates, but were turned down. They have little credibility in the black community.

NP leader FW de Klerk earlier this week complained that his party would have had more blacks on its lists of candidates if it were not for "ANC intimidation". The inclusion of the two

Witdoek is regarded as a last-ditch effort to get some black support in the Western Cape.

Ngxobongwana and Hoza now both lead small groups of squatters on the Cape Flats. They quickly lost their support after the unbanning of the ANC in 1990.

According to Stellenbosch political analyst Jannie Gagliano the NP apparently hopes that the two men will deliver "bloc votes" to the party by ordering their followers to vote NP.

The suggestion was laughed away yesterday by ANC regional executive member Willie Hofmeyr, who said the men had little influence in the black community.

Ngxobongwana and Hoza earned notoriety in the wars that raged in the KTC area in the mid-1980s. After the comrades were driven out of Crossroads in 1986, Ngxobongwana was in turn chased out by one of his lieutenants, Nongwe, in 1987. He now leads a squatter community at Driftsand, across the N2 from Khayelitsha.

Hoza also fled from Crossroads in 1985. He was later elected mayor of Khayelitsha in an election with a 43 percent turn-out, the highest of all local authorities.

Opinion polls show that the ANC enjoys 85 percent support in Cape Town's black townships. Even his officials have abandoned Hoza.

Hofmeyr, a previous UDF activist, said police actively instigated violence in the black townships as part of their "total strategy" campaigns.

"In situations of violence they would fight as allies with certain groups, including the Witdoek, who would then form a substantial block who regarded the police as friends in these war-like situations."

Hofmeyr said the police tried to get "puppets" to serve in the community council system. "They were fairly successful in the UDF days."

In 1990, however, the ANC swept Khayelitsha and Crossroads. The two leaders are now regarded as even more unpopular than the NP in the townships.

3047

Reaction to survey

The NP has reacted quickly to the Star-MMR opinion poll, latching on to the 25 percent potential "swing vote" as a top priority for the election campaign.

NP spokesman Danie du Plessis said yesterday that two trends had emerged from the Star-MMR findings. These were the size of the swing vote — on which the NP "will concentrate its efforts" — and the indication that "the NP is the only party which offers any hope of a strong counterweight to the ANC". — Political Staff.

Upliftment would be for all — Keys

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Finance Minister Derek Keys yesterday spelt out the differences between the NP and ANC's economic policies.

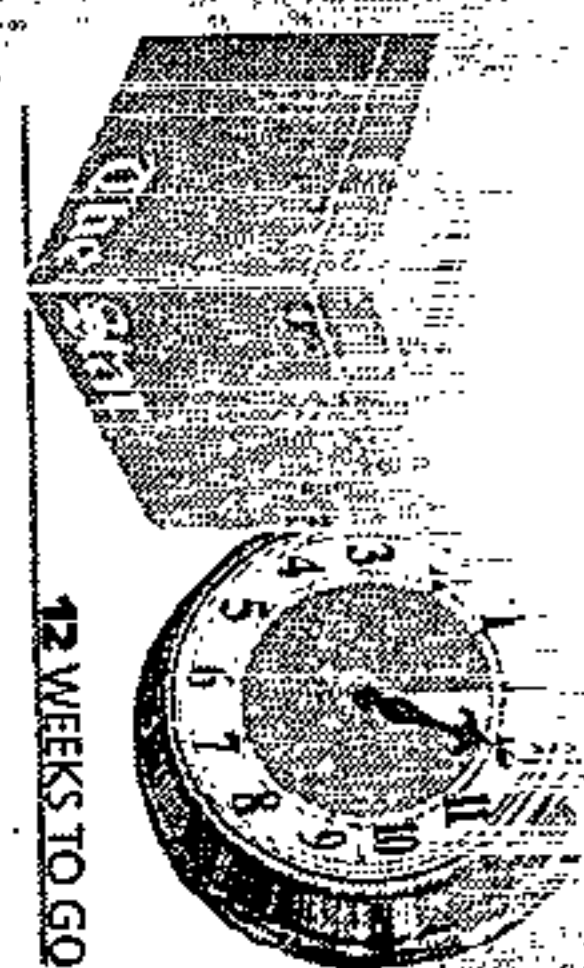
He told the NP federal congress that the NP's policy was aimed at the socio-economic upliftment of all South Africans, not at the expense of any particular group. Keys added that the NP trusted all players in the economic field.

He said the NP consulted widely before formulating its poli-

cies. The result was that the party's policies were aimed at everybody's welfare. (20419)

■ The NP yesterday formally announced its candidates for premier in five provinces. They are Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel (Western Cape), Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee (Free State), Agriculture Minister Dr Kraai van Niekirk (Northern Cape), and Local Government Minister Dr Tertius Delpont (Eastern Cape).

The party also formally nominated President de Klerk as its presidential candidate.



12 WEEKS TO GO

- Most voters, whoever they support, expect the ANC to win.
- Large numbers of people have changed allegiance since 1991
- ANC voters are more firm in their support than others
- Younger people tend to support the ANC
- Whites are most uncertain about the future
- Voting intentions in 'deep rural' areas are still unknown

Mandela's the man, say most

Forget the parties for a moment – how do South African voters rate the individual leaders? The findings make pleasant reading for some of our politicians, and will cause sleepless nights among others.

ANC president Nelson Mandela is streets ahead of other South African leaders in national popularity at the moment.

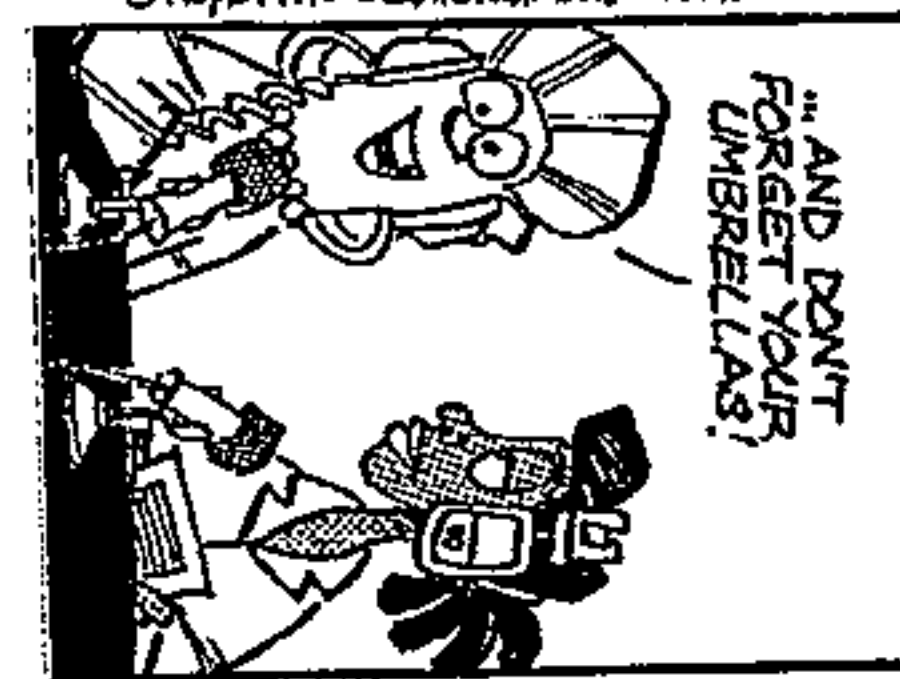
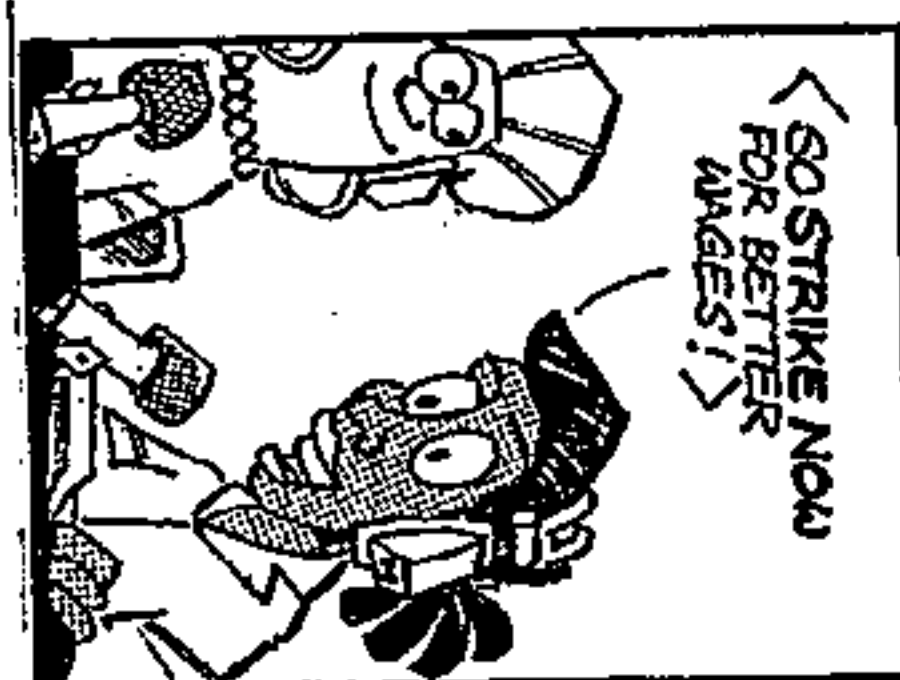
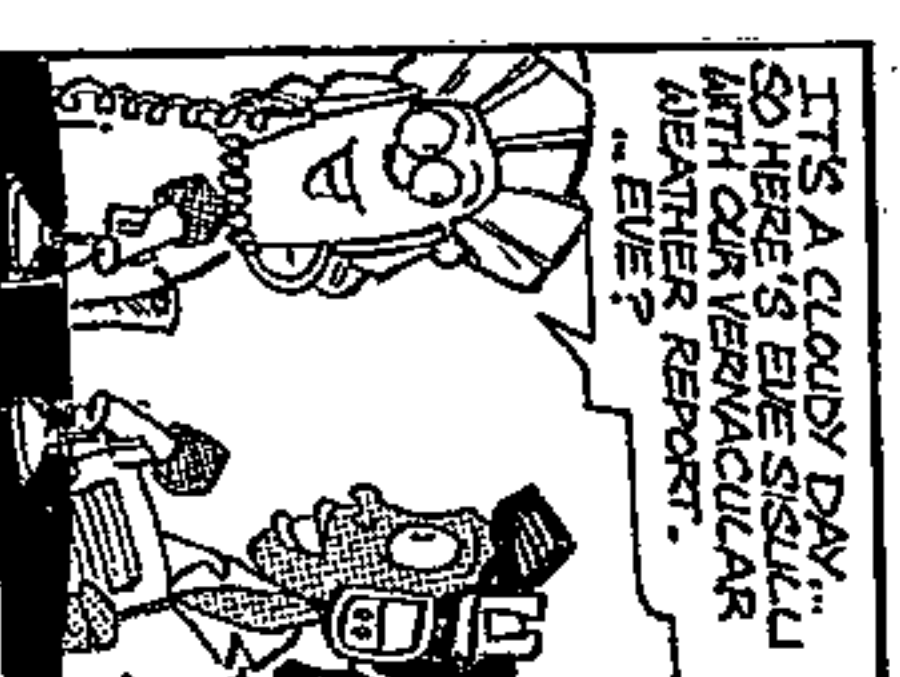
Voters polled by MMR gave Mandela an average of 71 out of a possible 100, with President de Klerk next most popular of those who may contest the presidency with a rating of 56.

Next up is the PAC's Clarence Makwetu on 43, while the DP's Zach de Beer (on 34) pips IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelez (33). The verdict on Buthelez may, however, have been distorted by the fact that the "deep rural" vote was not tapped in the survey.

Conservative Party firebrand Ferdi Hartzenberg scored only 29 points.

MADAM AND EVE

By S Francis, H Dugmore and Rico



Buthelez scored 89 among IFP supporters, 57 from CP backers and 47 from those who will vote for the NP. However, he notched up only 19 from ANC followers.

IFP supporters did not return the compliment to Hartzenberg, rating him at only 37.

Makwetu got 88 from PAC supporters and scored fairly well among ANC voters at 53. Not surprisingly, he got a miserly 16 from CP supporters.

De Beer and Hartzenberg were given the lowest scores by their own supporters but were still rated well, both scoring 81 in this category.

Ratings for parties were fairly similar to those for the leaders, with the ANC getting an average of 70 out of 100, the NP 51, the PAC 39, the DP 37, the IFP 31 and the CP 30.

MMR also endeavoured to establish just how committed party support was. It found that 91 percent

of ANC supporters were "very sure" they would back the organisation in the election, making its supporters the most committed.

A total of 82 percent of backers of both the CP and PAC were very sure

while the figure dipped to 71 percent among the NP voters.

The findings contain some worrying trends for the IFP and DP.

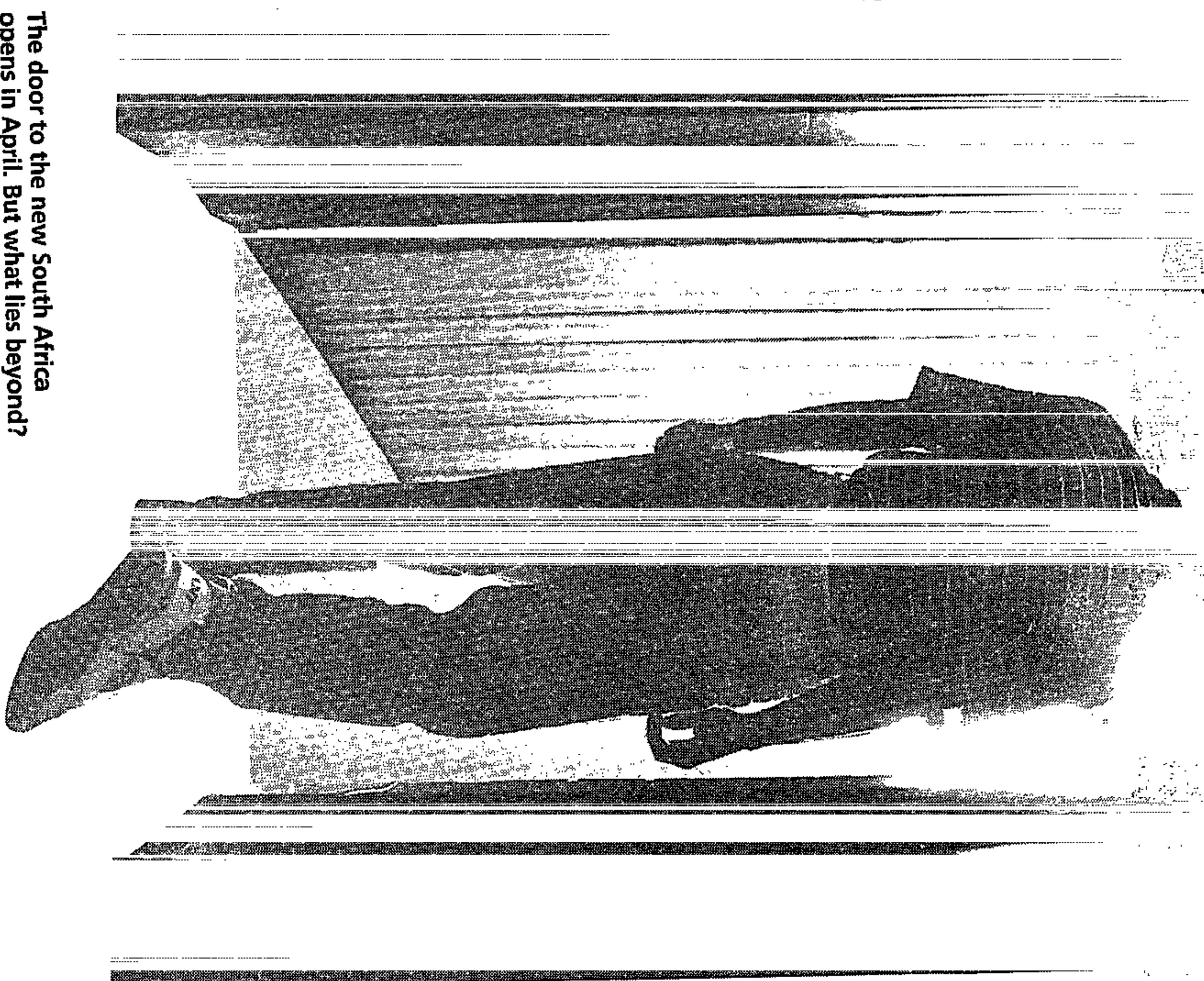
Only 50 percent of IFP supporters said they were very sure while 36 percent were "somewhat sure" and 14 percent "not sure".

Uncertainty among DP followers appears to be reflected in the party's 21 percent of followers who were not sure and only 50 percent who said they were very sure.

In effect this means that 21 percent of the people who now say they would support the DP are not sure they will do so come the election.

Other figures indicate that 44 percent of those backing the IFP were doing so because of dislike for other parties.

By sharp contrast this figure among ANC supporters is two percent – a full 88 percent saying they are voting for the ANC because they actively like the party.



The door to the new South Africa opens in April. But what lies beyond?

We're sure, we think, sort of ...

Many voters are in ferment over who to support come April – and no community is more fluid than the whites of South Africa.

The National Party currently commands the firm support of only one out of three white voters with many former supporters unable to decide who to back in the coming election, the Star-MMR poll indicates.

English speaking whites are particularly confused, with almost half undecided or unwilling to state a preference.

The results of the nationwide survey also indicate that NP support has dipped among whites, coloureds and Indians during the past two years.

The NP is placing great store on securing considerable support among these three groups and the figures indicate that it faces a stiff challenge as the election campaign swings into gear.

According to MMR, 31 percent of whites now say they would support the NP. Asked who they would have voted for two years ago, 46 percent of the whites said the NP.

Coloured support for the NP has dipped from 52 percent to 46 percent, while the drop in the Indian community is from 46 to 30 percent.

However, not all is lost for the NP. It still has higher support in these three race groups than the ANC, which could now command three percent white support, 13 percent among coloureds and 27 percent among Indians – a jump from 19 percent two years ago.

The NP is also more popular among whites than the CP, whose support in the community over the past two years has dropped from 26 percent to 15 percent.

Many of the voters that may have drifted away from the NP now appear to have landed

among those who cannot make up their minds or refuse to disclose who they would back.

This category among whites has snowballed from 10 percent two years ago to 38 percent now, from 20 to 33 percent among coloureds and from 25 to 38 percent among Indians.

MMR finds that support among Africans for the NP has remained at a low one percent during the past two years. African support for the ANC has increased from 75 percent to 78 percent.

The figures again make worrying reading for the DP, with support among whites apparently dipping from 15 percent to seven percent. MMR finds that its Indian support

Who's afraid of the new SA?

Blacks are so who's nervous about the future? Not the black majority, that's for sure. And the minorities? Well, let's say there's a lot of ambivalence about according to The Star-MMR poll.

about the new dispensation. According to the Star-MMR poll, whites are gloomy about the prospects of good schooling, more jobs being created or a police force which will reduce crime.

Blacks on the other hand are considerably more sanguine. A full 72 percent of the African population predict good schools, 70 percent say there will be more jobs, 65 percent expect lots of houses to be built and 53 percent anticipate a police force which will reduce crime.

Only 29 percent of whites share their upbeat sentiments about schooling, while the figures on job creation and an effective police force are 25 percent and 32 percent respectively. By comparison, the white community is fairly optimistic about housing – 44 percent

predicting more units will be built.

The coloured and Indian communities are split down the middle on most of these issues. (see chart).

However, 65 percent of all Indians believe that more whites will leave the country while only 38 percent of blacks expect this trend to continue. 58 percent of whites predict more of their race group will leave.

The coloured community is the most pessimistic about the right wing waging war against the rest of South Africa, 56 percent anticipating this will happen. Significant chunks of whites (47 percent), Indians (44 percent) and Africans (44 percent) fear this will happen.

Only four percent of all South Africans believe the level of violence will drop before the election, while 26 percent predict it will happen soon after polling.

There are, however, a significant number of South Africans with a gloomy long-term view, 38 percent believe that it will only drop long after the election and 32 percent say it will carry on for ever.

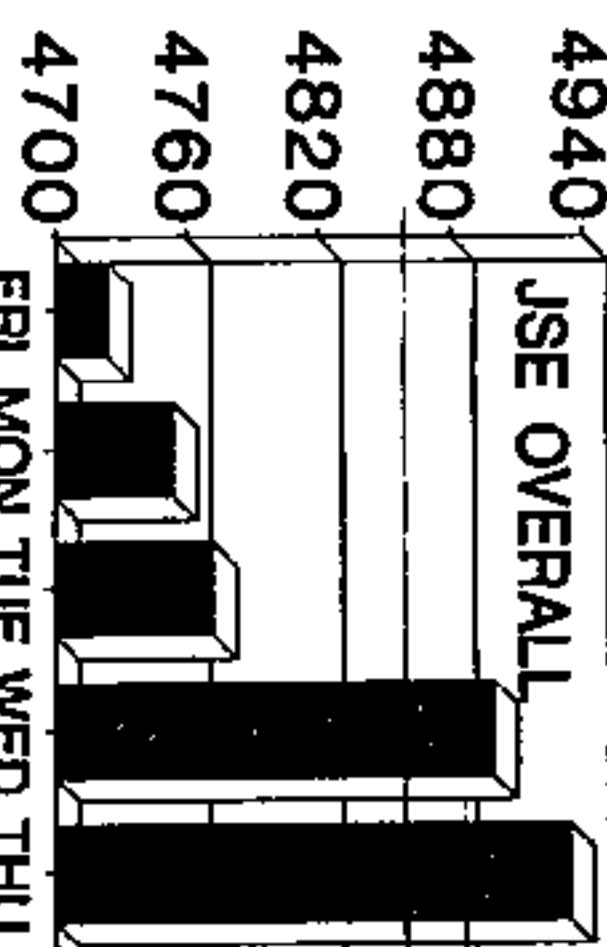
has halved, from eight percent to four percent, while only eight percent of coloureds support the party compared to 13 percent who said they would have backed it two years ago.

Its support among blacks is now negligible at 0.2 percent.

The IFP has made gains among whites, from two to six percent, but remains extraordinarily low among blacks at only two percent. This figure may, however, be distorted by the fact that the poll did not reach the "deep rural" vote of tiny communities around the country.

The survey found that almost all African voters are sure of their choice of party, while four out of every 10 Indians who state a preference could be "waverers" – either "somewhat sure" or "not sure".

Only two-thirds of whites are sure they will stick to the party they chose when the poll was conducted.



Another advance

Wednesday's steep advance was extended yesterday. The market has now registered five consecutive days of advancing prices, underpinning the strong bull trend in place.

STATE 4/12/94

3047

BRIEFLY

Italtile lifts profits

Improved margins lifted earnings at restructured Italtile from a pre-forma 15c to 182c a share in the six months to end-December. Sales rose to R57,8 million (R74,3 million) and an interim dividend of 3c a share was declared. Operating profits surged by 40 percent, while the group shed R17,7 million of borrowings.

Earnings decline

Genprop posted net distributable income for the year of R36,6 million (R40,4 million in 1992), translating into a 9,5 percent decline in earnings to 22,36c (24,7c) per unit. Earnings at Capital Property Fund were 9,3 percent lower at 28,84c (31,8c), based on net distributable income of R39,4 million (R41,4 million).

Zandpan's profits

Earnings of Zandpan, derived mainly from its holdings in Harties, in the six months to December rose to R16,2 million (1992: R6,2 million), equivalent to earnings of 12,5c (4,8c a share). The dividend was raised from 4,7c to 12c a share.

Blow for Zimbabwe

The US decision to impose limits on tobacco imports could cost Zimbabwe more than Z\$1 billion in lost earnings this year. The US has limited the content of foreign tobacco in its cigarettes to 25 percent in a move to protect producers.

Holdains' warning

Packaging group Holdains warned shareholders at yesterday's AGM that earnings in the six months to February would be about 20 percent lower in line with the increase in shares issued. Consumer demand had also been lower than expected in the December quarter.

OK delisting

The listing of OK Bazaars shares on the Johannesburg and London stockmarkets will terminate today. The conversion and redemption of preference shares was approved at a meeting last month.

Reports: Sapa-Reuters-AP-AFP, Business Staff and the Financial Times.

Criticisms a knee-jerk response to new order, says Cosatu

Bankers under the whip



Tracy Ledger... it's a badly written document.

PICTURE: KAREN SANDISON

BY CLAIRE GEBHARDT

Mathison & Holledge economist Tracy Ledger has come out strongly in defence of the ANC's draft Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which proposes jobs, homes, health care and education for all.

Ledger says the outraged reaction to the proposals is a trifle overdone and that the programme could work.

"The main problem with the RDP is that it's a badly written document, which disguises its purpose and intention, which is to foster growth."

Ledger puts the potential total cost of the five-year programme at R39 billion, based on a study co-sponsored by the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA), the Independent Development Trust (IDT) and the Kagiso Trust (KT) in September last year.

This is more than three times the 1992/1993 budget deficit and excludes current levels of government expenditure.

The breakdown is R36 billion on capital expenditure and R33 billion on current expenditure, with the biggest

outlay of R22 billion for housing. Ledger says the RDP makes it clear that the bulk of the funds will be raised locally, with foreign funding used only for projects generating foreign exchange.

"Specific mention is made of the need to reduce the budget deficit from current levels and that the vast bulk of the programme will be financed from existing resources."

Juggling the existing level of government expenditure to put more funds into the coffers of the RDP is unlikely to succeed, she says.

"Part of the funding answer lies in better organisation and rationalisation of existing systems and self-funding—as the programme takes off the level of national income will rise, as will the tax base."

The introduction of so-called reconstruction taxes will only be used to fund a small portion of the total programme.

"If as much as 15 percent of the assumed total of R39 billion is funded from the issue of bonds and the introduction of wealth taxes, it im-

plies a burden on the private sector of R2,7 billion a year, in today's money, over the next five years.

"It is almost certain that a capital gains tax, together with increases in other capital taxes, such as estate duty and donations tax, the norm in several Western countries, will be introduced."

"This could raise around R1,5 billion to R2 billion, which will increase with the pace of growth."

"This leaves only about R1,1 billion to be raised in the capital markets in the form of reconstruction bonds."

"As the RDP has proposed that these bonds be issued only by those areas of the programme capable of generating cash flow, such as electricity supply or telecommunications, the crowding-out effect will be negligible."

Legislation to compel financial institutions to take up socially desirable investments will not be onerous, she says, as most financial institutions already undertake considerable social investment programmes.

BY CLAIRE GEBHARDT

Cosatu has reacted swiftly and angrily to bankers' criticism of the ANC's draft Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP).

Moses Mayekiso of the RDP's co-ordinating committee said yesterday there were no grounds for the statement by Piet Liebenberg, chief executive of the Council of Southern African Bankers' (Cosab), that the RDP statement had been issued without prior consultation with banks.

He labelled the banks' reactions as a knee-jerk response to entering a new democratic order.

He accused bankers of breaching an agreement not to talk to the press while discussions were in progress.

He claimed that bankers—especially home mortgage lenders, but also Cosab—had been consulted for more than a year on issues of legislative reform to prevent the racially discriminatory practice of "redlining" (blanket bans by banks on mortgages to specific communities).

"Last week I spent several hours with banking industry leaders explaining the RDP proposals and asking for inputs."

"I specifically asked them for suggestions so that we could go forward in partnership to end discriminatory banking practices."

"I suggested at the meeting that we invite Cosab to the discussions on the RDP and the paper presented by the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco)."

"Despite my request for constructive suggestions, which I said could be incorporated into the final policies of both the RDP and future implementing

legislation, I have received nothing in response."

Mayekiso said bankers had moved backwards in recent months by redlining areas of the East Rand not necessarily subject to violence and by introducing discriminatory loan rates for black homebuyers.

"Nevertheless, last week I asked each of the banks, and the Association of Mortgage Lenders (AML), leadership, to work with us to develop a new relationship."

"I agreed to the banks' request that my statement would not be issued to the press, and that we conduct our discussions in a dignified manner."

Mayekiso said redlining was not uncommon in countries such as the US, where banks were required to disclose reasons for turning down loans, and forced to expand their portfolios in areas they ignored on racial grounds.

"In Zimbabwe, the banking industry failed to expand its black business loan portfolio beyond 3 percent of loan assets during the first decade of independence."

"This recently resulted in a major government and small business backlash, which has soured relations and raised the spectre of much more severe regulation."

"It is crucial for us to avoid that fate here, and a rapid transformation in the attitudes of bankers is a key part of it."

He claimed that several areas of progress in reforming banking practices had been violated.

One was the Sanco-AML agreement on arrears and defaults.

Others had been insubstantial, such as attempting to get new loans to match housing subsidies through the National Housing Forum.

CMI moving to a healthier situation

BY DEREK TOMMEY

Consolidated Metallurgical Industries (CMI), a major ferrochrome producer, is moving rapidly to a healthier financial situation, even though the market for ferrochrome is still depressed and the dollar price is still low, the company's management says.

In an effort to stabilise the market, CMI has cut its production by 50 percent, but for a number of reasons, notably continued CIS sales, the ferrochrome market is still oversupplied and this is putting pressure on the price.

Against this background, CMI's efforts to reduce its operating loss to R1,8 million for the six months to December are praiseworthy.

It compares with a working loss of R7,5 million in the six months to end-June and one of R16,8 million in the six months to end-December 1992.

Effort

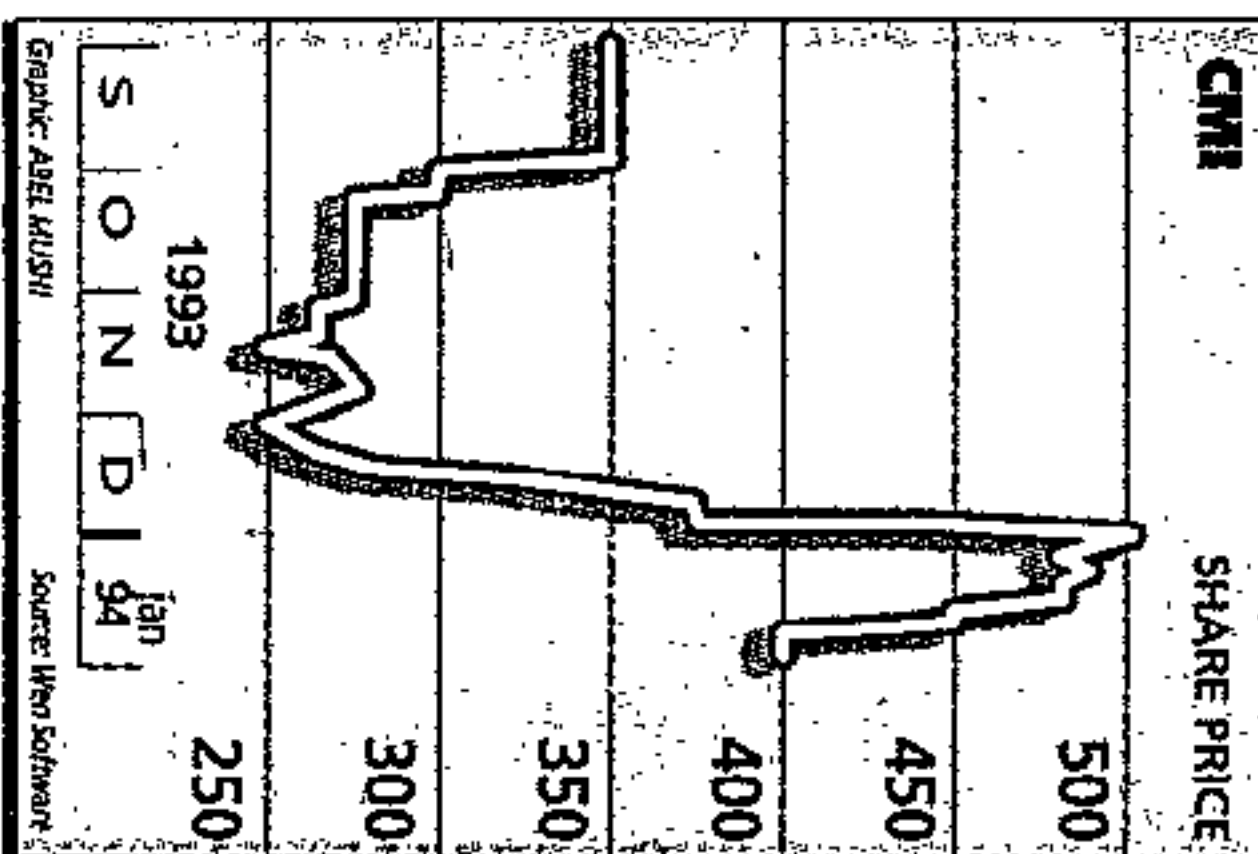
Managing director Zed van der Walt says the reduced loss reflects a continuing effort to reduce costs, the dedicated efforts of all the staff and help from the exchange rate.

Although CMI was operating at 50 percent of capacity, this was sufficient to enable it to maintain its market share.

Van der Walt says the break-even point for the company is not far away, and could be brought about by a small improvement in volumes.

The loss after tax for the six months to December was R3,8 million, which compares with a loss of R9,8 million for the six months to last June, and R21 million for the six months to December 1992.

After payment of the preference dividend, the loss for six months was R9 million.



CMI is well able to bear this and future losses.

At December 31 last year, current assets at R189,6 million exceeded interest-bearing debt by R46,3 million.

Ferrochrome is used in the manufacture of stainless steel and marketing director Allan Kuhnert reports some cheering figures about this product.

Demand last year grew by some 4,3 percent to around 11,5 million tons, even though European Union economies weakened, the Japanese economy failed to recover and the US economy showed growth only in the last quarter.

"Stainless steel seems to be recession-proof," he says.

However, in spite of good demand, ferrochrome prices are not rising, owing to inventories remaining high and to a steady flow of low-priced ferrochrome from the CIS, former Comecon countries and China.

Kuhnert says a steady reduction in ferrochrome stocks should allow prices to improve towards the end of this year, but the overhang of stocks and strong competition from spot suppliers will limit the ability of producers to raise prices.

Alliance dithers over two-ballot carrot

Star 4/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Crucial trilateral talks at which the ANC was scheduled to table its major concessions — including an acceptance of the double ballot system — to the Freedom Alliance ended inconclusively yesterday when FA negotiators could not guarantee flexibility in the discussions.

When the FA negotiators failed to give this undertaking, they were asked to consult with their leaders and return to the ANC and the Government by Sunday evening or Monday morning.

"The process of negotiating becomes impossible if what you are confronted with are demands," ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said after the talks.

Knowledgeable ANC sources had earlier told The Star the organisation's proposals included acceptance of a double ballot system in the April election as well as an extension of some exclusive powers to regional governments.

FA chief negotiator Rowan

Cronje told the press that although the ANC would not unveil its proposals until it was assured of the FA's flexibility, Constitutional Development Minister and Government negotiator Roelf Meyer had dangled a two-ballot system before the FA in exchange for the alliance's acceptance of the present Interim Constitution.

In a separate briefing, Meyer said the Government's proposal was "comprehensive enough to bring about a settlement". (304A) (41)

Although Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on TV1's *Agenda* on Sunday that a concession to the FA's demand for a two-ballot system could make "a big difference", observers yesterday said it now appeared the FA wanted to shift the goalposts yet again.

Speaking after the trilateral meeting, Cronje said progress would be difficult unless there was movement on the FA's other demands, notably on the powers and functions of provincial governments.

He said the single-ballot

► To Page 3

Star 4/2/94 No guarantees from alliance

◀ From Page 1

agreement had been reached in the twilight of multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and had not until then been one of the FA's key concerns about the Constitution.

In Ulundi, Buthelezi was quoted as having said a double-ballot concession would not address his party's bottom-line demands. (41)

He reportedly said he hoped the ANC and the Government would also agree to the IEP's remaining demands. (304A)

Meyer said the Government would try "again and again to seek a settlement until the time has run out".

Sources said the ANC had also agreed to the extension of exclusive powers to regional governments, provided the present deadlock-breaking mechanism agreed upon at the World Trade Centre would be dispensed with. Instead, all decisions would have to be taken with a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly.

ELECTION BRIEF
Fm 4/2/94
Posting a Cabinet

A National Party deputy president and a sprinkling of Nats in the Cabinet after the election are virtual certainties. But a "government of national unity" in the accepted sense seems most unlikely unless Nelson Mandela makes an extraordinary gesture of reconciliation. (304A)

While the interim constitution provides for opposition representation in the Cabinet, only the NP has a realistic chance of winning the 20 National Assembly seats (5%) needed for at least one Cabinet post.

In terms of the interim constitution and on current predictions of voter support, the post-April 29 executive is likely to be an ANC president and deputy president, a Nat deputy president and a Cabinet of 23 ANC members and, at most, four Nats.

Mandela could of course include representatives of smaller parties in the Cabinet or make them Deputy Ministers, but it would have to be at the expense of ANC loyalists. The only party he may voluntarily favour with a Cabinet post is the Democratic Party, in recognition of its resistance to apartheid.

The interim constitution entitles parties with at least 80 seats in the National Assembly to designate a deputy president. If no party wins 80 seats or more, or if only one

does, the two largest parties are each entitled to nominate a deputy president.

The Cabinet will consist of the president, the two deputy presidents and not more than 27 Ministers (23 at present). Parties with at least 20 seats in the National Assembly will be entitled to a post. The president will allocate portfolios after consulting the deputy presidents and leaders of parties participating in the Cabinet.

Deputy ministerial posts will also be allocated by proportional representation, but the number is not fixed. The president will appoint them in consultation with the deputy presidents and leaders of parties represented in the Cabinet.

In terms of one of the 33 constitutional principles in Schedule 4 of the interim constitution, the new constitution must provide for opposition participation in the Executive until April 30 1999, under similar conditions to those set out in the interim constitution. This means the "government of national unity" will function for at least five years.

The president will be elected by the National Assembly at its first sitting. The candidates must be members of the National Assembly. The president's term of office will coincide with that of the National Assembly.

Premiers of the provinces will be elected by the Provincial Assemblies. There is no provision for deputy premiers.

Provincial Executive Councils will com-

prise the Premier and not more than 10 executive members. Parties that win at least 10% of Provincial Assembly seats will be entitled to representatives in the Executive Council in proportion to seats held. ■

DEMOCRATIC PARTY
Fun 412194
Packing punch

Rejecting opinion surveys, the DP's PWV leader Tony Leon has warned against writing off the party, which intends running an aggressive campaign based on "freedom, free enterprise and federalism."

He was speaking as the DP announced its provincial candidates for the PWV legislature and the national assembly.

Every half per cent of the vote will amount to one MP, reminds Leon, or, put another way, about 70 000 votes would give a party one parliamentary seat; 35 000 one provincial seat. The party is aiming for 12% in the province. It got 175 000 votes in the last white general election (304A)

"We have the team with talent and the policies to make a difference," says Leon of the list led by himself followed by Douglas Gibson. The innovative list cleverly includes each candidate's age, place of residence, occupation and educational qualifications — many have degrees, and the range is wide. ■

NEWS Inkatha believes poll reflects uncertainties • Intimidation blamed for 'swing'

By Lulamaluti
Political Staff

Mixed reaction to poll

Sowetan 4/2/94

THERE was mixed reaction from major political organisations in the country to the Sowetan-Media and Marketing Research election survey published yesterday.

While some questioned the authenticity of the survey, others said it was indicative of the need for intensified voter education.

The African National Congress, which came out favourably in the survey, said the large number of the people who are not declaring a choice under-

lined the need for voter education and the creation of a climate for free political activity.

Spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the findings were similar to others published recently, although with different emphasis. The ANC would have to work out what to do with those who have decided not to vote and those still undecided, he said.

Pan Africanist Congress secretary for political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said while opinion polls were taken as indi-

cators of voter trends, they were not final.

"We believe the polls themselves are elastic and in terms of this elasticity, the support that the PAC enjoys can be stretched in so far as the opinion of the companies conducting those polls go."

Seroke added that the results of the elections would be the deciding factor and that it was wishful thinking on the part of those conducting the surveys to say the PAC would get less than five percent.

Publicity secretary of the Azanian People's Organisation Dr Gomolemo Mokae said Azapo had never taken polls seriously.

Calculated lies

"By and large they are calculated lies and the phenomenon of renting a poll which would depict the results that go down well with a particular party is not peculiar to this country."

"As to the said 25 percent which we understand has not yet made up its mind,

obviously Azapo would wish for people to abstain from elections, not because of pure apathy but from an in-depth understanding that the elections are nothing but an April Fool joke," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal coordinator Mr Henne Bekker said the poll must be judged in terms of the prevailing political uncertainties and intimidation in the country.

"This is being confirmed by the massive proportion of the 'swing' votes which indicate the uncertainty and undecidedness of the voters. The IFP is confident that our support, particularly from among the so-called undecided or undisclosed voters, will be substantial."

De Klerk: Viljoen must lead

Staff Reporter

IN calling for right-wing participation in the election, Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen should "stand up" and give a lead to his followers, President F W de Klerk said last night.

Referring to the weekend rally at which Gen Viljoen was booed for his election participation call, Mr De Klerk told for-mer Vrye Weekblad editor Mr Max du Preez that Gen Viljoen had reached the

"moment of truth". Mr De Klerk said he had "a deep understanding of the right-wing's fears" but the Afrikaner could survive only "if we find a way to co-exist peacefully".

Fielding tough questions by Mr du Preez on GCB hit squads and the assassinations of activists Steve Biko, Anton Lu-bowski, Matthew Goniwe and others, Mr De Klerk said investigations had been conducted.

"There was a war and certain things were done which fell outside the scope but that has ended and the new National Party is not involved in any violence whatsoever," he said.

He said he did not believe the election would be totally violence free but if violence was widespread it would be the "duty of the Independent Electoral Commission to declare it null and void". "The future is rosy," Mr De Klerk added.

CT 4/2/94

(304A)

Ballot Shift

SCAFFOLD KILLS MOTHER



STUNNED ... The shocked son of Mrs. Filomena de Jesus, Mr. Antonio de Jesus (left), is comforted by a friend after his mother was killed when scaffolding from a building in Darling Street blew on to the car in which she was a passenger. **RIGHT:** More of the damaged scaffolding threatens to tear free in the wind.

Picture: ANNE LANG

ANC declines to

submit proposals

CT4/2/94 (3047)

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — Government negotiators yesterday offered the Freedom Alliance a compromise which includes a double ballot and greater taxation powers for regions.

In return, the government has demanded that the Alliance commit itself to taking part in the elections and all transitional structures.

However, in the tough, three-hour bargaining session the ANC declined to table its new proposals until it had obtained an agreement from the Alliance that it would accept the government's demand for a double ballot.

The government's compromise offer was made in an attempt to bring the Alliance into the April election before the deadline in 10 days' time, for parties to register.

The Alliance negotiators will take the government's proposals back to their principals and will return with a reply on Monday.

However, IFP leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said, his party's participation in the election would depend on more than the ANC agreeing to a two-ballot system.

In an address to Durban businessmen, Chief Buthelezi said constitutional issues surrounding regional powers were crucial to the IFP's participation in the poll.

"The double ballot by itself is quite meaningless if regions do not have an autonomy which cannot be interfered with by the con-

stituent assembly," Chief Buthelezi said in a prepared speech.

Speaking after the bargaining session, ANC national chairman Mr. Thabo Mbeki said the Alliance has been negotiating on the basis of "demands that must be met and are non-negotiable, rather than looking for a negotiated settlement".

Alliance negotiators had to get mandates from their principals that would allow them to be flexible in the negotiations, before the ANC could begin to negotiate with them.

'Last mile'

Chief government negotiator Mr. Roelf Meyer said he had proposed a comprehensive settlement on all the outstanding issues in such a way that "if there is a will, there is a way of reaching agreement".

Alliance chairman Mr. Rowan Crooke said the government's package of proposals roughly stated that:

- The Freedom Alliance must accept the powers and functions of regions as contained in the interim constitution.
- The government agrees to a double ballot.

- Wider powers of taxation be granted to regions as negotiated with the Alliance.
- Central government will be able to override regional constitutions; and

- Limited changes will be made on the issue of self-determination.

ANC negotiator Mr. Joe Slovo warned that the talks were the last inch of the last mile. "We're exactly 81 days from the election date. Come hell or high water, the election must be held on that date," Mr. Slovo said.

of election poll ● DP says *Sowetan* survey is 'fair'

Experts react to 'swing vote shock'

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

■ UNDECIDED VOTE Polls could
have erred regarding PAC vote results:

A HIGH PRE-ELECTION swing vote should not be a shock. This is common throughout the world, two experts said in reaction to the *Sowetan* Election Survey published yesterday.

The survey, conducted by Market and Media Research, showed that 25 percent of the people polled were undecided about which party they were going to vote for.

The experts, Mr Steven Friedman of the Wits Centre for Policy Studies and Mr Paul Graham of the Institute for a Democratic Alternative to South Africa, said they were surprised that the media called the swing vote percentage

a shock.

"It is not uncommon to have a quarter of the voters undecided before elections," Friedman said. (3044)

The experts, however, differed on the accuracy of the survey.

Friedman said the survey was reasonably accurate.

On the other hand, Graham said it was not reasonably possible to tell how the survey was actually carried out.

Both experts said it was too early to predict the impact the swing vote would have on the results of the elections.

Friedman said a general trend was emerging in all the opinion polls which showed a decisive victory for the African National Congress, followed by the National Party.

However, Friedman said the polls could have erred substantially on the support for the Pan Africanist Congress. The poll found that the PAC enjoys only 1 percent of the vote, while the Democratic Party gets 3.

"It seems unlikely that the PAC have got less support than the DP," Friedman said.

Decision for election vote poll

EWS FW says development linked to growth ● Venda protest enters fourth week

NP presents old Prog manifesto

Sowetan 4/2/94

by Donald Pressley

THE National Party yesterday presented its election manifesto — one that seeks to promote development through strong economic growth.

The document reads much like the Progressive Party manifesto of 20 years ago. It is a liberal document that seeks freedom of movement, speech and the economy.

The manifesto aims to promote peace, freedom and prosperity by ensuring:

- People's property is not confiscated;
- Regular elections are held;
- Fundamental human rights;

- That the constitution is upheld, which includes a bill of rights;

- Every person is protected by the courts;

- Freedom of information;

- A free and strong economy to make jobs, houses, schools, hospitals possible;

- That socialism does not destroy jobs;

- One education system with decentralised provincial departments;

- Greater school autonomy and parental participation;

- Highest priority primary health care; and

- Affordable health care.



GRUESOME GRAVEYARD ... Archbishop Desmond Tutu prays at the place where two of the Station Strangler's victims were discovered in Mitchell's Plain, Cape Town. In the foreground is one of the many people helping to clear the dunes where the strangler's victims were found.

PIC: ROY WIGLEY

... BEING ONE OF THE

Making our elections work

South 412-812194

THE ELECTORAL law is obviously central to the preparation and conduct of the election since it sets the framework and rules for the process. It covers matters like voter registration, media fairness, recruitment and training of electoral officials, the number and location of polling stations, balloting, vote counting, security and the certification of monitors and observers.

Once finalised, a summary of the law's essential provisions should be translated into all local languages, published and circulated widely. Political parties can then incorporate this into their voter education programmes.

VOTING
BOOTH

BALLOT - PAPER

COUNTY
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READY TO VOTE: But free and fair elections will only become a reality if all parties abide by the electoral law. The Independent Electoral Commission will oversee fair elections

An IEC that fulfils its duties will, inevitably, court controversy — by imposing sanctions and penalties against parties or individuals that violate election ground rules, and so on. This makes an effective media liaison wing essential for the IEC.

Voter estimates vary from 20 million to as high as 23 million, the majority of whom have never voted before and a high percentage of whom are illiterate. An inordinately high percentage of such disadvantaged voters are women.

So a vast voter education campaign is essential for voters to understand the process.

It can be carried out both by political parties (as part of their campaigns) and neutrally by independent organisations. The IEC will also be involved in voter education.

Rural voters, especially women, demand particular attention, as does the question of overcoming intimidation of women by their partners or husbands.

But effective voter education can only happen once campaign and voting procedures have been established. At the time of writing, negotiators were still haggling over several crucial details in the draft electoral bill.

Controversy will keep buzzing about the issuing of identity documents. The ANC claims two million people do not have these documents.

The alternative — an extensive and expensive voter registration programme — seems foolish and ambitious.

A more attractive option will be to enable voters without identity documents to provide alternative proof of identity at voting stations on election day.

The formal independence of the SABC and the introduction of a few drops of new blood into its production and management

echelons seems already to be yielding some interesting breaks with the past.

Some professional, non-partisan and probing current affairs programmes are seeing the light of day — though they're still the exceptions that prove a rather dismal rule.

The Independent Media Commission and various monitoring projects will help ensure that the SABC (and state-financed publications) stays under the spotlight. The problem, though, is not only one of conscious bias — often it's incompetence that yields skewed and inaccurate coverage.

Fairness and accuracy in reporting — not simply equal access — are the watchwords. And they should apply also to newspapers where, increasingly, editorial biases are being reflected in news reports.

"No go areas" are anathema to a free and fair vote. All political parties need to actively — not only rhetorically — help ensure that all contenders are able to campaign in all areas. Farms, mining compounds and "company towns" must be made accessible for canvassing.

A ban on official campaigning for the last two or three days before the election is recommended as one way to help douse the inflamed passions of supporters.

The simpler the ballot, the fairer the vote. Party-determined list systems hand party elites a great deal of power, but they make for relatively simple ballots that can depend less on language and wording.

Ballot papers should be designed to make voting as easy as possible.

A flexible interpretation of an acceptable mark is essential — for instance, a tick or a cross or a signature should all be accepted as indicating the voter's choice. By spacing the boxes (where you place your cross or tick) well apart, some prickly disputes can be prevented at the vote-counting stage.

THE SUBCOUNCIL on the Status of Women has the difficult task of making sure women are able to take full and equal part with men in the preparation for the elections and in the transitional period.

It can propose amendments to laws. It must liaise with employer and employee organisations and must pay particular attention to women in rural areas.

It must make sure that all women are able to fully exercise their right to vote, to stand for election and to participate in policy-making bodies at national, regional and local levels of government.

Finance
It will make proposals to the subcouncil on Finance about money being available in the 1994/95 budget for the promotion of the equality of women.

If there is a dispute between the TEC or one of its subcouncils and any government or administration, political party or organisation, the matter will be referred to the Special Electoral Court.

This is a new Court which will be set up to deal with everything relating to the elections.

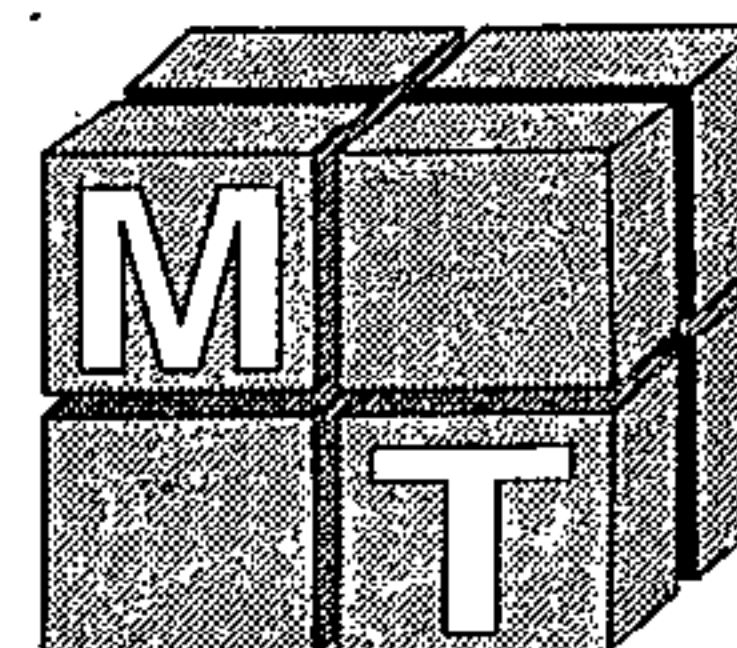
Judges
The Court will consist of three judges, one other person who is a lawyer and another person who does not have to be a lawyer.

The Subcouncil on Foreign Affairs will deal with South Africa's foreign policy and its international relations, not just for the transitional period but also for the future.

It will consult with the subcouncil on Finance about getting aid from other countries to meet the needs of the people of this country.

This aid must benefit the people as a whole and not any particular political party.

**This page is a project
of Matla Trust on
bahalf of the Inde-
pendent Forum for
Electoral Education**



THE WHITE RIGHT

A limited campaign

Attending meetings is not the same as risking your life

Fun 4/2/94

304A

The violence feared this week by Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen is more likely to break out in the ranks of his own white extremists than threaten either the constitutional negotiations or the forthcoming general election.

Viljoen and his colleagues have overplayed their hand. There is no chance of government or the ANC agreeing to rightwing demands for a *volkstaat*, despite AVF threats that it will take violent action to prevent the April election. This will almost certainly force a showdown between hardliners and moderates in the AVF and lead to fragmentation.

Viljoen stressed in a TV interview this week that while he was not in favour of a military option, the *volk* had lost patience with the negotiating process and were preparing for war.

His bottom line to prevent conflict — the establishment of a *volkstaat* (whatever that could possibly be) before April 27 — has been rejected by government and the ANC, as has his demand for a referendum among whites before the election to assess support for the *volkstaat* idea.

So sabre-rattling came next. Viljoen's warnings of war were clearly designed to frighten an already nervous SA — and they succeeded to some extent. But in reality his performance was merely brinkmanship, employing attack as the best form of defending an increasingly fragile political alliance.

The Right has run out of options. Attending meetings and making demands is one thing, risking your life for a hopeless cause is something completely different.

As a former head of the SADF, Viljoen must be aware that the violence of which his supporters are capable will be limited and can be contained. They don't have access to the military hardware needed to wage the sort of conflict now engulfing Bosnia — and there will not be a split in the SADF and SAP, in spite of AVF claims to majority support in both forces. Mobilisation of a citizen army, even if it were sympathetic to the Right, would take too long to support a coup. Most Permanent Force infantrymen and most policemen are black.

At best, a small group of militant rightwingers will be able to wage a limited terror campaign using small arms and commercial explosives stolen from the mines.

The real danger is their potential to cause violence to ripple through some communities, thereby raising the racial and political temperature of the

country. But that is not a situation beyond the control of a resolute peacekeeping initiative.

The AVF's best bet remains a negotiated compromise. But it does not have much time. If government calls its bluff on violence before a deal is struck, the right wing could be worse off.

The longer the AVF takes to negotiate a compromise, the less chance it has of securing material gains. Its bargaining power is decreasing by the day.

Whatever theoretical justification there may be for a *volkstaat*, it simply won't work. Apart from severe confusion over where it might be, there are unlikely to be many rightwingers prepared to give up the security of jobs, homes and educational facilities to go and live there.

Unlike ethnic minorities in other parts of the world, white Afrikaners are not united. All they have in common is a language. They are divided by politics, religion, class and geographical distribution. Nor would this *volkstaat* have a sustainable economic base.

At best, the ANC and government are prepared to consider strengthening the powers of provincial governments — but they would have to remain subject to national law. This is interpreted by Viljoen as an unwillingness to make any concessions to the *volk* and has resulted in hardliners taking charge of the AVF.

To his credit, Viljoen is still trying to settle the issue peacefully. But a compromise he suggested at a weekend gathering of rightwingers in Pretoria was met with derision. It was that the AVF participate in the election while continuing negotiations for a *volkstaat* based on the support it receives at the poll.

In reaction to what must have been a humiliating experience, Viljoen said on TV that government and the ANC must realise that he and other moderates in the AVF are losing control of the alliance's supporters to more militant leaders.

He warned that the first casualty of failure to reach agreement with government and the ANC would be the election on April 27, which would become virtually impossible to hold.

But is that really so? Peter Vale, co-director of the University of the Western Cape's Centre for Southern African



Viljoen

Studies, doesn't believe so. He says the right wing lacks the capacity to prevent the election or to wage a sustainable military resistance campaign against the government.

He concedes that a relatively small group of militants can cause considerable disruption through terrorist activities such as blowing up trains and power pylons — but it would need support from a foreign government to keep up its effort.

He also points out that the type of action being threatened by the Right is characteristic of

nearly all major political transitions and can be dealt with successfully.

Vale believes failure to reach agreement with Inkatha poses a far greater threat to the election (at least in Natal) and to longer-term stability. He has no doubt that the security forces will remain loyal to government if asked to take action against a rightist military threat.

Vale is also not convinced that rightwing support in the civil service poses as much of a threat as is often claimed. He says most bureaucrats are unlikely to risk their jobs and pensions to sabotage the State's administrative process.

The Institute for Defence Policy's Jakkie Cilliers says a showdown between the security forces and rightwing militants is inevitable and will be of considerable symbolic importance. However, it is difficult to determine what the outcome will be. It could either cut the right wing down to size or result in an escalation of the current low-intensity military insurgency.

Military action

He agrees that the right wing does not have the capacity to run a long-term campaign but warns that any military action will harm SA's international image as a country of growing stability.

In present circumstances, while government and the ANC remain resolute, the chances are that the rightwingers will blink first. Once that happens, they will most likely begin squabbling among themselves. That will quickly drain them of what little political potency they can command now.

The situation with Inkatha is more complex. It is not without international support for its initiative aimed at a federal constitution. It also has some valid objections — its opposition to the single ballot in the election is echoed by just about everyone outside the ANC and the National Party.

Compromise should be possible. ■



Vale

Promises abound in both ANC and NP manifestos

ARG 4/2/94

(304A)

HARDLY a syllable of the syrupy precepts of the National Party and the African National Congress election manifestos is at odds in promising that South Africans will live happily ever after April 29.

This is amply reflected in the titles of the manifestos: the ANC's *A Better Life For All... working together for jobs, peace and freedom* and the NP's *The Party for Peace, the Party for Prosperity, the Party for You*.

But significant differences — in content and in the style — are to be found in the texts.

As a whole, the ANC's document is the more detailed: promises are often spelled out in real terms, giving voters the wherewithal to judge the party's performance over the next five years.

While there is not as much detail on how these things are to be achieved, the manifesto does point voters to the organisation's Reconstruction and Development Programme for the finer print.

The NP manifesto makes considerable use of the party's record in the past few years... highlighting the company tax cut, the drop in inflation and new initiatives in housing, health and the economy.

Overall, both seek to assure voters that they alone are committed to, and capable of, ensuring peace, creating equality in all spheres, safeguarding freedoms, establishing security in every sense and promoting economic growth.

Both speak of uniting South Africa, nurturing reconciliation where there is division and ending the misery of the poor and disadvantaged.

Unlike the ANC manifesto, which carries a message from Nelson Mandela, but in the body of the text makes no resounding references to his role, the NP seeks to sell the talents and record of President De Klerk.

He is portrayed as having "shown leadership, initiative, experience and courage".

In a clear acknowledgement of Mr De Klerk's saleability in the political bazaar, the document tends to elevate his role by declaring: F W de Klerk, our leader, will bring justice, peace and prosperity to you.

Broadcasters to get licences temporarily

Political Staff

TEMPORARY licences are to be issued to several independent broadcasting stations in an effort to sort out the muddle in the industry.

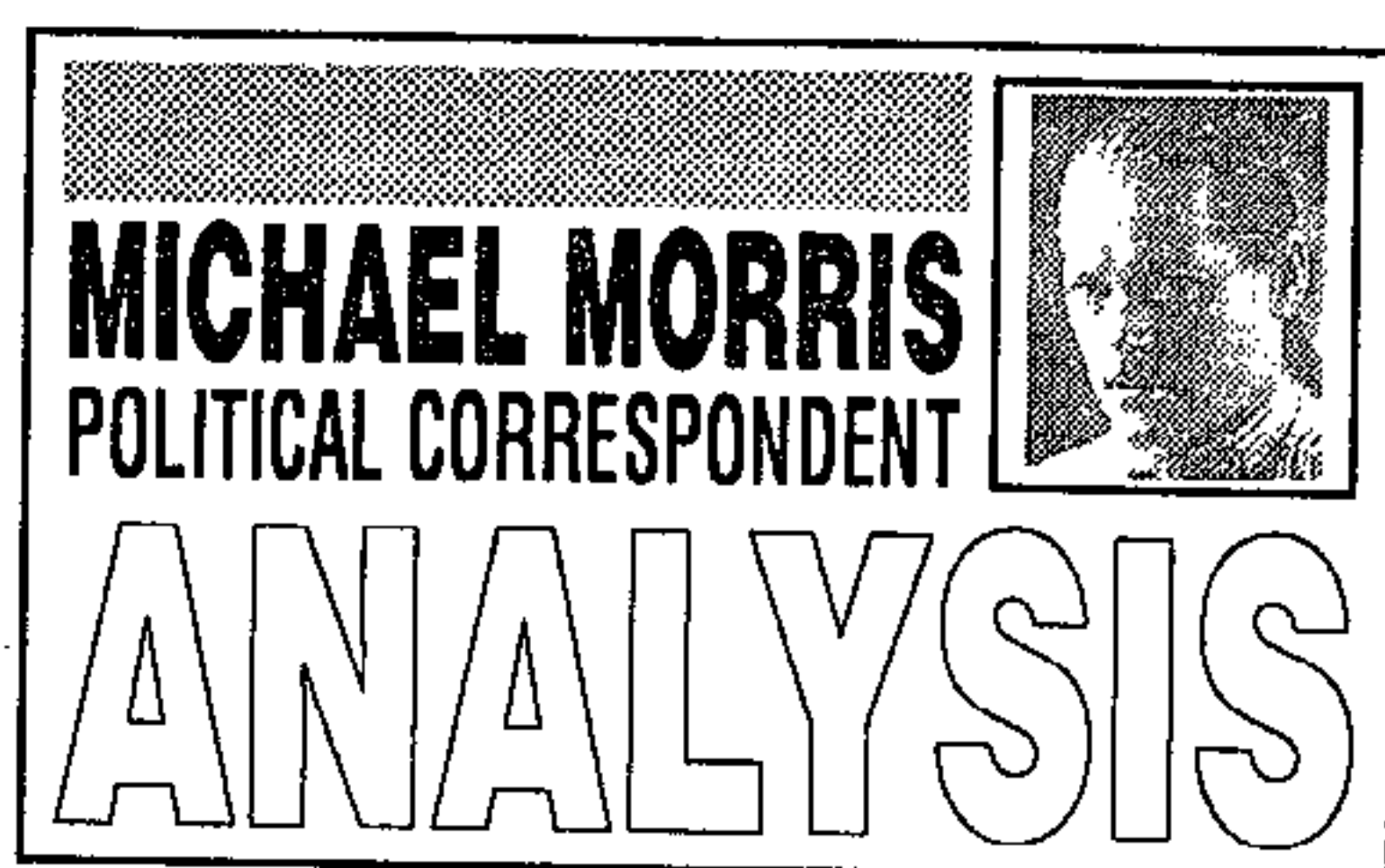
A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs said Minister Danie Schutte would officially announce the step pending the appointment of an Independent Broadcasting Authority.

The Transitional Executive Council had again postponed a decision on appointing the authority for a week.

The spokesman said that, even after the authority had been appointed, it would be some time before it could issue licences.

It would first have to investigate:

- Wavelengths available.
- Local content.
- Inter-media shareholding and the share newspapers would have in local stations.
- The effect of new stations on existing stations.



In the constitutional sphere, both promise regular, free, multi-party elections, constitutional adjudication by an independent Constitutional Court and, in broad terms, democratic practice.

The NP, though, emphasises the federal concept, asserting that this is the key to lasting peace. Democracy, it says, is "not merely" majority rule.

The ANC declares the interim constitution an important first step, adding that the new constitution and Bill of Rights need to be truly democratic. The challenge is to make democracy a living reality.

It doesn't say how this is to be achieved.

Both promise firm law and order policies, though each with a distinctive emphasis.

The NP is offering tougher penalties, more jails to keep criminals out of society and the appointment of more and better trained police.

The ANC promises to deal firmly with violence, to ensure criminals are dealt with to the full extent of the law, to establish a gun control programme to minimise the number of guns in the hands of individuals and to eliminate gun-smuggling, an accountable police force and a programme emphasising rehabilitation rather than vengeance.

The message in the NP manifesto, which makes much use of diagrams and graphs, photographs and illustrations, is carried in short, often repetitive and often generalised statements.

The ANC document concentrates on unillustrated text with longer, but simply composed and easily understood sentences.

Both manifestos rely in large measure on general, often

sweeping, statements — but the ANC's document tends to offer more detailed promises, while the detail in the NP's manifesto largely, though not always, relates to initiatives already under way.

Two important issues:

• On housing, the ANC says that within five years a million homes will be built, running water and flush toilets will be provided to a million families and 2.5-million rural and urban homes will be given electricity.

It says squatter settlements will be upgraded, as will hostels, and that it will work with banks and building societies to ensure people have loans and means to build their own homes.

• The NP says that in the recent past, it has helped millions through land allocations, discounts of R7 500 a family, R550-million on subsidies to first home owners of all races and made R2.5-billion available to housing last year alone.

It says it will vigorously pursue its new Housing Endowment Scheme, motivate the private sector to make vast additional sums of money available and ensure a strong economy to enable people to get proper housing.

• On health, the ANC says the aim of its policy is primary and affordable health care, guaranteeing basic treatment for all. Prevention will be the priority.

• The NP says primary health care is the priority, every community will have a local health committee by 2000, and enough clinics by then to provide access to health facilities for all, immunisation will be improved to ensure 100 percent coverage by 2000, and it will see to it that private and public health care is made affordable.

Compare their tax promises:

• The NP says taxes must be reasonable and spread equitably across the various income groups. The tax system must promote saving, investment and initiative.

• The ANC says that it will ensure an efficient tax system, it will end VAT on basic foods like milk, flour and sugar, it will reduce taxes for people earning under R4 000, end unfair taxation on women, married and single, and ensure, through efficient collection, that every business pays its fair share.

Compare their jobs promises:

• The ANC says, generally, that it will work with others to ensure a peaceful, stable environment, boosting investor confidence and promoting economic growth.

More specifically, it promises a public works programme to train about 2.5-million people over 10 years to build roads and provide water, electricity, schools, clinics, housing and meet other needs.

• The NP says prosperity is the key to jobs and that jobs can only be created in a strong economy. It says millions spent on small business development, cuts in taxes and inflation coupled with foreign investment — attracted by its own policies — are creating jobs.

On affirmative action:

• The NP says people who in the past did not have equal opportunities must receive special training, education and support so that they can develop fully and make their full contribution.

• The ANC says opportunities must be opened to all who were discriminated against as Africans, coloureds, Indians, as women, as disabled people and as people staying in rural areas. This will not be done at the expense of others, nor lead to a lowering of standards.

The ANC document says relatively little about its past... and nothing about the armed struggle, sanctions or mass action.

The NP document makes considerable play of its conversion, its decision to throw open its doors to all races and its parliamentary record of the past three years in scrapping statutory apartheid.

Government's ballot offer may break Alliance deadlock

Political Staff

THERE was hope in government circles today that a last-minute agreement could still be reached with the Freedom Alliance which would make it possible for the grouping to take part in the election.

The possible breakthrough has come about because of a government offer — at a meeting with the alliance and the ANC — of a two-ballot system, one ballot for a national government and one for regional government. This meets one of the alliance's top outstanding demands.

The government is demanding in turn that the alliance should commit itself to taking part in the election and interim structures.

While one of the alliance's main demands is now being met there are other outstanding matters, such as guarantees of the powers of regional governments.

After the alliance delegation has reported back to its princi-

pals there will be another meeting on Monday.

Political parties which intend taking part in the election must register by next Friday.

At the three-hour meeting in Pretoria, ANC negotiators led by national chairman Thabo Mbeki challenged alliance negotiators to indicate upfront whether their leaders were flexible in the talks or they wanted all their demands to be addressed in toto without any give-and-take from them.

Only then would the ANC put on the table its proposals aimed at breaking the impasse.

"The process of negotiating becomes impossible if what you are confronted with are demands," Mr Mbeki told a Press conference after the talks.

The organisation's proposals include acceptance of a double ballot system in the April election, as well as an extension of some exclusive powers to regional governments.

Alliance chief negotiator Rowan Cronje said that although the ANC would not un-

veil its proposals until it was assured of the alliance's flexibility, Constitutional Development Minister and government negotiator Roelf Meyer had dangled a two-ballot system before the alliance in exchange for the alliance's acceptance of the present Interim Constitution.

Mr Meyer said the government's proposal was "comprehensive enough to bring about a settlement".

"What we have proposed is very reasonable and could lead to a settlement. It is comprehensive and addresses all the relevant issues put forward by the FA. We should now all be big enough to move forward for the sake of South Africa," he said.

Mr Cronje said progress would be difficult unless there was movement on the alliance's other demands — notably on the powers and functions of provincial governments.



MOST of the issues that affect the whole of our community, like lack of water and pollution, have arisen as a result of a million tiny actions. There isn't a single great miracle that will solve them.

Sorry, but we're fresh out of magic wands right now.

Of course this is because most of the problems that beset our community are caused by a million tiny actions. If each of us drops a cigarette butt, or just one toffee wrapper, on the pavement, the city looks a mess. But each of us thinks that one tiny cigarette stompie doesn't make a difference.

Peter Johnston of Pine-lands found out about an excellent water-saving campaign that was introduced in Santa Clara in California. The town authorities of Santa Clara sent each home owner a specially designed plastic bag in an envelope. The instructions with it said the bag (which could hold about a litre of water) should be filled with water and hung in the toilet cistern.

This would save the city a litre of water for every time a toilet was flushed.

There was also a list of practical water-saving hints in the envelope.

The point is that it was actually sent out to residents. Somebody in authority had taken the initiative. Somebody actually cared. I'm sure the idea saved the city millions of litres of water every day.

Peter was impressed by the idea and telephoned our city water department to offer it to them.

He was greeted by waves of total apathy.

It wouldn't work, they said.

However (Sigh! Here's another uneddesome citizen trying to disrupt our peaceful sleep) if Peter really felt strongly about it, he should put the proposal in writing and it would be "attended to

The Argus-MMR opinion poll pointed to the intriguing fact that fully a quarter of South Africa's voters haven't yet stated a party preference — making for a considerable "swing vote" that will become the focus of the election campaign. But our researchers delved much deeper than just asking South Africans which party they'd vote for: we set out to explore our nation's state of mind on many levels. On this page Argus Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD dissects the Marketing and Media Research findings, and draws some fascinating conclusions.

(South Africa)
March 4/2194

Inside the mind of the nation

Many voters are in ferment over who to support come April — and no community is more fluid than the whites of South Africa.

THE National Party currently commands the firm support of only one out of three white voters with many former supporters unable to decide who to back in the coming election, The Argus-MMR poll indicates.

English-speaking whites are particularly confused, with almost half undecided or unwilling to state a preference.

The results of the nationwide survey also indicate that NP support has dipped among whites, coloureds and Indians during the past two years.

The NP is placing great store on securing considerable support among these three groups and the figures indicate that it faces a stiff challenge as the election campaign swings into gear



Blacks optimistic about the new SA

Who's afraid of the new South Africa? Not the black majority, that's for sure and the minorities? Well, let's say there's a lot of ambivalence about, according to The Argus-MMR poll.

BLACKS are heading towards the new South Africa with a spring in their step. Indians and coloureds with an uncertain gait — and whites, well, they may need some nudging before they're enthusiastic about the new dispensation.

According to The Argus-MMR poll, whites are gloomy about the prospects of good schooling, more jobs being created or a police force which will reduce crime.

Blacks on the other hand are considerably more sanguine. A full 72 percent of the African population predict

Expectations of life under the new government

There will be:	AFRICAN %	WHITE %	COLOURED %	INDIAN %
Good schools for all children	72	29	58	58
More jobs created	70	25	52	52
Lots of houses built	65	44	49	48
A police force which will reduce crime	53	32	44	47
What will happen:				
The far right / conservatives will wage war against the rest of South Africa	44	47	56	44
More and more whites will leave the country	38	58	55	65

The swing vote

4 in 10 are African
4 in 10 are white
1 in 10 are coloured
1 in 10 are Indian

• 35% of Indians, 27% of whites, 26% of coloureds, 13% of Africans, are undecided about which party to vote for.



• Many more females (24%) are undecided than males (14%).

• 24% of the upper income group are undecided, versus 15% in the lower income groups.

Graphic: BOB GRIFFITHSON, The Argus

in due course".

In other words, somebody would pass the annoying letter to somebody else who would pass it to a junior typist who would wait for her nail varnish to dry, then send out a pre-printed card saying "your communication of such and such a date is receiving attention". Then the letter would be filed and everybody would snuggle back into their comfortable chairs and drop off back to sleep.

Another hard day in Africa.

Pointed

THE Cape doesn't have a particularly good record when it comes to preserving the natural beauty of our area.

I still shudder when I look up at Table Mountain and see those three pink towers making their obscene gesture at the world. Or when I walk along the foreshore surrounded by cliffs of gloomy black granite.

I don't think it's surprising that many of the people who enjoy Cape Point the way it is are very worried about the proposed new developments there.

Cape Point is so splendid in its relatively unspoilt magnificence. Do we really need to build a funicular railway up it and establish a multi-million rand restaurant, bank, post office and fast-food kiosk there?

I hope not.

In 1990 the Oberholzer Report recommended that any development at the Cape Point Nature Reserve should take place at the Homestead, rather than at Cape Point. This makes better sense to me.

I see there is to be a public meeting about the proposed development in the Fish Hoek Senior High School at 6.15pm on Tuesday. This might be a good opportunity for those who care about the beauty of the Cape to hear all the details.

And if not enough people do care, we have only ourselves to blame when we look back and say: "How could anybody have been allowed to do that?"

We get what we allow.

★★★★★

DEFINITION of education: What remains after you've forgotten everything you've been taught.

The Wanderer

According to MMR, 31 percent of whites now say they would support the NP. Asked who they would have voted for two years ago, 46 percent of the whites surveyed said the NP.

Coloured support for the NP has dipped from 52 percent to 46 percent, while the drop in the Indian community is from 46 to 30 percent.

However, not all is lost for the NP. It still has higher support in these three race groups than the ANC, which could now command three percent white support, 13 percent among coloureds and 27 percent among Indians — a jump from 19 percent two years ago.

The NP is also more popular among whites than the CP, whose support in the community over the past two years has dropped from 26 percent to 15 percent.

Many of the voters that may have drifted away from the NP now appear to have landed among those who cannot make up their minds or refuse to disclose who they would back.

years. African support for the ANC has increased from 75 percent to 78 percent.

The figures again make worrying reading for the DP, with support among whites apparently dipping from 15 percent to seven percent. MMR finds that its Indian support has halved, from eight percent to four percent, while only eight percent of coloureds support the party compared to 13 percent who said they would have backed it two years ago.

Its support among blacks is now negligible at 0,2 percent.

The IFP has made gains among whites, from two to six percent, but remains extraordinarily low among blacks at only two percent. This figure may, however, be distorted by the fact that the poll did not reach the "deep rural" vote of tiny communities around the country.

The survey found that almost all African voters are sure of their choice of party, while four out of every 10 Indians who state a preference could be "waverers" — either "somewhat sure" or "not sure".

good schools, 70 percent say there will be more jobs, 65 percent expect lots of houses to be built and 53 percent anticipate a police force which will reduce crime.

Only 29 percent of whites share their upbeat sentiments about schooling, while the figures on job creation and an effective police force are 25 percent and 32 percent respectively. By comparison, the white community is fairly optimistic about housing — 44 percent predicting more units will be built.

The coloured and Indian communities are split down the middle on most of these issues.

However, 65 percent of all Indians believe that more whites will leave the country while only 38 percent of blacks expect this trend to continue. 58 percent of whites predict more of their race group will leave.

The coloured community is the most pessimistic about the right wing waging war against the rest of South Africa, 56 percent anticipating this will happen. Significant chunks of whites (47 per-

Mandela way out in front ... followed by De Klerk

ARG 4/2/94 (304A)

Forget the parties for a moment — how do South African voters rate the individual leaders? The findings make pleasant reading for some of our politicians, and will cause sleepless nights among others.

ANC president Nelson Mandela is streets ahead of other South African leaders in national popularity.

Voters polled by MMR gave Mandela an average of 71 out of a possible 100, with President De Klerk next most popular of those who may contest the presidency, with a rating of 56.

Next up is the PAC's Clarence Makwetu on 43, while the DP's Zach de Beer (on 34) pips IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi (33). The verdict on Chief Buthelezi may, however, have been distorted by the fact that the "deep rural" vote was not tapped in the survey.

Conservative Party firebrand Ferdi Hartzenberg scored only 29 points.

Mr Mandela is clearly held in high esteem by his own supporters, who gave him a 99/100 score. Interestingly, PAC voters gave Mr Mandela a rating of 83.

Mr De Klerk scored 89 out of 100 from NP supporters and also did well among those backing the DP (70) and the IFP (50).

ANC voters gave Mr De Klerk a higher score (49) than NP voters gave Mr Mandela (36).

Chief Buthelezi scored 90 among IFP supporters, 57 from CP backers and 47 from those who will vote for the NP. However, he notched up only 19 from ANC followers.

IFP supporters did not return the compliment to Mr Hartzenberg, rating him at only 37.

Mr Makwetu was given 93 by PAC supporters and scored fairly well among ANC voters at 53. Not surprisingly, he had a miserly 16 from CP supporters.

Dr De Beer and Dr Hartzenberg were given the lowest scores by their own supporters but were still rated well, both scoring 81 in this category.

Ratings for parties were fairly similar to those for the leaders, with the ANC getting an average of 70 out of 100, the NP 51, the PAC 39, the DP 37, the IFP 31 and the CP 30.

MMR also endeavoured to establish just how committed

party support was. It found that 91 percent of ANC supporters were "very sure" they would back the organisation in the election, making its supporters the most committed.

A total of 82 percent of backers of both the CP and PAC were very sure while the figure dipped to 71 percent among the NP voters.

The findings contain some worrying trends for the IFP and DP.

Only 50 percent of IFP supporters said they were very sure while 36 percent were "somewhat sure" and 14 percent "not sure".

Uncertainty among DP followers appears to be reflected in the party's 21 percent of followers who were not sure and only 50 percent who said they were very sure.

In effect this means that 21 percent of the people who now say they would support the DP are not sure they will do so come the election.

Other figures indicate that 44 percent of those backing the IFP were doing so because of dislike for other parties.

ANC digs in its heels over Alliance

Govt in bid to break talks stalemate

B/Dcy 4/2/94

THE ANC yesterday refused to put its new package of proposals to the Freedom Alliance, saying it would disclose it only when the alliance committed itself to being flexible and seeking a negotiated settlement.

But government unexpectedly presented a set of proposals to the alliance, including concessions on a double ballot and regional authority to levy taxes.

However, government's package included a demand that the alliance commit itself to taking part in the elections and all transitional structures, including the TEC.

The alliance agreed to refer the proposals to its principals and another round of talks were scheduled for Monday. These talks are expected to continue for the next 10 days, up to the deadline for parties to register for the elections.

However, registration does not bind parties to taking part in the elections and they may withdraw at any stage up to April 26.

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said: "We have been negotiating for a long time and we have put several proposals forward for the alliance to negotiate on and no agreement could be reached. One problem is that the alliance has been negotiating on the basis of demands that must be met and are non-negotiable, rather than looking for a negotiated settlement."

Alliance negotiators had to obtain mandates from their principals to be flexible in negotiations before the ANC would resume negotiations with the alliance.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said government's package of proposals, the details of which Constitutional Develop-

BILLY PADDOCK

ment Minister Roelf Meyer refused to divulge, broadly stated that:

- The Freedom Alliance accept the powers and functions of regions as contained in the interim constitution;
- Government concedes to a double ballot;
- Wider powers of taxation be granted to regions as negotiated with the alliance;
- Central government be empowered to override regional constitutions; and
- Limited changes be made on the issue of self-determination. (3049 (11/12/93))

Meyer said after the meeting that he had proposed a comprehensive settlement on all the outstanding issues in such a way that "if there is a will, there is a way of reaching agreement".

One ANC source indicated that government's proposals were very similar to those discussed by the ANC in devising its package.

Meyer denied having seen the ANC package.

Cronje said he was not too happy about negotiating package deals in a way that amounted to horsetrading. He would prefer compromises be made by negotiating issues on the agenda.

Government's double ballot concession did not provide enough of an incentive "because the ballot issue is a one-off but the constitution is something we have to live with for a long time".

He said regardless of their mandates, alliance negotiators would discuss deals to the best of their abilities, then take these back to their principals for approval.

NP unveils 'realistic' manifesto

B/Daw 4/21/94
TIM COHEN

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk yesterday contrasted the NP's "realistic" election manifesto, released at the party's special congress, with the ANC's, which he said was not worth the paper it was written on.

The manifesto focuses on peace and prosperity, improvements to health and education and support for affirmative action, but no tax cuts.

De Klerk told the congress near Johannesburg that the party had refrained from making unachievable promises.

The ANC's policy had "fatal flaws" which would result in little or no economic growth and it would therefore not be able to fulfil its promises.

The NP manifesto, which appears in a 36-page glossy pamphlet, trumpets past achievements and proposes that the NP will operate on tried and

tested free market principles, pledging taxation that promotes saving, investment and initiative.

De Klerk is featured in the manifesto and credited with a variety of virtues, including sounding the death knell of apartheid. (304A)

The focus on peace was broken down in the requirements for safety, democracy, federalism, justice, freedom and protection.

Education should be compulsory for all, with state-funded schools with a "distinctive character in respect of language, culture, religion, for those who prefer it".

The manifesto promises enough clinics by 2000 to provide everyone with access to health facilities.

It promises special training, edu-

cation and support for those who lacked opportunities in the past.

A series of NP Cabinet ministers and top candidates spoke yesterday, focusing on the differences between the NP's and the ANC's policies.

Finance Minister Derek Keys said the NP aimed at economic prosperity for all and that it trusted and consulted economic role players.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said violence had spiralled since the unbanning of the ANC and that "thousands are dying because of its lust for power".

Foreign Minister Pik Botha said the ANC confused its own international acceptability with that of its leader, Nelson Mandela, who was considered a martyr.

Poor NP showing 'bad for SA'

A POOR showing by the NP in the forthcoming elections would be "bad news" for SA, President F W de Klerk said yesterday.

He was speaking in an interview broadcast live on the London-based Sky News TV from the World Trade Centre, after the NP congress there.

The challenge facing the NP was to do well in the election so it could "lead the process of further democratisation" afterwards.

"We don't have a final constitution," said De Klerk, referring to the constitution-making body to be set up after the poll to draw up a new constitution based on the interim one hammered out at multiparty talks.

DAVID GREYBE

Another reason why the NP had to do well was so it could play its role in formulating joint policy and programmes in the government of national unity.

"If we don't do well it will be bad news for this country," he said.

It was important also that the new government created an "investor-friendly climate... in step with what the free world demands", he said.

De Klerk predicted a "surprise" NP result in the poll. "I am convinced we can achieve the biggest percentage of the vote," he said. The NP had already won over a key component

of South Africans.

A majority of coloureds, Indians and whites already supported the NP. The NP needed only a significant percentage of black voters — not the majority — to back it for the NP to gain the biggest share of the vote in April.

He was convinced the NP would achieve this.

De Klerk said he would not be waging a "dirty" election campaign against the ANC, even though he still believed the ANC was a "dangerous" party because of its SACP ties.

While it would be "easy" to attack ANC president Nelson Mandela, De Klerk said he preferred to "play the ball, not the man".

New radio licence rules

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — New arrangements for temporary broadcasting licences will be announced today by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte.

He met industry representatives and would-be broadcasters at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday to discuss criteria for awarding temporary licences.

A Home Affairs spokesman said the new licensing system would continue until the Independent Broadcasting Authority had assumed regulatory control.

Radio Pretoria, which has twice been barred from broadcasting by the Supreme Court, ended its transmissions yesterday in anticipation of Schutte's announcement.

A shortlist for broadcasting authority commissioners is being drawn up by the TEC. The list is likely to be published this month and comments will be invited from the public for two weeks.

The commissioners will be appointed by the TEC after public hearings.

Groups launch code of conduct for pupils

A PROJECT to establish a code of conduct for pupils and teachers, aimed at restoring a culture of learning and teaching in about 200 Transvaal schools, was launched yesterday by a wide range of organisations.

Political, labour, civic and educational organisations were involved in the launch.

The National Education Conference (NEC) yesterday said the campaign was aimed at ensuring that pupils, parents and teachers participated effectively in the running of schools. A comic book would be

produced to facilitate discussions that would ultimately lead to the drafting of a code of conduct by individual schools.

NEC project co-ordinator Bigboy Tsipane said a workshop would be held tomorrow to identify 200 schools and facilitators which would pilot the project.

He said facilitators would be trained by Idasa and be required to run workshops for parents, teachers and pupils.

JOHANNES NGCOBO

Unfortunately, neither of them do much to clear the picture. The NP's is a tatty and patronising effort, while the ANC's reads like a Greenpeace pamphlet, full of worthy sentiments.

Do they tell us anything about how the parties would run a future government?

Given that the ANC appears bound to take the lion's share of power in the new dispensation, its effort will be closely scrutinised. Most interesting of the organisation's promises are those about creating jobs.

"The ANC will immediately start a national public-works programme which will address community needs and create jobs. Through this programme alone we aim to provide employment and training for 2.5 million people over the next 10 years, building roads and providing water, electricity, schools, clinics, housing, and meeting other needs," it says.

IT PROMISES to create opportunities for small business, full rights for workers in both private and public sectors — some might argue that this would effectively annul other efforts to spark some life in the economy, but the ANC's hands are tied — and introduce a just tax system.

Land reform and ending rural poverty will go hand in hand as part of the "Improving the Quality of Life" programme. The doors of education will be opened to all, as will access to health care.

The manifesto says the ANC has calculated that within five years a new government can build a million homes, provide running water and flush toilets to more than a million families, and electrify 2.5 million rural and urban homes. It is admirable of the ANC to make such promises and to quantify them, but one hopes it realises that the post-April 28 government will be tested on such promises.

ON AFFIRMATIVE action the ANC stresses: "This will not be done at the expense of others; nor lead to a lowering of standards. Special emphasis will be placed on training (of people who were discriminated against) and upgrading so they can rise to higher levels in business, civil service, skilled jobs and other areas."

Of particular interest, obviously, is how the new government will finance such ambitious projects. The ANC acknowledges this "will not be easy" but stresses that it presents an opportunity to set the economy on a growth path.

"An ANC government will increase public expenditure and encourage the private sector to put money in productive ventures. We will establish a reconstruction fund and seek beneficial international aid and loans.

"Our objective is to use resources more efficiently and not to increase the tax burden. Large



PEOPLE'S LEADER: Nelson Mandela greets his supporters at the launch of the ANC election manifesto.

● Photograph: GARY BERNARD

STAR S/2/94 (304A)



'F W de Klerk. On February 2 1990 he changed South Africa and surprised the world. He sounded the death knell to apartheid. He set his opponents free to level the playing field. He opened the door to negotiations. He made this election possible.'
■ The NP's election manifesto.

FW'S THE MAN: A round of applause from the nearest and dearest for President de Klerk at the NP launch.

● Photograph: MYKEL NICOLAOU

EVERYBODY knew that politics after apartheid would get boring. So it is not the actual content of the election manifestoes which is interesting, but rather the various signposts, writes Political Correspondent CHRIS WHITFIELD.

also appears intent on doing something about South Africa's gun problem, promising "a gun control programme to minimise the number of guns in the hands of individuals and to eliminate gun-smuggling".

The National Party — referring to itself as the "new National Party" throughout — bases its manifesto on the slogan of being "the party for peace and prosperity". Central to this, of course, is erasing a past which suggests it

was the party for strife and poverty. The manifesto attempts to do this by highlighting the changes in policy it has brought in the past four years.

An illustration shows a pile of rubbish with pieces of paper bearing the words "Pass Laws", "Mixed Marriages", "Influx Control" and "Discrimination" among the discarded bottles, cans and tyres.

The NP joins the ANC in making some pretty far-reaching statements. On health it says "The National Party will improve the immunisation pro-

sums of money already go to education, health and other areas. But the results are poor. Money has been used on a racial basis and squandered in corruption and bureaucracy. This will be done away with."

Turning to crime and violence, the ANC does appear prepared to crack down hard on the issues gnawing at the nation's self-confidence.

"What is required is a government committed to dealing firmly with violence and crime, and one that does not simply point fingers," it says. Mercifully, it

THE TWO MAJOR political leaders wave manifestoes around
like magicians' cloaks, but what they contain add up to ...

Motherhood and apple pie

Star 512194

304f

A MAGICIAN, in essence, earns his keep by creating the illusion of doing something he has not actually done, or cannot do. As South Africa braces itself for the April 26, 27 and 28 election, the smoke and mirrors are being reeled out by the various parties. They manifest themselves in bucketloads of cant and hyperbole, all signifying very little. During the past week both the ANC and the NP — shaping up to be the two main players at the polls — rose from amid the smoke to unveil their election manifestoes amid much pomp

IN 1986, when I suggested to the Government that the time had come for us to resolve South Africa's problems through negotiations, I was confident that my endeavour to bring peace and democracy through dialogue would finally bear fruit. Nelson Mandela, writing in the ANC's election manifesto.

programme to provide 100 percent coverage by the year 2000."

Turning to the economy, it claims credit for reducing inflation over the past three years and addresses the issue of affirmative action: "People who in the past did not have equal opportunities must receive special training, education and support so that they can develop fully and make their full contribution."

It also places considerable emphasis on job creation but is perhaps wiser in not setting any targets.

"The National Party Government has reduced taxes and inflation — thereby making it possible for the private

sector to create more jobs. The NP Government has spent many millions to promote exports, thereby creating more jobs. The economic policies of the new National Party are attracting foreign investment, thereby creating more jobs," it says, sticking to claims that are difficult to disprove.

On housing it promises to "motivate" the private sector to participate in the Housing Endowment Scheme launched last month.

Turning to education, it claims that the "new National Party stands for a school system that is equal for everyone", before elaborating on its already well-publicised proposals. Interestingly, these still hold out the prospect of Afrikaans-only schools by making provision for "schools, funded by the State, with a distinctive character in respect of language, culture and religion for those who prefer it".

IF THE manifestoes are thin on information or answers to help voter make up their minds, they do contain some insights into the terrain on which the election will be fought.

The ANC is going to beat the NP with its past. The NP is going to do all it can to shift the focus to the present.

Those areas of black people's lives which were neglected during the apartheid years will become the focus of fierce debate: housing, health and education will be the battlegrounds.

The more recent plagues of violence and crime will also be subjects for considerable discussion. The NP is already banging on about the ANC being a party of intimidators, while Nelson Mandela's recent comments about the NP's role in violence might have been made in response to this.

And, as illustrated by the quotes on this page, each side will attempt to claim credit for the ending of discrimination.

OF COURSE, the communist bogey will be bandied about. The NP could not resist using the manifesto to indulge in a bit of commie-bashing as it pointed out that "socialism and communism destroy the economy — this has been proved over and over in the formerly socialist countries of eastern Europe and in those African countries which tried it".

The manifestoes are, therefore, more interesting for the various signposts that can be discerned through the fog than for the actual content.

But should this — or, for that matter, the kind of debate being waged in the election campaign at the moment — be a source for concern?

It may be a perverse indication of a growing political maturity in South Africa that the manifestoes contain little more than motherhood and apple pie, and are functionally vague.

Everybody knew that politics after apartheid would get boring.





AS FAR as the NP is concerned, the past is forgotten and forgiven, writes Chief Reporter JOHN PERLMAN, who attended the NP federal congress this week.

THREE years ago in Bloemfontein, the National Party's federal congress opened with a Nat stalwart leading the assembled in song: *Sarie Marais, Ver in die Ou Kalahari and Afrikaners, landgenote, wees getrou aan volk en taal*, sung stirringly to the tune of *Deutschland Uber Alles*.

This week, at the World Trade Centre, congress delegates strolled in to the sounds of a jazz band playing *Hello Dolly*. And while the gift table at the entrance to the Bloemfontein City Hall offered the *Collected Works of B J Vorster* and a biography of Robey Leibbrandt for sale, the only real relic of the past available this year was a R10 pair of cufflinks in orange, white and blue.

That's hardly surprising. As far as the 1994-model National Party is concerned, the past is another country — forgiven, forgotten, *verby*. Dr Dawie de Villiers, Cabinet Minister and the

NP's chief campaign manager, could not have expressed this more bluntly. The ANC say they liberated the country, but "where was Mandela on February the 2nd?" he asked. "In die tronk," yelled a black delegate, to the loud cheers of the party that had done the locking up.

"There is only one person who liberated South Africa and that is President de Klerk," said Pik Botha. And only one party, he said, really has support among all South Africa's population groups.

Certainly this was not the National Party that gathered in Bloemfontein three years ago, lily white as it was then, despite the recent acquisition of 35 coloured MPs. In the giant dining hall at lunchtime, new Nats from Soweto, Verulam and Mangaung stood waiting patiently for rice and stew, unaware that Gerrit Viljoen or perhaps Adriaan Vlok was queueing quietly behind them. And on the conference floor, they made their presence felt more and more as the atmosphere loosened up.

The day started in fairly traditional vein, with chairperson Maretha Badenhorst promis-

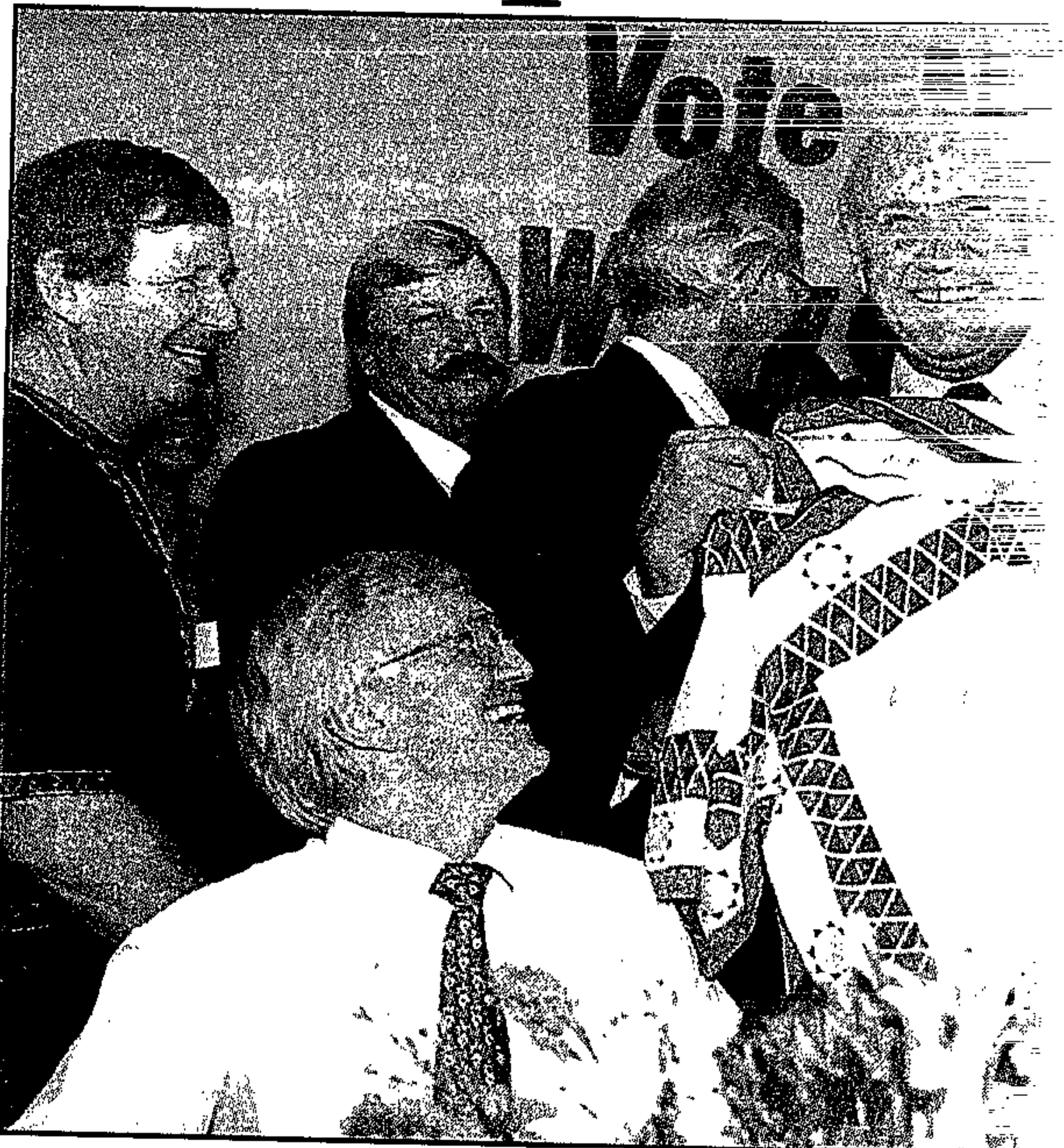
ing De Klerk that "we will all help you to get that wagon through the drift". It finished with "Viva De Klerk Viva" and a stage packed with Transvaal delegates

singing *Shosholozza*, led by Botha waving a clenched fist.

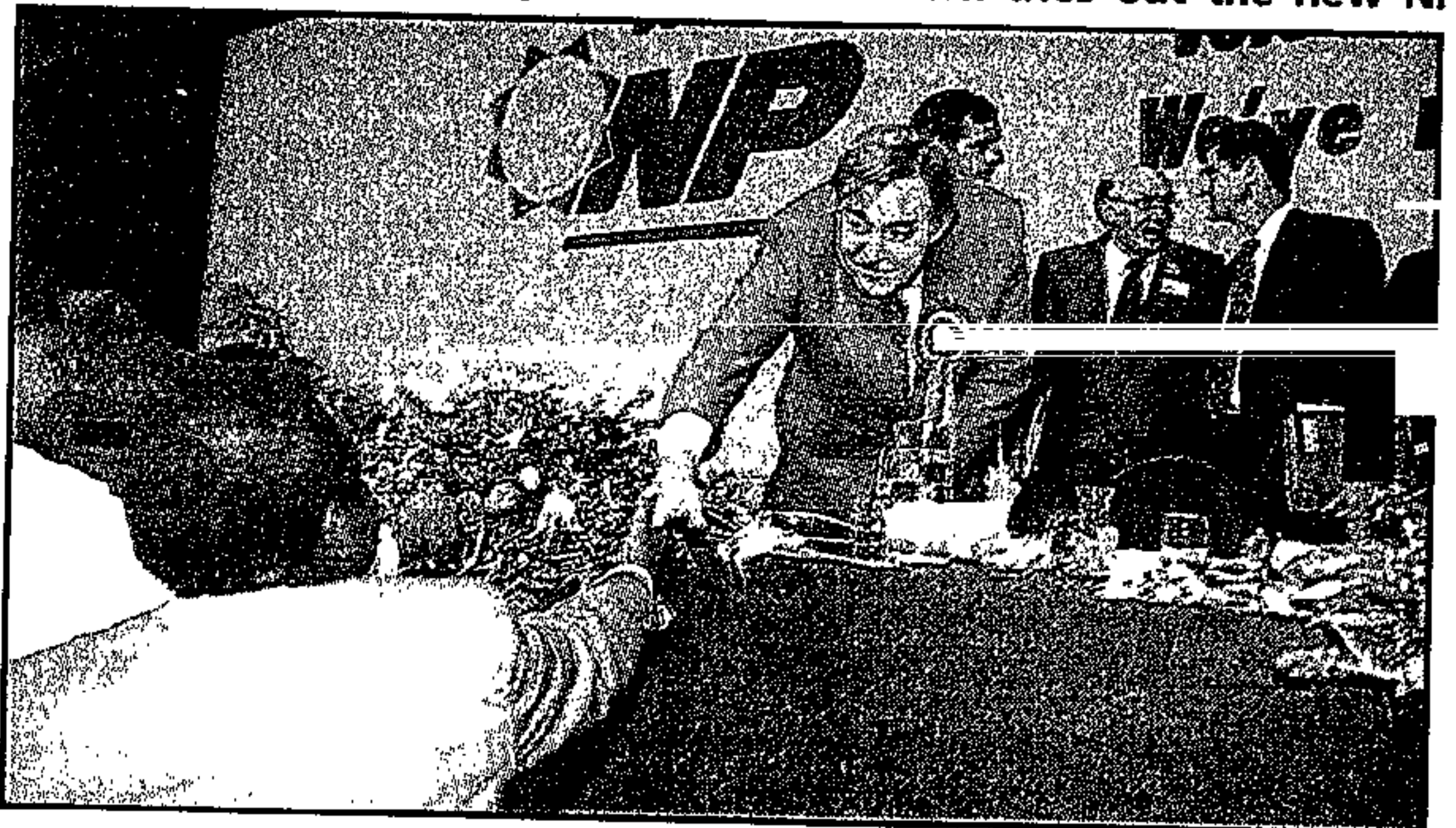
The black delegates — and there were lots of them — cannot simply be explained away as

ambitious, opportunist, ill-informed. Certainly there are some politicians among them. Jac Rabie, ensconced in the Cabinet and well up the election list, showed

The past i



IF THE SHIRT FITS: Party leader F W de Klerk tries out the new



SHAKE, BROTHER: Pik Botha greets one of the many black delegates at the congress.

Star 5/2/94

Is another country

304A



colours at the NP federal congress. ● Photographs: MYKEL NICOLAOU



PIK POWER: The Transvaal head of the NP leads election candidates in a rendition of *Shosholoza*.

himself a most versatile praise-singer of his leader, citing some Afrikaans verse to make his point: *Stil broers daar gaan 'n man verby. Kyk hom goed. Daar's*

net een soos hy.

Others like Peter Marais, an early floor-crosser from the Labour Party, raged against the ANC for promoting people "on the basis of skin

colour" and Dan Makanya from Natal said the Nats had "enabled me to get places where I would never have got to" — neither with a trace of irony.

But among the delegates were ordinary people as well, living proof that black political views can still divide and re-form on many lines and levels. The NP's willingness to say sorry seems to have counted for a lot. Said R J Mokotja, a provincial candidate in the Free State: "I made a thorough study of the National Party and its soul, and I came to the conclusion that the National Party stood accused in the court of its own conscience and returned a verdict of guilty against itself. And through that they proved their trustworthiness."

One 22-year-old former ANC activist from Orlando West — "the heart of the revolution", he calls it — said the NP congress had some disappointments. "I want to take these arguments back to the people but that is difficult because so many of the speeches are in Afrikaans," he said.

But he was through with the ANC. "Take the question of Mrs Mandela and Joe Modise on the election list. You can't take people who have been charged with serious crimes against our people. There are people in the ANC ranks who are not happy with the list. But the ANC's culture of democracy is not exercised. The only criterion used is who is speaking. I see that I've got no future there if my views can't be taken into consideration."

An NP activist from Bloemfontein's black township talked of relatives in exile who returned to broken promises and raised another grievance. "People say the ANC was founded right there in the Free State, but what has Mandela done for them?" he said.

"In the Free State we

are Tswanas and Sothos. The top 10 on the list are all Xhosas. This is going to be a government of Mandela's homeboys."

Credible black support and such comprehensive collective (and selective) amnesia about the past bear testimony to the remarkable ability of Nationalists to reinvent themselves.

But perhaps the most amazing reincarnation of all is the Nats' representation of themselves to the electorate as the opposition — not bad for a party in power for 46 years. "Let's vote the ANC out of power," said Marais in what really wasn't such a slip.

Since the past is the past, all the ills of the present are somebody else's fault.

And since the NP's manifesto is low on detail about what they will do in government, there is plenty of elbow room in which to hammer others. "It is highly irresponsible to promise an expectant electorate everything their hearts desire," said Health Minister Rina Venter — who limited herself to modest promises like clinics for all and 100 percent immunisation by the year 2000.

Delegates were clearly inspired. "In my wildest dreams I never thought it would be so exciting," said Willem Kruger, an East London businessman standing on the regional list. "I've been NP all my life but not actively. The people look so happy. I never thought this could be possible. It brings tears to my eyes. If we can carry this feeling to the outside, we've got to win."

Clearly the National Party believes in its reinvention without the slightest hesitation. Whether the electorate will remain to be seen.

Electoral body acts on farm ban

JOHANNESBURG. — The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is seeking an urgent meeting with the National Manpower Commission (NMC) about the Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) decision to prohibit political activity on members' farms.

In a statement yesterday, the IEC asserted its right under the Electoral Act to draft regulations granting political parties access

to private property to canvass for the general election. (304A) (45)

The IEC would consult key constituencies that might be affected by the TAU's decision before drafting the regulations, the statement said. CT5/2/94

The NMC includes representatives of all major employers, including the South African Agricultural Union, and the major trade union federations.

The SA Communist Party condemned the TAU decision yesterday as being against the principle of free political activity.

Its chairman, Mr Joe Slovo, said the matter should be taken up by the IEC and the Transitional Executive Council.

In a similar move the Free State Agricultural Union is to bar parties from establishing branches on farms. — Sapa

IFP will join April election at the last minute, say top insiders

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

INSIDERS in the hierarchy of the Inkatha Freedom Party predict that the party will definitely stand in the April election, even though another negotiation deadlock looms on Monday.

IFP sources said the party would stand under its own banner, not that of the Freedom Alliance.

They also said the Freedom Alliance would almost certainly reject the government's latest negotiation offer: a double ballot for national and provincial elections.

But alliance sources said late this week this would not mean the end of negotiations — an elaborate game of brinkmanship would continue.

Some alliance parties, notably the IFP, plan to announce their participation in the election in a wave of publicity as close as possible to the April 27-28 polling dates.

The alliance's official response to the latest offer is due on Monday, after its negotiators consult their leadership.

Alliance sources said it was a foregone conclusion that they would reject the package, on grounds that it did not go far enough in addressing the alliance's other demands.

However, alliance parties are likely to apply to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) for registration before next Saturday's deadline to keep their options open.

So far, no parties have registered, according to the IEC.

The participation announcement is expected at the 11th hour. Parties have until March 4 — 30 days after this week's promulgation of the election — to submit their lists of candidates.

The prospects of participation by the other major alliance partner, the Afrikaner right wing (including the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Conservative Party), are less clear.

However, alliance sources believe the chances are good that the right wing will participate even if the far-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging rejects the decision, as it did at last week's Pretoria rally.

Parting from AWB leader Eugene Ter-

■ To page 3

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IFP 'to join election at 11th hour'

From page 1

re'Blanche could help the rightwing election effort, as he is regarded as an embarrassment.

IFP negotiator Walter Felgate said the government's offer of a double ballot for national and provincial elections removed only one of five stumbling blocks.

"In the end any one stumbling block makes our entry into the election impossible."

The four remaining demands were:

- That provincial constitutions not be changed without the permission of provincial parliaments;

- Greater provincial autonomy, including exclusive powers, not merely concurrent powers;

- Provincial financing including taxation (the government has offered a concession here); and

- Self-determination — the main demand of the rightwing parties.

Government sources said the alliance would lose whatever moral high ground it had if it continued to stonewall despite the offer of a double ballot, which it had demanded.

The double ballot this week received support from business leaders, including the SA Chamber of Business.

The IFP would be the main beneficiary as many Natal voters may prefer to vote for the National Party at national level and for the IFP at provincial level.

A government spokesman said if the alliance continued to stonewall after this offer, they would be exposed as spoilers.

Double ballot now hangs on Freedom Alliance response

By EDYTH BULBRING and RAY HARTLEY

THE Freedom Alliance's response to the ANC tomorrow will determine whether South African voters will be allowed to exercise separate regional and national ballots in the April elections.

The Freedom Alliance, composed of Inkatha, the CP and Bophuthatswana, was told on Thursday by ANC negotiators that it had until tomorrow to decide whether it was prepared to be flexible in negotiations.

If it gave this commitment, concessions by the ANC would be presented to the alliance. However, the ANC insisted that the "package deal" be accepted by all three alliance parties — and accepted in its entirety.

"One of the problems we have had in talks over the past three weeks is that just when we think we are getting somewhere on one aspect, one of the parties in the FA takes a different position," an ANC negotiator said.

He said the ANC's package would satisfy some, but not all, of the demands of each party in the alliance.

Unless each party was prepared to give and take, he said, none of the concessions would be made and all three parties would lose out.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said on Friday the ANC was prepared to concede separate regional and national ballots for April's general election.

The ANC was also prepared to concede stronger fiscal powers to the regional governments and a clause in the constitution which does not preclude self-determination.

In return, the alliance would have to give an undertaking that it would participate in the elections and the Transitional Executive Council.

The ANC negotiator said he doubted that alliance negotiators would come back with a mandate for flexibility and that talks aimed at amending the constitution would grind to a halt.

At last, DP votes will mean something

THERE is, in Kimberley, some corner of a diamond field that is forever English-speaking, where one lunches at the Kimberley Club and belongs to the Democratic Party.

And where, election after election, one sees one's vote turn to chaff as the National Party wins yet again.

Not this time.

For the mostly middle-aged DP stalwarts of Kimberley, this election will be the first time in almost 40 years that their vote will get a DP member to Parliament.

Under the old constituency system, more than 160 000 DP voters around the country who in 1989 supported the party saw their votes count for nothing as the NP or Conservative Party winner took all.

Under the new proportional representation system, every one of those votes will count.

It takes one quarter of a percent of the total ballot cast to earn a seat: 160 000 votes could mean five seats.

By **CLAIRE ROBERTSON**
Political Reporter

Ever since the NP government brutally gerrymandered the young Harry Oppenheimer's Kimberley city constituency into Kimberlies north and south in the 50s — each with a chunk of conservative rural votes slapped on — winning has not been an option.

Supporters of the DP and its predecessors became used to treating their ballot as merely a personal protest against despised Afrikaner nationalism.

Turning the concept of a vote that counts into DP support will not be easy. The impact of proportional representation has been lost on many voters.

And local DP structures will have to work overtime to crank up their cobwebbed election machinery.

"We have not had politicking on a normal, healthy basis for years," said DP constituency chairman and Anglican priest Canon George

SI Times 6/2/94
Pressley, 68.

Supporters vote DP more out of cultural affinity than liberal conviction. (3014A)

Stalwart Lawrie Shuttleworth, 79, a city councillor for 25 years, is horrified to hear of "friends who cannot speak a word of Afrikaans" now supporting the NP.

"All my life I have prided myself on being able to see the difference between right and wrong, and there is no question that the NP has blatantly been in the wrong, blatantly oppressing the coloured races and treating the English-speakers like dirt all along to retain their own identity," he said.

"I just couldn't vote Nat. I just couldn't. It is disgusting that coloureds will vote for them."

However, Mr Pressley admitted the DP had been unable to attract and hold younger voters.

"You cannot enthuse young people with a cause where they don't smell a chance of victory," he said. Nonetheless, much of the North-

ern Cape is virgin territory for the DP, and the party is considering a political blitz on the area.

But it will have to contend with what DP party worker June van Wouw calls the "return of the swart gevaar".

NP scare tactics that worked so well in the past are once again driving former DP supporters into considering voting Nat.

Once it was revulsion at the CP's blatant racism that led traditionally DP supporters to bolster the NP.

Now "it's the fear of the black man and fear of the ANC and its policies that are making people think they have to vote for a strong white party", said Mr Pressley.

"There is still a belief that if you vote for a minority party, your vote will be lost because of the preponderance of ANC and NP supporters.

"This is not so. Voting for the NP will only nullify the liberal principles for which you stand."

FW rolls on the red carpet

C1A255

6/21/94

PRESIDENT FW De Klerk said on Thursday the ANC's economic policies would make it impossible for the organisation to implement its promises.

Interviewed live on national TV, he admitted that in many respects, the ANC and National Party manifestos calling for national reconciliation were similar, but "wild statements" by the ANC had already driven investors away.

He added the organisation's economic policies would not bring the capital required to build houses or provide the free health care it was promising. (304A)

"The difference is we will be able to make good our promises. We have the right financial policies," he said.

Close to 3 000 NP delegates and supporters packed the World Trade Centre at Kempton Park the day before to wel-

come the NP leader to a special congress with cheers and the singing of *Nkosi Sikelel' iAfrica*.

The congress was called to launch the party's election manifesto and discuss election tactics.

The congress is the largest held by the party to date and was certainly unprecedented in terms of the large number of black supporters present.

De Klerk's introduction and appearance on stage resulted in an erup-

tion of whistles, foot-stomping and the waving of thousands of NP flags.

On Thursday De Klerk said only the NP possessed the experience, resources and expertise to meet the challenges ahead.

In response, the ANC released a statement saying: "While the country is looking for solutions, the NP concentrates on red-scare tactics and undermining the future ANC government."

Cleaner aims to mop up support for the DP

By KHANGALE MAKHADO

A 26-YEAR-OLD Johannesburg flat cleaner hopes to become South Africa's future Law and Order Minister.

This is not just a crazy dream as William Masila is already on the Democratic Party's provincial list for regional legislators.

Although placed at number 82, Masila, of Malvern East, who only passed his matric three years ago, is optimistic that he might just make

it into the regional parliamentary structures.

His dream is threatened by the fact that while the list has 26 matriculants, the rest are highly qualified people with post-matric qualifications, some with strings of degrees.

Masila, who is vice-chairman of the Bedfordview unit of the DP, only joined the party in August.

He said he fell in love with the DP after reading about it and seeing its leaders on television.

"Although I have always been interested in political developments, I had decided against joining any party. But I couldn't resist joining the DP."

Another candidate is 30-year-old Jerry Magolego, vice-chairman of the Malvern branch. He is number 18 on the national legislature list and believes that if the DP came to power, the quality of life for all would improve.

He said the party would build schools and roads.

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'Personal criticism of De Klerk tasteless'

Ministers attack Mandela threats

Star 7/12/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

African National Congress president Nelson Mandela has come under heavy fire from two ministers and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) for some statements made on his election roadshow at the weekend.

All three warned that his threats to unleash unlimited violence against rightwingers could further polarise race relations.

Public Enterprises Minister Dr Dawie de Villiers, who is also Cape National Party leader, said Mandela's "tasteless, personal attacks" on De Klerk revealed a side of him "which bodes no good for South Africa".

De Villiers said the National Party leader had gone ahead with reforms "with great courage and conviction", in the process taking great political risks and opening himself up to bitter opposition from right-wing Afrikaners.

Mandela had to show the same kind of leadership.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel said Mandela's

THE National Party and AVF hit back at Mandela's comments over 'unleashing unlimited violence' against the Right

threats to use Umkhonto we Sizwe cadres to unleash unlimited violence against the Right showed there was no difference between the terrorism of right-wing extremists and "the violent instincts of the ANC/SA Communist Party".

Kriel said Mandela's threatened action would incite random attacks on innocent people by the Right and unleash a new cycle of violence.

He said the police had a proven track record — with an 80 percent success rate — against right-wing terrorism.

"This is a time-consuming process, but (it is) the only proven and effective method of effectively countering terrorism.

"Mandela's proposed solution of unlimited violence and indiscriminate violence will only recruit further support for right-wing terrorists and encourage them to commit even worse atrocities," he said.

In Bloemfontein yesterday, Mandela — whose threats were made when he commented about the latest series of attacks on ANC offices — again warned the right wing that the ANC could retaliate within weeks if its offices continued to be bombed.

He said if the Government would not act against white extremists, then the ANC would have to take steps "even before the election".

Responding to Mandela's threat, AVF spokesman Stephen Maninger said the AVF had neither given instruction nor planned in any way the activities which had taken place.

In stark contrast, the ANC had been "conducting large-scale violence in past bombing campaigns and later on under the cloak of mass action, wherein thousands of people have been murdered".

304A

DP launches poll drive in grand style

Star 7/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Hundreds of enthusiastic Democratic Party members flocked to Johannesburg yesterday for the American-style launch of the party's PWV election campaign. (304A)

The day-long meeting unanimously passed a resolution decrying detention without trial — for which it held the Government and the ANC jointly responsible — and vowed to fight against it.

The Transitional Executive Council, fearing political un-

► To Page 3

We deserve to be backed — De Beer

◀ From Page 1

rest, has not scrapped the controversial detention law, as it should have been according to agreements reached at multiparty negotiations.

Yesterday's DP launch, with an impressive array of experts lined up to guide the party's fortunes in the April election, provided a platform for DP leader Dr Zach de Beer to persuade the quarter of undecided voters to cast their votes for his party.

De Beer listed the DP's belief

in "the dignity and freedom of the individual human being" as the main reason why his party deserved to be backed in the election. (304A)

De Beer said the ANC and the NP could not be trusted as custodians of democracy.

He said just as the NP had "trodden (human dignity) into the dirt in the name of apartheid", the ANC remained in alliance with communists whose economic policies had ruined many a country.

The DP, De Beer said, believed in the firm maintenance of law and order, a decent standard of living for all South Africans through free enterprise and economic growth, corruption-free government, a well-cared for and pollution-free environment, streamlined education and health services and good international relations.

De Beer said other reasons for voting for his party included its belief in a simple, equitable and efficient tax system and small government.

Last-ditch FA response due today

Star 7/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC and the Government will be waiting to hear today if the Freedom Alliance will be flexible in its bid to extract last-minute constitutional concessions from them ahead of Saturday's registration for the April election.

FA members, given until today to consult their principals and return to the ANC and the Government with a guarantee of flexibility in the make-or-break trilateral talks, have until this Saturday to register if they want to contest the election.

According to provisions of the Independent Electoral Act passed by Parliament last year, parties which want to take part

in the election have to register within 10 days after the proclamation of the election.

With President de Klerk having signed the proclamation on Wednesday, the deadline for registration is now February 12.

The latest talks involving the three groups ended inconclusively on Thursday when FA negotiators could not guarantee flexibility in the discussions.

Demands (304R)

The ANC then refused to table its package of proposals aimed at ending the political impasse, and asked FA negotiators to consult their leaders and return to the ANC and the Government with a response today.

Only then would the ANC un-

veil its package.

Reliable ANC sources told The Star that the ANC's national executive committee had decided to accept the FA's demands for a two-ballot system in the election and some exclusive powers for regional governments.

At the same meeting, Government negotiators dangled a two-ballot system before the FA in exchange for the alliance's acceptance of the Interim Constitution and its participation in the election.

IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi indicated at the weekend that the IFP would not contest the election unless all of its demands were met.

"To date these two parties (the Government and the ANC)

have not accommodated our demands. If they do not agree to our amendments to the constitution, the IFP will not take part in the election," he said.

Should last-minute agreements be reached today, a final short session of Parliament would have to be held soon to amend the Interim Constitution.

Ammunition

Sapa reports that ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday said there was a lot of ammunition his organisation could use without guns to get parts of the FA to take part in the election.

This ammunition, he said, included continued negotiations with FA members and the withholding of funds to KwaZulu and Bophuthatswana.

Parties must abide by a tough conduct code

304A

CT 7/2/94 Political Staff

POLITICAL parties that register this week for the April 27-29 election will have to abide by a tough code of conduct, including a duty "to refrain from any action involving violence or intimidation".

Undertakings the parties will have to give in terms of the Electoral Code of Conduct include having to:

- Ensure that no arms or weapons of any kind are displayed at political meetings or in marches.
- Refrain from publishing or repeating false, defamatory or inflammatory allegations about any person or party in connection with the election.
- Do nothing to impede the democratic right of any party to have access to voters.

Action on farm votes

ST 7/2/94
JOHANNESBURG. — The Congress of South African Trade Unions would seek an urgent meeting with the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) on behalf of farmworkers prohibited by conservative farmers from voting in the April election, Cosatu spokesman Mr Neil Coleman said at the weekend.

He challenged President F W de Klerk to use his influence to open farms to free political activity.

Mr Coleman was reacting to the Transvaal and Orange Free State agricultural unions' stated intention to prohibit political activity on mem-

bers' farms. (21) (304A)

The ban on farmworkers' voting was an abuse of the farmers' position of power, he said, adding that as many as four million votes could be at stake.

"It is impossible to have free and fair elections under these circumstances."

Farmers were campaigning against the African National Congress, Mr Coleman said.

Cosatu had received numerous reports of farmers confiscating workers' identity documents, he claimed. — Sapa

Last-ditch bid to woo FA

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

INDICATORS as to whether there would be a peaceful transition to democracy in South Africa are expected this week when the Freedom Alliance responds to ANC compromises.

FA negotiators will respond today after consulting their principals following last week's talks between it, the Government and African National Congress, which ended inconclusively.

Clear signals over which parties would take part in the April 27 elections may also emerge following last week's failure to lure the FA into the process.

Today's trilateral talks between the

FA, ANC and the Government are probably a last-ditch effort to bring the alliance back to the transitional process after it spurned negotiations last year.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the organisation was prepared to back down on a single ballot system provided the FA committed itself to the Transitional Executive Council and the elections. (304A) (19)

The ANC was also prepared to concede stronger fiscal powers to regional governments and a clause in the constitution which does not preclude self-determination.

In return the FA would have to give an undertaking that it would take part in the TEC and elections.

The ANC said it would present its package deal, which will satisfy some, but not all, of the FA demands, once the FA gave its commitment to negotiations.

As election day is barely 80 days away and with some parties already electioneering hectically, President FW de Klerk's promulgation of the election date puts more pressure on FA members. The TEC will also get a shot in the arm with the appearance of KwaZulu commissioner of police Lieutenant-General Roy During before the TEC to testify on hit squads.

This followed the TEC's urgent court application to compel During to appear before it.

Low-key launch of DP's campaign

Sowetan 7/2/94
304A

By Mzimasi Ngudle
Political Staff

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S PWV provincial election campaign launch, a cheerful but humble occasion, took place in the opulence of the Carlton Hotel's ballroom in Johannesburg yesterday.

Despite the apparent incongruity between the glamour of the hotel and the squalor of black townships where about a quarter of party members live, the DP tradition towered above the two extremes and stood firm to its proclaimed democratic principles.

"For the Democratic Party and its supporters the matter is straightforward: they must gather as many votes as they can from every corner of the country, so that they can carry on in Parliament the fight which they conducted with so much distinction at Kempton Park.

"They will check the undemocratic tendencies of both the ANC and NP."

■ STEADFAST GRIP DP will

still uphold liberal principles:

DP leader Dr Zach de Beer quoted *Sunday Times* editorial comment on DP policy, the crux and significance of the DP's role in elections and a future government.

Democratic principles

The fanfare of the launch aside, De Beer reiterated the party's tenacious grip on democratic principles in his speech — principles the DP maintained throughout National Party rule and intends to uphold during transition and beyond.

"We have always been a party of principles and policies, not one of power and personalities," De Beer said.

These principles included the dignity and freedom of persons, decent material standards of living, maintenance

of law and order, corruption-free government, good education, improved health services, sound taxation and limited government.

"While the African National Congress and the National Party continue attacking each other, the DP will be there to defend the principles of democracy," De Beer said.

Like the NP, the DP provincial lists of nominees for both the National Assembly and the regional legislature included a number of blacks.

A strange nominee is Mr Walters Mojapelo, an ANC activist who appears number 11 on the DP's list for the National Assembly.

The ANC confirmed that Mojapelo was a member. Mojapelo could not be contacted for comment on his dual membership.

'We don't need guns to split the Alliance'

(3044) CT 7/2/94
TWEESPRUIT. — There was a lot of ammunition the ANC could use without guns to get parts of the Freedom Alliance to participate in the April elections, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday.

Mr Mandela was speaking in an interview on the road from Bloemfontein to Tweespruit in the Free State. He said negotiation and compromise between individual members of

the Freedom Alliance should break down the Alliance's resistance to the April election.

He has had talks with Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen who, he says, wants to avert any sort of violence.

About Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, Mr Mandela said in all respects of conversation but one, "he is a really understand-

ing and intelligent person".

"When it comes to politics things are different," he said.

Mr Mandela said the ANC refused to accept there were any no-go areas.

"I have successfully visited parts of KwaZulu where people are being killed and with a level of violence almost as high as on the East Rand, and drawn massive crowds

to hear me speak.

"There is no difference between that and the western Transvaal or the Free State," he said.

Referring to the stand taken by the Inkatha Freedom Party, Mr Mandela said compromises had come from both the government and the ANC, while the IFP wanted all its conditions met without making any concessions. — Sapa

DP announces its provincial leaders

JOHANNESBURG. — Yeoville MP Mr Douglas Gibson was named as the Democratic Party's PWV provincial chairman at the launch of the DP's election campaign here yesterday.

Hillbrow MP Mr Lester Fuchs, Benoni-based senior court interpreter Mr William Mnisi and Mr Robert Harpur, a human resources director from Pretoria, are his vice-chairmen.

On Saturday, the DP in Natal elected Pinetown MP Mr Roger Burrows as DP provincial leader at the party's annual provincial congress in Durban. Delegates from the party's five sub-

(304A) CT 7/2/94
regions in Natal also elected Durban North MP Mr Mike Ellis as the provincial chairman.

Previous DP leader in Natal, Mr Kobus Jordaan, will stand for national elections.

Addressing the launch of the DP's PWV election campaign yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said his party aimed to achieve high economic growth through free enterprise.

Backing his party's declaration of "clean hands", Dr De Beer said the DP had never been accused of any involvement in corruption. — Sapa

Parties must abide by a tough conduct code

CT 7/2/94 Political Staff

304A 277

POLITICAL parties that register this week for the April 27-29 election will have to abide by a tough code of conduct, including a duty "to refrain from any action involving violence or intimidation". Undertakings the parties will have to give in terms of the Electoral Code of Conduct include having to:

- Ensure that no arms or weapons of any kind are displayed at political meetings or in marches.
- Refrain from publishing or repeating false, defamatory or inflammatory allegations about any person or party in connection with the election.
- Do nothing to impede the democratic right of any party to have access to voters.

War of words as SA election debates take grip



Political Staff

IT was a weekend at the hustings for the Democratic Party, which held a regional congress in Natal and the launch of its PWV election campaign in Johannesburg, and for the African National Congress as ANC leader Nelson Mandela completed his first election swing through the Free State.

And it was a weekend of television debates, and of continuing uncertainty as the Freedom Alliance pondered without comment — the latest proposals from the government and the ANC to draw it into the transition process and the election. (See page 1).

In the Free State Mr Mandela cut short a rally in a township near Welkom as crowd-control collapsed with thousands of people surging in ankle-deep mud to see him.

Terrified children were passed over the heads of people near the front of the podium in Thabong Stadium, to be hauled to safety by journalists and Mandela's bodyguards.

"What happened here is a warning to regional leadership on how to organise for such an occasion," a visibly shocked Mr Mandela told the crowd beneath a forest of gaily-coloured umbrellas.

The crowd whistled and jeered when Mr Mandela said he was cutting short his address, more out of frustration than anger.

As he continued his swing through the region, Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gous said he was in favour of discussions with the ANC leader on political activities on farms in the province.

Mr Mandela requested the talks after the union's decision to prohibit the establishment of ANC branches on farms in the Free State.

Later, the ANC leader wound up the three-day election campaign swing through the Free State with a rousing speech to more than 30 000 people at Botshabelo Stadium, about 50km from Bloemfontein.

His last speech was the most vociferous. He spoke out against the NP government, which he said was trying to cling to apartheid structures and against Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope after roadblocks had been set up on the ANC president's route.

A remark by Mr Mandela that there would be "unlimited violence" in response to the Afrikaner Volksfront's threat of

Women urged to claim rights

JOHANNESBURG. — The Women's Lobby (TWL) is urging women to claim their group rights by joining forums on the restructuring of local government. (262) (355A)

TWL said on Saturday that women should become candidates in the local government elections expected to be held within a year, by developing high profiles in local volunteer bodies. — Sapa

ARG 7/2/94

"limited violence" drew a sharp rebuke from Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel, who said Mr Mandela's threat was "hysterical and irresponsible."

Mr Kriel said this was just terrorism in another form.

"Mr Mandela's proposed cure of further unlimited violence will be far worse than the illness itself and could incite random attacks on innocent people and unleash a new cycle of violence."

Mr Mandela's Free State campaign trip was billed as "on the road to freedom with the president" and there was no shortage of roads covered.

The trip took them to townships like Kutlwanong on the outskirts of the mining town of Odendaalsrus, where residents were not even aware the place had a name, to addressing businessmen in Welkom over a sumptuous lunch.

Speaking to white audiences, Mr Mandela warned of the potential danger of rightwing militance and said both whites and blacks would suffer from rightwing extremist attacks.

He visited schools, one a kindergarten near the malze-wealthy town of Bothaville — where he led the children in a version of *Twinkle, Twinkle, Little Star* — and hospitals, and he walked the muddy streets of the various townships, all quite a distance from the white towns in which the dwellers worked.

Opening the DP's Natal congress in Pinetown, DP leader Zac de Beer said the ANC excuse for a single ballot "is that their inexperienced supporters are incapable of handling two ballot papers".

"Two of the main opponents of a single ballot, two of the political leaders who most insistently demand a double ballot, are Clarence Makwetu and Chief Minister Buthelezi.

"They do not appear to be worried about the inexperience or incapacity of their supporters. It is only the ANC which thinks its own supporters are incompetent," said Dr De Beer.

It was a fundamental right of citizens to vote for one party at provincial level and for another party at the national level.

"I accuse the ANC and NP together of contempt for human rights, and contempt for South African voters, who they wish to manipulate for their own advantage.

"We insist that the double ballot is a matter of fundamental human rights — and fundamental human rights are what this party has always been about."

Dr De Beer confirmed that he had been in contact with the PAC and the IFP about a double ballot. "It is the intention to take the matter further," he said.

MP Roger Burrows was chosen as the DP's choice as premier for the Natal legislature.

Durban North MP Mike Ellis was elected provincial chairman. His two deputies are Mahmoud Rajab MP and Carol Charlewood MP.

Kriel declares support for

□ Political opponents from five parties come

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN
Political Staff

SO-CALLED cabinet hawk Hennis Kriel has come out in support of President De Klerk's reforms.

The Law and Order Minister said he had never opposed reform.

"I supported it," he said last night on TV.

His support for reform was why the National Party had made him its election candidate for Western Cape prime minister.

Also on the programme, broadcast live from the Civic

Centre, were regional African National Congress chairman Allan Boesak and Western Cape Democratic Party leader Hennie Bester, Mr Kriel's rivals in the Cape, Pan Africanist Congress national executive member Kwedi Mkalipi and Omar Parker of the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

Last night was the first time representatives of the five organisations faced one another live on television.

Programme host Leslie Mashokoe gave each one two minutes to tell voters why they should vote for them.

Mr Kriel earned a round of boos from the audience when he claimed the NP had changed the face of South Africa.

Undeterred, he added that the NP not only had the leader to govern South Africa, but was the only party that could guarantee peace.

Mr Parker said Wosa would not take part in the elections because it believed fundamental reform would not be delivered.

Mr Mkalipi said the PAC stood for peace, prosperity and co-operation, adding that the liberation movement was the

"only party that accused of being violence".

Long before it began it was bantering and between follow groups that the not be kid-gloved.

An NP guest asked Mr Mkalipi lied in "such as the St massacre."

"We have way to condemn innocent people," said, adding that ple's Liberation Sabelo Phama



RALLY CALLED OFF: A child is passed to safety as thousands of people crush together to hear ANC president Nelson Mandela at a weekend rally in Thabong township near Welkom. Mr Mandela called off the rally when the situation became chaotic because of the crush and drenching rain.

In Johannesburg, meanwhile, hundreds of enthusiastic DP members flocked to the city yesterday for the American-style launch of the party's PWV election campaign.

The launch began with an impressive array of experts lined up to guide the party's fortunes in the April election.

In a dignified but subdued speech, Dr Zac De Beer distinguished the DP from the ANC and the NP, saying the two bigger parties could not be trusted with being custodians of democracy.

He said that just as the NP had "trodden (human dignity) into the dirt in the name of apartheid", the ANC remained in alliance with communists, whose economic policies had ruined many a country.

At the DP's Johannesburg meeting, the ANC's inclusion on its election candidate lists of homeland "dictators" suspected of serious fraud was sharply criticised.

DP Johannesburg city councillor Anchen Dreyer said: "The

ANC has seen fit to include on their candidate lists previous homeland leaders — people who exercised their power dictatorially and against whom serious allegations of corruption have been made."

The ANC's response to corruption seemed to be to reward those responsible rather than to punish them, she said.

On television, battles raged between all the parties. In a Western Cape debate televised from the Cape Town civic centre, the ANC, NP, DP, and PAC dealt with issues from health care to housing, education and economic policy.

And representatives of various political organisations and parties in the Eastern Cape joined a live TV debate with the public in the newly-demarcated province on Sunday night.

Called *Democracy in Action*, it was the first of a series of SABC TV Agenda programmes broadcast live from the country's nine new provinces.

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VIEW PARIS FROM THE TOP

NOW

clares support for NP's reforms

ponents from five parties come face-to-face in debate

were regional African Congress chairman Boesak and Western Democratic Party leader Bester, Mr Kriel's rival in the Cape, Pan Africanist Congress national executive Kwebo Mkalipi and Parker of the Workers' Party for Socialist Action.

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"only party that can never be accused of being involved in violence".

Long before the programme began it was obvious from the bantering and jibes exchanged between followers of the groups that the questions would not be kid-gloved.

An NP questioner bluntly asked Mr Mkalipi if he believed in "senseless killings" such as the St James Church massacre.

"We have gone out of our way to condemn the killing of innocent people," Mr Mkalipi said, adding that Azanian People's Liberation Army leader Sabelo Phama was on record

as saying the PAC and Apla were not involved in the "killing at St James".

Dr Boesak fielded an underhand question from an NP supporter who wanted to know if he would let squatters sleep in his Constantia home.

Mr Mashokoe stepped in and said he would not allow the programme to degenerate into personal attacks. But Dr Boesak insisted on replying.

"It's a very simplistic way of looking at things," he said. "The NP must not do it. You'll solve the squatter problem by saying 'have a government that has a plan'."

With most of the audience coloured — clearly the group the ANC, NP and DP is out to woo — references to the squatter occupations of houses in Tafelsig, Mitchell's Plain, were not unexpected.

Mr Bester said the housing shortage could not be addressed by the occupation of homes.

Mr Kriel said people in the Western Cape were scared of what would happen if the ANC came to power because the movement had instigated the occupation of houses.

But Dr Boesak said the ANC, a giant among political parties, was being blamed for everything.

"We never said to people 'go and occupy houses'. Mr Bester knows that."

Mr Parker said it was "grossly unfair" of the DP and NP to blame the ANC for the housing shortage.

"It's the legacy of apartheid. The blame should be laid at the doors of the NP. Wosa believes housing is a right and not a privilege."

Colour, too, came into the debate.

Mr Kriel claimed there was "no such thing as a brown or coloured nationalist", and Mr Bester said the NP had branches for coloureds, whites and blacks in some towns.

DP election candidate Joey Marks was rapped over the knuckles by Dr Boesak after claiming the ANC's affirmative action policy was to the detriment of coloureds.

"People should read what the ANC says. Opportunities must be open to all who have been discriminated against," he said.

Mr Kriel turned on Mr Bester after he had criticised the big two parties in South African politics over the national peacekeeping force, and said: "The peacekeeping force is being managed by the Transitional Executive Council; not by the ANC and NP. Please, if you have any complaints, don't blame us."

Alliance unlikely to budge

Political Staff

EFFORTS between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance to reach agreement over the alliance's participation in the election are expected finally to fail today.

Government and ANC sources said today that it was over to the alliance, while alliance spokesmen maintained that a lot depended on the attitude of the ANC.

All they agreed on was that prospects for an agreement were not good.

At today's talks the alliance

was to react to government proposals offering a compromise on a double ballot for the national and the regional governments and taxation powers for regional governments.

The government has demanded that the alliance commits itself to taking part in elections and in transitional structures.

The ANC could also make a further offer about the powers of regional governments.

The alliance's executive committee met in Pretoria this morning. The three parties were meeting this afternoon.



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VIEW PARIS FROM THE TOP!

Freedom Alliance leaders to consider answers to govt and ANC

FREEDOM Alliance leaders meet today to formulate a response to government's latest proposals for ending the constitutional impasse, as well as ANC demands for more flexibility from alliance negotiators.

The next round of talks between the alliance, the ANC and government is scheduled for later in the day.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje insisted yesterday that his team had always been flexible and described the ANC's demand as irrelevant.

He said the ANC should table its own package of proposals so proper negotia-

tions on "the real issues" could begin.

Government's package, put to the alliance on Thursday, was not acceptable, but alliance leaders would discuss it and the ANC's demand.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman said government was disappointed with the alliance negotiators' stance. "It appears as if they want 100% or nothing. They do not seem to want a negotiated settlement. They want a negotiated surrender," he said.

Cronje said that as far as the alliance was concerned the talks were between it

BILLY PADDICK

2/12/94

and the ANC as there was already a "clear understanding" between government and the alliance. The only new issue between the two parties was the question of the double ballot. If the ANC and government were prepared to be flexible, a settlement could be reached.

The key issues still to be resolved were the powers and functions of regions, guarantees that provincial constitutions would not be overridden by central government and the double ballot.

Schoeman said he was close to despair over the protracted talks with the Freedom Alliance. If movement or compromise seemed likely, alliance negotiators appeared to become disappointed and move on to new issues, he said.

He said the ballot issue was a prime example of these tactics. "Last Sunday Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said the double ballot was the real issue and that it would unlock the door and break the impasse. But as soon as concession on this seems possible, it is not enough," he said.

"Since April last year we have had this pattern where the goal posts keep being moved. It seems that some parties, and even some members within these parties, don't want a settlement," Schoeman said.

On provincial taxation he said there was a "99% agreement among all the parties" and there had been reasonable progress on provincial constitutions.

"We have been discussing the powers and functions of regions for months and it seems that the way they are in the constitution now is the best possible arrangement we are going to get," he said.

economic policies depended upon which audience was being addressed.

Business bodies urge voter drive

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE Afrikaanse Handelsinstituut and Sacob have expressed concern at the extent of ignorance and confusion regarding voting procedures and eligibility to vote in the April election.

The Handelsinstituut said the Independent Electoral Commission should use existing structures to inform voters about election procedures. Certainty about what to do on election day would be vital to limit the number of spoilt votes.

Sacob labour affairs director Gerrie Bezuidenhout said the organisation had produced a voter education video aimed at small businesses and distributed election newsletters to its members.

According to the Independent Electoral Commission, SA permanent residents, including foreign passport-holders, would be able to vote at any polling station in the country.

Eligible voters not in possession of an SA ID document could apply for a voter's card from Home Affairs. SA citizens living overseas needed a valid SA passport to cast their special votes on April 26.

Potential voters can get further information from the commission's toll-free service on 0800-11-3739.

ROCKY and other volunteers offered the new recruits an army but had not signed up in advance crowded around the entrance after being refused admittance.

Slovo ready to meet farmers' union boss

MARIANNE MERTEN

SACP chairman Joe Slovo said at the weekend he was willing to meet Transvaal Agricultural Union (TAU) president Dries Bruwer to discuss the union's ban on political activity on farms.

The ban contravenes the Electoral Act. Bruwer said the union executive committee had mandated him to inform Slovo of the ban and warn him that farmers would resist the SACP.

He also alleged that according to a secret document the union received from "intelligence circles", the SACP had suspended its armed struggle only temporarily to take part in constitutional talks.

Slovo said he always welcomed dialogue and would meet Bruwer if approached without threats or intimidation. He knew nothing of the alleged document and believed it was an invention.

Slovo said the law did not allow the TAU to prohibit free political activity. The SACP would invoke the Electoral Act and other legislation to stop the union from carrying out its ban. The time had passed when farmers could treat their workers like prisoners, Slovo said.

An SACP statement challenged Bruwer to disclose the source of the document. It also challenged him to condemn

recent bombings of ANC offices.

Sapa reports that the Free State Agricultural Union has announced it will bar political parties from establishing branches on farms in the province. Free State Agricultural Union president Piet Gous said on Saturday that allowing political parties to organise on farms would be a recipe for disaster.

However, reacting to ANC president Nelson Mandela's request for talks to "avert a dangerous situation on farms", Gous said yesterday he favoured discussions with Mandela.

Gous said there were several important issues which should be discussed.

Meanwhile, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has asked for an urgent meeting with the National Manpower Commission to discuss the bans on political activity on farms.

An IEC spokesman said on Friday the commission could promulgate regulations to enable voter educators access to private property, but would first consult affected key constituencies.

Cosatu has also said it will petition the IEC on behalf of farm workers.

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discussed the new position, which triggered its recent
than fourfold to R51,8m (R9,5m) in the
period as all divisions turned in strong

DP election campaign stresses do-good image

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TIM COHEN

THE Democratic Party stepped up its election campaign yesterday by focusing on the party's "clean hands" image and its role as the guardian of human rights and civil liberties.

Opening the party's PWV region conference at Johannesburg's Carlton Hotel, leader Zach de Beer said unlike the ANC, the Inkatha Freedom Party, the PAC, the "white right" and government, the DP had never taken part in violence or even been accused of this.

About 700 DP delegates attended the meeting, held in a balloon-festooned hotel conference room, where they heard a series of speakers introduced to the strains of rousing pop songs, including the theme of the film Rocky and US president Bill Clinton's theme song Don't Stop.

De Beer provided 10 reasons South Africans should vote for the DP, in-

cluding that the party stood for the dignity and freedom of the individual, decent living standards, and the establishment of law and order.

In the DP's view, the purpose of government was to provide a framework within which people may be economically provided with the services they need to live their lives effectively, he said.

Conference chairman and MP Robin Carlisle introduced a motion, carried by delegates, critical of both government and the ANC for not scrapping detention without trial.

The meeting also focused on intimidation, with a variety of delegates complaining their campaigns had been hindered by threats of violence and incidents of intimidation.

Addressing the ANC, Carlisle said: "We fought for your political rights

for many years, now at least respect ours."

DP candidate David Unterhalter gave notice of the changes to the constitution the DP would seek, including greater federal powers and a new system to decide parliamentary candidature. (204A)

"A new ANC government with the NP as its junior partner will be tempted to fashion a constitution in the light of its political interests and not in the interests of a democratic political order," he said.

Speaking on the economy, MP Brian Goodall said only the DP could create the conditions which would allow the economy to grow and the standard of living to increase.

The NP had ruled for 45 years and per capita income was at the same level it was in 1967. The ANC's economic policies depended upon which audience was being addressed.

Self-defence units' revamp

Business bodies

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Star 8/2/94

Right in local govt drive

■ BY JACQUELINE MYBURGH

The right wing has embarked on a two-pronged campaign at local authority level to try to manipulate national negotiations in which it is attempting to claim a volkstaat for the Afrikaner nation (304A).

The first step was taken by a group calling itself the "Boere-Afrikanervolk" which called on local authorities to unilaterally declare themselves part of the volkstaat.

And in a statement yesterday, the Conservative Party-controlled Transvaal Municipal Association (TMA) said its 60 member councils rejected the

establishment of nonracial structures as required by the Local Government Transition Act.

TMA president Professor Ben van der Berg said yesterday that the TMA had no choice but to refuse participation in any nonracial forums.

"Members of the TMA will also not recognise any decisions made by established forums in their cities or towns," he said.

Government and ANC spokesman have repeatedly warned any local authorities that refuse to take part in the transition process that they would be forced to do so.

NEWS FEATURE *Women should be educated to use*

Women chary of using their power

Sowetan 8/2/94
30649

By Pearl Majola

WHILE WOMEN constitute 54 percent of the South African population it seems many of them are unlikely

to exercise their voting power.

This is part of the findings of a *Sowetan* opinion poll on voting patterns released last week and showing, among other perceptions, that 10 percent of the eight percent of people who say they will not vote are women.

According to the study of mainly urban communities countrywide, these women cited three main reasons for their decision — that they are sick and too old to vote or go to the polling stations; that they do not have identity documents and that they do not understand what is going on in politics.

They also cited fear of violence and intimidation, lack of interest in politics and being unsure of who to vote for as other reasons.

"There is a chance that these figures will have changed by election day and there may well be fewer women who do not want to vote," says Ms Helen Tyson of Market Research Africa.

Offer to women

Responding, Womens' National Coalition convener Ms Frene Ginwala said: "It is important for women to vote because it will not be enough for us if the only change we get after the elections is black men replacing white men in government.

"Political parties should start spelling out what they have to offer women, why women should vote for them. But this is also an opportunity that women should take advantage of to ensure change to improve their lot. We will still have to push, nag and challenge after the elections, but voting is a major step," Ginwala stressed.

Ginwala also said there was a need for intense voter education programmes by the IEC and that parties would have to undertake to abide by the provisions of the electoral code of conduct to ensure full participation of women in the elections.

Black Sash national co-ordinator for voter education Ms Gille de Vlieg said

BETTER LOT *Change is more*

than black men replacing white men:



Frene Ginwala ... to ensure change for the better.

women could be encouraged to vote if they were taught how to vote by other women.

"The patriarchal structure of our society also makes women feel intimidated. Feedback from our trainers is that the biggest problem to be overcome is male domination, which sometimes results in women trainers being denied access to some areas.

"Chiefs are suspicious of women entering their areas and educating women about voting," De Vlieg said.

"A lot of voter education is done by males and we believe it is very important for women to be educated by other women."

The Electoral Code commits the

parties to give effect to the following undertakings and stipulations in relation to women:

- To facilitate full participation by women in political activities on the basis of equality;

- Ensure free access by women to all public political meetings, facilities and venues;

- Respect the right of women to communicate freely with political parties and organisations; and

- Generally refrain from forcing women to adopt a particular political position or to engage in, or to refrain from engaging in, any political activity otherwise than in accordance with their free choice.

Talks at 'complete deadlock'

JOHANNESBURG. — Crucial talks between the government, ANC and Freedom Alliance ended in acrimony and "complete deadlock" last night.

The parties, which have until Saturday to register for the elections, said some progress had been made, but a settlement had eluded them. (304A)

ANC negotiator Mr Joe Slovo said the talks had reached deadlock.

Minister of Constitutional Development Mr Roelf Meyer said the Alliance had agreed to take part in elections and to renounce violence, but not to take part in transitional structures. CT 8/2/94

Alliance spokesman Mr Rowan Cronje of Bophuthatswana said the ANC would not give way on the right of a constituent assembly to rewrite regional constitutions.

The negotiators hope to meet again before Saturday. — Sapa

Cape voters in election tizz

Half of province's whites among April 27 'don't knows'

ART:8/2/94

HUGH ROBERTSON, Political Editor

(30/4)

More than one in 10 voters in the coloured community do not intend casting a ballot in the April election — and nearly half of all white voters in the Cape Province do not know for whom they will vote.

These are findings of The Argus-Marketing and Media Research poll.

The poll was conducted from November 29 to December 29 last year among 2 751 randomly chosen voters who were interviewed in their own homes, in their own language, by trained interviewers. Other details of the poll were published in The Argus last week.

The Cape Province was polled as a single entity and no separate polling was done in the Western Cape, which is to be a region on its own under the new constitution and in the April election.

Results indicate 11 percent of potential voters in the coloured community do not intend to vote at all, and that 33 percent remain undecided about which party to support.

Compared with a similar poll two years ago, the number of undecided in the community has risen by 13 percent.

But the degree of uncertainty is far higher among whites. A whopping 45 percent say they do not know which party they will support, compared with only 10 percent two years ago.

The high percentage of undecided voters in the Cape — far greater than the national average of 25 percent — is likely to make the Cape the most hotly contested battleground in the election.

Other findings show that:

- Slightly under 31 percent of whites in the Cape say they will support the NP, only eight percent will back the Conservative Party (compared with 17 percent two years ago), and the Democratic Party has the support of 8 percent of whites, compared with 22 percent two years ago.

- The National Party remains the first choice of 46 percent of coloured voters, down from 52 percent two years ago. Support among coloured voters for the ANC was 13 percent — the same level as two years ago, but coloured support for the Democratic Party has dropped from 13 percent to 8 percent.

- The Inkatha Freedom Party is supported by few coloured voters. A statistically negligible number of coloured males support the IFP, while only 4 percent of "coloured females" favour the party (up from 3 percent two years ago).

- According to the poll results, coloured females tend to be more conservative than coloured males, with women supporting the NP in greater numbers (50 percent) than males (42 percent), and males supporting the ANC in comparatively higher numbers (19 percent) than females (8 percent).

- The DP, likewise, has more than twice as many male supporters as female supporters (4 percent to 11 percent) in the coloured community.

- Support for the Conservative Party is non-existent in the coloured community, a situation which has not changed over the past two years.

- Looked at in total, the Cape — including the Eastern Cape and Border — shows the ANC with 45 percent of the total vote of all groups, the NP's 21 percent and the DP's 4 percent.

- In the Cape Province as a whole, only 2 percent of whites support the ANC, to 88 percent of blacks and 12 percent of the coloured community.

- Overall, the NP has lost 16 percent of white support in the province compared with two years ago, while the DP has lost more than half its white supporters.

DP

is not do

ARG 8/2/94 304A



DR de Beer, how do you see the Democratic Party and its future at the start of the final phase of the election campaign?

De Beer: All the indications reaching me show the party is functioning fairly normally, as it usually does.

Whether it is sufficiently geared up to election pitch I have some doubts. I think we still have to increase the intensity of our activities but a great deal of planning and preparation has been done.

The advertising campaign is due to break in about a week and this must do a great deal to increase awareness.

I have no doubt that in the rural areas our organisation is weak. It always has been.

We have never had any real strength in the rural areas. That is particularly a pity this time because of the high potential of the coloured vote here in the Western Cape.

I have encountered no reason to feel despondent about the party other than the opinion polls. I have to recognise the polls as being adverse. While I am by no means convinced that they are accurate, I do take them seriously. I do not seek to laugh off findings like that.

The ordinary yardsticks that politicians use like how many people turn up at your meetings, what is the general trend of the questioning, what is the response of people when asked for money; by all those criteria the DP is all right and should be considerably better off than the polls indicate.

Q: People say that you have "had it" politically. The Nats have stolen your policy, they are also going to scare people into voting for them. What do you say to that?

De Beer: When you say the Nats have "stolen" our policy, I prefer to say the Nats have "copied" our policy.

The difference between those two words is that when you steal something from somebody the original owner hasn't got it anymore.

But we still have this policy and we have it with the imprint that it has had, with minor adjustments, for 35 years.

If you look at the world of commerce you'll find it is a very common claim that this firm was established in 1907, Johnny Walker, born 1820, still going strong. In other words, in the world of commerce it is re-

cognised that to have genuinely upheld something for a long time gives you a credibility that does not exist in the Johnny-come-lately who has recently sought to copy your product. This is simply what we have to rely on. Of course it is irritating that the Nats are saying the same things now as we, while five years ago they were saying the opposite.

We will certainly see to it that people become aware of this.

It is very flattering in a sense that they copied our policy. It is also irritating, but we have to cope with it.

Q: How are you going to cope with the Nat propaganda, for instance that you really offer, as far as policy is concerned, no more than they can and that as a bigger, stronger party they are more likely to be able to implement their policies.

De Beer: Because we are positioned closer to the ANC it is easier for us to win votes from the ANC than it is for the Nats to do so.

Q: Along with this will be the Nat propaganda that, even with the system of proportional representation, a vote for the DP or other smaller political groups will be a "waste" of one's vote.

De Beer: The whole purpose and nature of the proportional representation system is that no vote is wasted.

Unless a party fails to register one quarter of one percent of the vote that party is in parliament. Every vote you cast for that party anywhere in the country helps to give it another member of parliament.

In the past the DP, realistically, was only interested in about a third of the constituencies. We never won more than a fifth. The highest percentage we ever won under the old system was 20 percent.

In the rest of the country votes cast for us in the other 80 percent of the constituencies

IS the Democratic Party a spent force? The National Party has "stolen" its liberal policies and will urge voters not to "waste" their votes by supporting the DP. The ANC dismisses it as an elitist, mainly white privileged group which chose to work inside the apartheid system. In a wide-ranging conversation with **TOS WENTZEL** of the The Argus political staff, DP leader Zach de Beer counters criticism of the party and points out that under the system of proportional representation in the April election no votes will be wasted.

were wasted. In half of the seats we did not even put up candidates, so people did not even have the opportunity to vote for us.

Now, if there are two votes for the DP in Soutpansberg, those votes are just as good as two votes in Parktown or Sea Point.

Q: How are you going to deal with the phenomenon of what I call the "De Klerk Nats", often people who are traditionally DP supporters but who are now, because of the attractive image of De Klerk, going to vote, not for the National Party but for De Klerk.

De Beer: I don't deny that De Klerk is a popular fellow and of course a party with a popular leader has an advantage.

To that extent there is not very much I can do about the fact that certain people like Mr De Klerk.

I am certainly not going to set about a campaign of "beswaddering" or personal attacks on De Klerk.

Let's see how he gets through the election and how he looks at the end of it.

He's had his ups and downs in popularity in the last three or four years and this could change again.

If you are simply asking me whether people will vote Nat because they like De Klerk I am saying Yes.

Q: I went for trips into the platteland a few months ago, up the West Coast and back through through towns like Hopfield and Malmesbury and another trip to Worcester and back through Rawsonville and Paarl.

I found that outside Cape Town there was hardly any DP presence or organisation, anything at all, although there is potential support for the party.

De Beer: I can't answer in detail about the organisation in the Western Cape but as reported to me there are branches now among the coloured people in areas where

there have never been branches before and these branches are active.

What an active branch implies is, of course, not necessarily contact with every member of the community. For that you have to have superb organisation and it is generally true that our party was traditionally an urban party and that it has had limited resources which have tended to be concentrated in the urban areas.

Q: While there is hardly any DP presence on the platteland you are also seen as the well-off city liberals.

De Beer: In the past, when only white people were allowed to vote and people of colour were not allowed in parliament it is perfectly true that the people who supported us tended to be rich and liberal.

People supported us because we stood for equal rights. Among white South Africans it was always true that the better-off and the better-educated a white South African was the more likely he was to be liberal.

This was perfectly logical. Your doctor, your lawyer, your businessman doesn't fear fair competition from people of colour.

It is what used to be called your "poor white" who tended to be a racist, who tended to be very conservative in his views.

Over the years we tried very hard to pick up some support everywhere but we found we could best pick it up among rich liberals as you say.

I fought Maitland for the Progressive Party in 1961 and I came third of three. In 1989 I fought Parktown for the DP and won by four votes to one.

Q: What financial resources does the party have?

De Beer: We've got millions but we don't have anything like the resources the ANC and the Nats are going to have. We certainly are in sound financial shape and we shall be able to finance the campaign which we

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Unhearted



Picture: HANNES THIART, The Argus
DP leader Dr Zach de Beer

how well do you think it can do?

De Beer: I don't know how well we are going to do but I am not despondent. I think we are going to be back in parliament with a respectable body of people.

Q: Might you also be in the Cabinet?

De Beer: I think we will probably have the five percent required for that and then we must decide what to do about that, whether we want to be in the Cabinet or not.

Q: What do the National Party and the ANC look like to you these days?

De Beer: The Nat Party looks to me as it always has. Its politicians are very skilled operators who want to retain power and privilege for themselves as far as they can. They are survivors and I respect that ability.

This time, however, they do not have a snowball's hope in hell of winning. The question is whether the Nat vote is going to be 12 per cent or 25 per cent.

The ANC is obviously riding the crest of an "Uhuru" wave. The mass of the people in the country have the sense that freedom is now coming, and equal rights, and they are going to thank the ANC for doing this. That is by no means altogether wrong.

The ANC has played a major role in the liberation process. My problem is how the ANC is going to govern this country and what skills and aptitudes it has for this purpose.

I am extremely afraid that the ANC is going to choose the populist option. The manifesto they published the other day was really just a long list of what they will give to everybody without a price tag attached.

Q: Are the Nats and the ANC really fighting each other all that hard?

De Beer: The Nats and the ANC have in fact been scratching each other's backs for all they are worth.

Take the agreement on the constitutional court which the DP had to come and upset. The Nats actually agreed with a political appointment of that court.

The single ballot is something only the ANC wants but the Nats have gone along with this presumably for some corresponding concession the Nats have made to them.

ave planned.

Q: Will you have a manifesto and what will its main points be?

De Beer: There is a manifesto and it will be issued soon.

The major points in it are going to be our claim to be the genuine party of human rights, civic responsibility, in other words as one academic has described us, the "pacemaker generals".

We are the party with the soundest economic policy. We have always been a free enterprise party but with a social conscience.

We have policies which are more growth-oriented than those of anyone else and more capable of attracting investment. It is only through growth that jobs can be created in South Africa.

We will therefore claim that we are better able to create jobs than other parties and that we understand far more about the management of the free enterprise economy.

If you consider my own background and that of Ken Andrew (DP national chairman) there are very few people

in the other parties who can match our direct experience.

Then, too, we are the party of peace. We are the only party which has never been accused of perpetrating political violence.

In the case of the National Party of course it was done through the police and military intelligence.

The ANC and Inkatha are killing each other all the time. This has been confirmed by the Goldstone commission. The PAC is also involved in violence. We are the only ones with clean hands.

Our main points therefore will be democracy, jobs and peace.

If you look at the world in terms of individual people, if you agree that the highest value is the dignity of the individual human being, the Democratic Party is your party.

If you prefer to think of a race or cultural group within which the individual is submerged, you will vote for one of the other parties.

Q: To sum up. You are not despondent about the party's future, you think it will do well,

During to appear before TEC about KwaZulu hit squads

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The spotlight at today's Transitional Executive Council meeting will fall on the appearance of KwaZulu Police Commissioner Roy During.

Lieutenant-General During had — on the instruction of KwaZulu Chief

Minister and Law and Order Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi — been giving the TEC a cold shoulder since December.

However, in an about-turn General During agreed in an out-of-court settlement on Friday to attend today's TEC meeting.

He was first requested to attend a

TEC meeting in December after the Goldstone Commission found that a hit squad, comprising KZP members, had been killing people in Natal.

General During consistently refused to hand over any information about the hit squad or the possible existence of others.

As a result of his persistent refusal

to co-operate with the TEC, the country's first representative statutory body decided to take legal action against General During.

It is expected that Ciskei's participation in the TEC will be finalised at today's meeting.

It was also expected that the body would deal today with repression in Bophuthatswana.

ET calls for Afrikaner volkstaat referendum

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

IRREPRESSIBLE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has promised to give up and go home if Afrikaners do not want a volkstaat after all ... but they must be given a referendum to decide the issue.

This was in sharp contrast to his incendiary remarks at the weekend when he warned that South Africa would "look like Guy Fawkes" if Afrikaners did not get their homeland.

And he told television viewers the ANC's threat to deploy MK against the right wing "gives me a laugh."

Further afield, the ANC has a homeland headache of its own: General Bantsoeng's use of detention without trial is proving something of an embarrassment.

But the ANC won't admit it.

In the Transvaal, avuncular Communist Party chief Joe Slovo meets farmers today to allay their fears

about the future ... and try to ensure that his campaigners can reach the rural voters.

The willingness or otherwise of farmers to allow campaigners from the liberation alliance organisations to address farmworkers has emerged as a key concern.

With the election campaign hotting up — just 12 weeks to go before the poll — the Pan Africanist Congress is to launch its campaign in Zandela



township outside Sasolburg at the weekend.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu will deliver the keynote address and the organisation's manifesto will be released.

Spokesman Jaki Seroke said the launch would be an out-and-out African affair.

But the PAC's election lists for the National Assembly and provincial legislatures have not been finalised, and will not be released at Sunday's launch. These are expected next week.

The African National Congress evaded suggestions that a prominent candidate on its list, General Holomisa, was flouting the organisation's policy on detention without trial.

Nazuo Maitwane, suspected of involvement in the SADF raid on an Umata home in which five youths were killed, has been held in detention under section 47 of the homeland's Public Security Act for the past four months.

Alliance talks deadlock again, but time running out

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Three-way talks between the government, ANC and Freedom Alliance have deadlocked again.

But the transition process is fast beginning to dictate the deadline for these negotiations, with parties having to register by Saturday to take part in the election.

Any agreements reached after the

weekend are unlikely to be given effect through constitutional changes before the election.

Alliance negotiators said last night the deadlock arose out of the ANC's inflexibility in refusing to enshrine the right of the nine provinces to write their own constitutions without restrictions from the constitution-making body.

However, government and ANC negotiators interpreted the talks differ-

ently.

SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo said unless the FA showed flexibility in negotiations "there is no hope" in continuing talks.

Discussing the FA's stance, ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said his organisation had gained the impression that talks would not succeed unless all the FA's demands had been met.

Mr Slovo accused the FA of shifting the goalposts in talks.

Boesak tops ANC's final election list

TOS WENZEL
Political Staff

WESTERN CAPE leader of the ANC Allan Boesak tops the final list of the movement's candidates for regional government in the region, while Johnny de Lange is top of the list of candidates for the National Assembly.

Dr Boesak has been named candidate for the premiership of the region. On the list released by the ANC last night, the other 20 candidates for the National Assembly are:

Salie Manie, Naledi Pandor, Danny Ollant, Jonathan Arendse, Nomatyalala Hangana, Rob Davies, Butelani Ngcuka, Jean Benjamin, James Swigelaar, Amos Lengisi, Gertrude Pester, Christmas Tinto, Ngconde Balfour, Mildred Lesela, Essa Moosa, Mavis Makeleni, Graeme Bloch, Amanda Youngie, Zola Ngose and Alan Roberts.

Other candidates of the ANC, including Jan van Eck and Jannie Momborg, are on a central list for the assembly.

The other 41 candidates for the Western Cape legislature are:

Cameron Dugmore, Vincent Diba, Lerumo Kgatlo, Johnny Issel, Hilda Ndude, Chris Nissen, Ebrahim Rasool, Tasneem Esson, Leonard Ramallakane, Nomatyalala Mfeketho, Russel McGregor, Rose Sonto, Lynne Brown, Tony Ruiters, Yusuf Gabru, Garth Strachan, Joe Cupido, Rampl Ramot-samuel, Nontsikelelo Mgeyiza, Virginia Engel, Enver Daniels, Theresia Sotomon, Rashida Abdullah, Noel Williams, Laival Reid, Sorub Oosthuizen, Rhoda Joemat, Stan Nyongwana, Lizo Ngqunwana, Mcebisi Skwatsha, Connie September, Arthur Jacobs, Dhesigen Naidoo, Xoliswa Sibeko, Mbulelo Grootboom, Ben Tenginifene, Lizo Kapa, Zora Mhlohlakulu, Mandla Gxanyana, Neville Naidoo and Nobom Santo.

GAVIN DU VENAGE

CP rejects threat to councils

RIGHT-wing town councils would not be subject to state funding and therefore would not be vulnerable to threats to cut off revenue if they refused to subject themselves to local government forums, CP local government spokesman Pikie Coetzee said yesterday.

Local Government Transition Act, they could be deprived of funds. CP-run councils would be "relieved" of outside interference by appointed government officials when a volksstaat was established, Coetzee said.

Meanwhile, Transvaal Municipal Association president Prof Ben van der Berg said right-wing councils in the Transvaal would not recognise local negotiating forums or any decisions they made. The association would continue to hold discussions with the Transvaal Administrator, but would not subject itself to local forums.

Van der Berg said the association's position was that any local government deal settled with right-wing municipalities had to be tied to the right wing's demand for a volksstaat. The TMA had taken part in discussions with the local government negotiating forum last year (2044).

An agreement was reached that would allow right-wing towns to maintain autonomy while co-operating with surrounding townships. This agreement would operate until local elections later this year. However the association refused to take part in last month's summit on local government, which was held to publicise the deal. Last week a number of right-wing councils received letters, purporting to come from the Afrikaner Volksfront, calling on municipal officials to erect banners proclaiming their towns as part of the volksstaat, and call on councillors to swear allegiance to the volksstaat. The municipal association had distanced itself from the letter, saying it could not expect appointed officials to rebel against the law.

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NOTICE TO SHAREHOLDERS

Shareholders are advised that W&A's forecast of a return to profitability and dividend payment in 1993, as noted in previous announcements will not be met.

Peace station

to take to air
A NEW radio station, Peace 2000 FM, aimed at providing "hope and vision" to South Africans, will be launched on February 14.

The National Peace Secretariat, which set up the station, said yesterday it would be based at the Waterfront Audio Company on the Cape Town waterfront. It would broadcast for a minimum of four-and-a-half hours, between 11.30am and 4pm, each day.

While the main focus of the station would be peace and the management of conflict in the form of discussion forums, pre-recorded documentary programmes and talks shows, it would also feature music, regular news broadcasts, entertainment and weather bulletins. Well-known professional broadcasters would form the core of the station staff and management. — Sapa

Sanctions Worked — FW

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk admitted for the first time yesterday that international sanctions had been a key factor in crippling SA's economy.

He also heaped blame for the country's ills on the shoulders of the ANC. Speaking at a Radio 702 breakfast address to businessmen, De Klerk painted a picture of a squeaky clean NP. He said ANC president Nelson Mandela had criticised government for the parlous state of the country —

listing violence, the crisis in education, housing shortages, the breakdown of services, and widespread corruption and maladministration as the key areas. But it was the ANC that was responsible for all these.

He accused the ANC of deliberately sidelining the Inkatha Freedom Party and its leader Mangosuthu Buthezi. It was the ANC's political intolerance that was responsible for most of the violence.

"The NP did not create the crisis in black education. We were well on our way to addressing many of the problems in this regard... For years we

have been building a new school on nearly every day of the year... The crisis in education has, on the contrary, been caused by the disruption of education by teachers and students who claim to support the ANC alliance," he said.

The same was true of the disruption of services and the provision of housing in black urban areas. "It is the ANC's own supporters who have been responsible for the rent and services boycotts which have crippled local authorities and chased property developers out of the townships."

"As for allegations of corruption and maladministration, it is ironic that some of the main culprits have been homeland leaders who are now included in the ANC's own election list. Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa is also high on the list, even though he is a military dictator and presides over one of the most corrupt and inefficient regimes in Africa," De Klerk said.

"Neither is the NP responsible for

poverty in SA. One of the main problems was the effect on our economy of the international sanctions campaign spearheaded by the ANC."

De Klerk said the future lay in the country's ability to assure rapid and sustained economic growth, the only way wealth could be redistributed.

There was only one formula for this: free enterprise based on hard work, good management, fiscal responsibility, imaginative entrepreneurship, and a co-operative and mutually beneficial relationship between labour, business and government, De Klerk said.

ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa, responding to De Klerk's allegations, said it was strange De Klerk had such a short memory and "does not realise that it was his NP that created the crisis in the first place".

Mamoepa said: "Who wasted millions of rands fostering the homelands on the people, millions for toilets in the veld, millions paid in pensions to people who were dead, millions on ministerial perks?"

The fundamental problems of SA were the policies of the NP, he said.

TEC under fire over Section 29

TIM COHEN *BIDAY*

A GROUNDSWELL of opposition is developing against the TEC's decision to retain the notorious Section 29 of the Internal Security Act until after the election, with advocates, the DP and the PAC objecting yesterday. 8/2/94

The General Council of the Bar, which represents advocates, expressed dismay at the decision. Council chairman Wim Trengove said detention without trial was unacceptable in a free society.

"Any decision to retain detention without trial would also fly in the face of the principles enshrined in the new constitution."

The section would allow the detention of anyone planning to violently promote any constitutional, political, industrial, social or economic aim for up to 10 days. Police could seek a Supreme Court order to hold detainees for a further 10 days. (304A)

The TEC resolved that the Abolition of Restrictions of Free Political Activity Act, intended to scrap all repressive laws, should be implemented — except for the provisions of Section 29. But no final decision had been taken and the matter was referred to the TEC law and order subcouncil.

DP TEC representative Colin Eglin said he had asked the TEC secretariat to request the subcouncil to report its decision today, giving notice that he intended to oppose the resolution.

The PAC said it strongly condemned the TEC's plan to reverse an earlier decision to repeal Section 29. It said the TEC had now decided to openly join the "oppressive institutions of the racist regime".

The decision was reversed so that the section could be used against African people "when they rise against the fraudulent ANC-NP deal", said the PAC.

The Black Sash has already objected to the TEC resolution.

● Comment: Page 12

KwaZulu police chief faces TEC 'grilling'

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — The appearance of KwaZulu police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During before the TEC today would mark a symbolic and legal victory for the TEC in its quest to wield authority over the homeland, a TEC source said yesterday. *BIDAY*

After two months of ignored requests, During will appear before the TEC to give evidence on the possible existence of hit squads in the KwaZulu police force. 8/2/94

A TEC media liaison officer said During would be "grilled" rather than humiliated. (102)

During agreed to appear before the TEC after an out-of-court settlement between the TEC and KwaZulu on Friday.

Sapa reports that During's lawyer Patrick Falconer said During would appear before the TEC in his private capacity and not as KwaZulu police commissioner. In this way KwaZulu would not appear to be recognising the TEC, he claimed.

The encouragement of free political activity in Bophuthatswana is also on today's TEC agenda.

Other matters on the agenda include the budget, the reportedly shambolic state of the national peacekeeping force, and an update on the East Rand peace and reconstruction plan.

TEC delegates are also expected to voice their disapproval of Home Af-

fairs Minister Danie Schutte's decision to grant temporary broadcasting licences to 15 radio stations.

TEC DP representative Colin Eglin has warned earlier that he would call on the TEC to scrap Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

Amendments to the Internal Security Act, as well as several other Acts, are being considered by the TEC law and order subcouncil in relation to the Abolition of Restriction on Free Political Activities Act.

Our Political Staff reports that a Ciskei government spokesman said yesterday that Ciskei had applied for TEC membership for the second time.

A TEC source said its application would be considered by the TEC today. The application had been rejected last week as Ciskei had not carried out the conditions for TEC membership.

These were that the "Kempton Park" Bills should be passed in homeland territories. They include the Electoral Act, the Independent Media Commission Act, Independent Electoral Commission Act and Independent Broadcasting Authority Act.

These had been passed by the Ciskei council of state last week and the path was finally open to joining the TEC, the source said.

DP demands Kotze's dismissal

LLOYD COUTTS

is that by using inflammatory language, Kotze is endangering the lives of policemen by setting them up as enemies of the ANC," he said.

Andrew said the DP would instruct its representative on the TEC's subcouncil on law and order, Peter Gastrow, to raise the issue as a matter of urgency. (304A)

Kotze described the accusation that he was endangering the lives of policemen as laughable. 8/2/94

THE DP has called for the dismissal of Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze after what it called his "savage and unwarranted" attack on ANC president Nelson Mandela during a radio interview yesterday.

Kotze was interviewed on the ministry's response to a threat by Mandela that force could be used to counter right-wing attacks on the ANC.

DP federal council chairman Ken Andrew said it was inappropriate for a public servant to involve himself in political controversy. *BIDAY*

"What makes this worse, however,

ANC, NP bury hatchet

Sowetan 9/2/94

THE Soweto branches of the National Party and the African National Congress have decided to bury the hatchet and to promote political tolerance among their members.

(115) (304A)
This follows an incident last week in which NP executive member in Dlamini, Mr Colin Buthelezi, was allegedly shot at by ANC Youth League members.

Four students at Dlamini's Ibhongo High School were later arrested and charged with intimidation and attempted murder.

The four reportedly shouted that they would remove the NP from the township.

In a joint statement released after a meeting in the township, NP election coordinator Mr David Chuenyane and ANC branch spokesman Mr Norman Prince said both parties agreed to have the charges dropped.

The parties also committed themselves to political tolerance and to work towards "creating an atmosphere conducive to campaigning by both parties in Soweto".

It was also agreed that any future disputes should be resolved through the Greater Soweto Peace Committee and the Wits-Vaal Peace Secretariat.

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Prospects for a smooth transition were hit hard last night when Freedom Alliance (FA) leaders said they would not go back to the talks table unless the Government and ANC made further concessions.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje told a press conference after a meeting of FA leaders in Pretoria yesterday that the alliance stood firm on its demands for regional autonomy.

Last night's announcement followed indications earlier in the day that the right wing appeared to be bracing itself for a campaign of resistance.

Some members of conservative organisations have begun to talk openly of civil war.

Cronje said last night that unless there was a new move from Government and ANC negotiators, no settlement would be reached before the weekend deadline for parties to register for the election.

The FA insisted that the central government should not be allowed to reduce the powers and functions of regional government. "If these minimum powers and functions are not guaranteed, so that they cannot be reduced, it makes all provincial powers meaningless."

The hardening of the right wing's stance was also shown earlier yesterday by AVF co-leader General Tienie Groenewald, who said in a radio interview it appeared the organisation would have to consider a phase of resistance.

Sapa reports that Groenewald said passive resistance would be organised around conservative local authorities and could include mass demonstrations, strikes, stay-aways, civil disobedience — where people would take the

ALLIANCE stands firm on its demands for regional autonomy, says Rowan Cronje after meeting in Pretoria



law into their own hands — and the creation of alternative government structures.

AVF spokesman Stephen Maninger told The Star: "We are sliding towards civil war."

The AWF issued a statement in which it used profanity to mock ANC leader Nelson Mandela's threat to use Umkhonto we Sizwe against right-wingers.

The turning up of the heat by the Right follows a recent briefing by the SADF's general staff to President de Klerk and his Cabinet in which it is understood that the issue of right-wing resistance was aired.

■ Reacting to the alliance press conference, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said the alliance was making a big mistake by deciding to walk away from negotiations as no party could refuse to negotiate. Both he and Mandela said they hoped individual parties within the FA would take part in the election.

(Report by C Whitfield, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Right is set to resist

No more talks without further concessions, says FA

Star 9/2/94

304/17

11/2

DP list for the PWV

THIS is the DP PWV provincial list for the National Assembly.

1 Anthony Leon. 2 Douglas Gibson. 3 Robert Harpur. 4 Lester Fuchs. 5 William Mnisi. 6 Solomon Verveen. 7 David Unterhalter. 8 Paige Cuffe. 9 Mike Waters. 10 Andrew Levy. 11 Walter Mojapelo. 12 Tony Dutton. 13 Frederik Nel. 14 Merle Karp. 15 Michael Mosehla. 16 Michael Smuts. 17 Manichand Beharilal. 18 Jerry Magolego. 19 Louis Coetzee. 20 Nina Romm. 21 Melanie Walker. 22 Victor Simelane. 23 Brian Benfield. 24

(304A)
Paul McNaughton. 25 Val Mickleburgh. 26 Carveth Geach. 27 Fran Cleaton-Jones. 28 Isaac Reznik. 29 Mike Reynolds. 30 Goodness Nkomo. 31 Anthony Still. 32 Marie Phitidis. 33 Gillian Noero. 34 Zilla Graff. 35 Zebulon Mdlalose. 36 Hendrik Kruger. 37 Trevor Franklin. 38 Andrew Scott. 39 Timothy Sargeant. 40 Heather Frielinghaus. 41 Mervyn Naidoo. 42 Dennis Hunt. 43 Mark Tapping.

Star 9/2/94

Schabort quits the AVF

Afrikaner Volksfront council and transitional assembly member Professor Johan Schabort has resigned from all his AVF posts, accusing the organisation's leadership of betraying the Afrikaner nation and of reaching secret agreements with the African National Congress and South African Communist Party.

Yesterday he published a copy of a letter outlining his grievances with the AVF negotiators: "secret, left-wing and treasonous concessions to the communists" while keeping their followers in the dark.

Schabort said it was ANC strategy to keep the right wing

occupied in negotiations until the election to prevent a right-wing rebellion. (304 A)

He doubted whether the nation could trust the AVF's negotiating team, the directorate of generals and the AVF executive committee.

"In this hour of crisis the volk cannot afford such leaders," he said.

Schabort said AVF negotiators were pursuing a secret, watered-down, multiracial volkstaat, without any real sovereignty.

They were prepared to surrender more than 80 percent of white-owned land and infrastructure. — Sapa.

3 days left to register

By Lulama Luti and
Themba Molefe

ONLY three days remain for parties outside the transitional process to decide whether they will take part in the coming election.

In particular, parties inside the Freedom Alliance might go into the political wilderness if they do not register.

Last night all hopes of the FA taking part in the election were dashed.

FA chairman Mr Rowan Cronje, Bophuthatswana's minister of state, told a media briefing that alliance leaders felt they could make no "further concessions" to reopen the talks.

Unless there was an initiative from the Government/ANC side, the deadlock would remain and the Saturday deadline for registration would come and go without FA parties joining the

election process.

A major component of the FA, the Afrikaner Volksfront, has meanwhile threatened to embark on a passive resistance campaign to back its demand for a *volkstaat*.

Hopes for an all-inclusive settlement were thwarted on Monday after talks between the FA, the Government and the African National Congress collapsed. (BOHA)

The FA comprises the Inkatha Freedom Party-KwaZulu government, Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana.

The ANC has since indicated disinterest in continuing the talks with the black and white rightwingers.

ANC negotiator Mr Mohammed Valli Moosa said the organisation had "bent over backwards" to accommodate the FA which was not "flexible" in its

demands.

"What more can we do? As soon as we make a concession in one area they shift the goal posts. A negotiated agreement requires flexibility from all parties with regard to their demands," he said.

Moosa said the FA had come up with a new set of demands, chief among which was that the provisions in the Interim Constitution should be binding on the Constituent Assembly.

He said no further meetings were planned between now and Saturday.

The South African Press Association reports that AVF co-leader General Tienie Groenewald said that the action planned would include mass demonstrations, strikes, stayaways, civil disobedience where people would take the law into their own hands, as well as the creation of alternative government structures.

2 200 to observe poll

MORE than 2 200 international observers, including 1 700 to 1 800 from the United Nations, would observe the April 26/28 elections, the chief of the UN Observer Mission in SA, Ms Angela King, said yesterday.

Between 50 and 100 observers from the Organisation of African Unity, 70 from the Commonwealth and 324 from the European Union, as well as from individual governments, would augment the UN observers.

It would be the UN's job to co-ordinate these efforts, Ms King said at Somerset West at a seminar on the image of the UN in SA, organised by the UN and the University of the Western Cape.

She said the UN mission represented a move from confronting and isolating apartheid to offering all the assistance it could give in aiding the transition to a democratic society.

(304A) CT 9/2/94

We've reached bottom line ^(304A) CF 9/2/94 Alliance

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG.

Concessions on Freedom Alliance demands on provinces were ruled out at a meeting in Pretoria last night of Alliance leaders, who said it was their bottom line for participation in the election.

After their meeting, Alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronje said there was no point in continuing negotiations if the ANC insisted that central government should override provinces on constitutional issues.

"I'm afraid we can't budge," he said. "There's no point in negotiating powers for provinces that will last at the most two years."

Mr Cronje said if agreement could be reached on the outstanding constitutional issue, it could "unlock" other issues such as the Alliance demand for a volkstaat.

Negotiators confirmed another round of trilateral talks had not yet been organised.

Solution

Reacting to the Alliance press conference, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Rosh Meyer said the Alliance was making a big mistake by deciding to walk away from negotiations as no party could refuse to negotiate.

Mr Meyer said in a statement the Alliance had no reason to withdraw from negotiations, except if there was the lack of will to try and reach a solution.

Progress had been made in negotiations between the Alliance, the government and the ANC in the past few weeks, he said.

"The Alliance has successfully achieved concessions from the government and ANC, for example on the double ballot issue."

Walking away from negotiations at this stage was therefore casting a shadow over the intentions of the Alliance and parties not participating in the election were also thereby minimising their future political role.

The government invited individual parties within the Alliance for further discussions.

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hei

DP Youth to
ARC 9/2/94
lay complaint
against SRC

MICHAEL MORRIS (304A)
Political Correspondent

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is being asked today to intervene on the campus of the University of the Western Cape to defend the Democratic Party's right to canvass support.

This is the first test for the IEC in applying the clearly defined terms of the Electoral Act in ensuring free and fair elections.

The Democratic Party Youth announced today that it was laying a formal complaint with the IEC against the Student's Representative Council at UWC.

The DP said despite the administration's approval of DP canvassing on the campus, the SRC had told party officials they were "not welcome". Members were ordered not to put up recruitment tables as it "went against" the SRC.

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

Talks about to collapse amid familiar threats

304A

ARC 9/2/94

AS TALKS between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance appeared about to collapse for the umpteenth time yesterday, there were familiar threats from the far right of what might ensue if negotiations on their demands ended once and for all.

Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging deputy leader Ernie van der Westhuizen said bluntly that war was likely if there was no "volkstaat for Boere" and Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) co-leader Tienie Groenewald said his organisation would have to consider "a phase of resistance", while AVF spokesman Stephen Manning said: "We are sliding towards civil war."

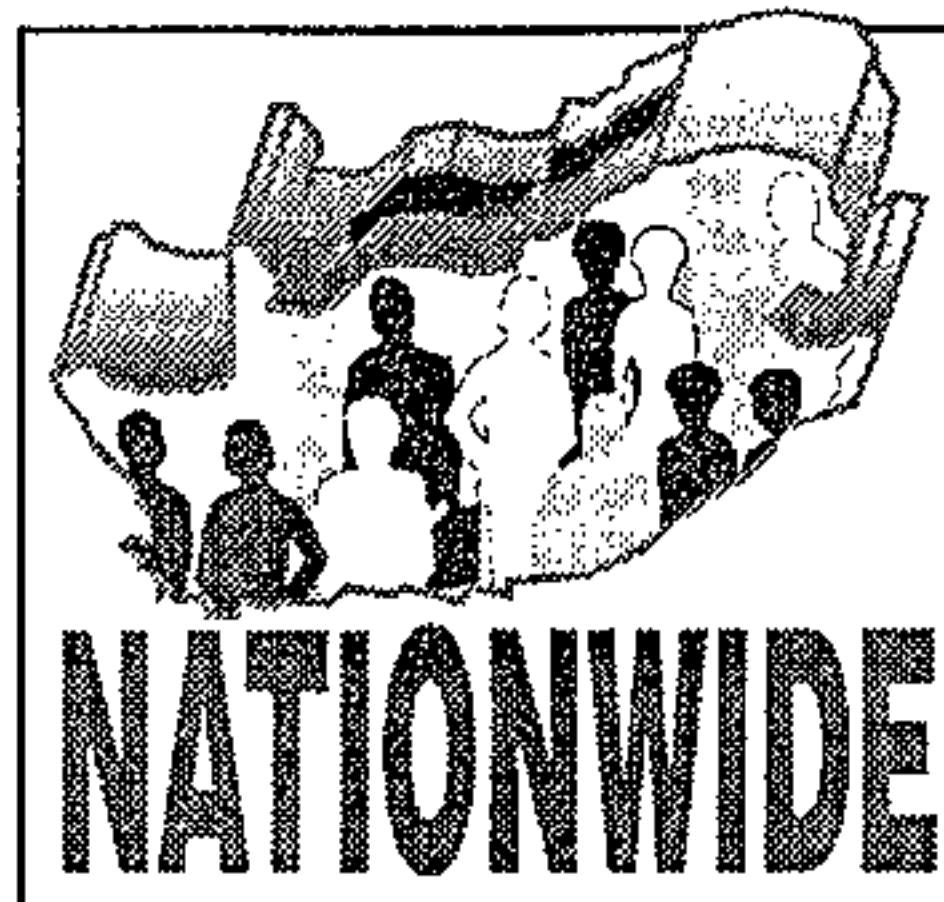
Various organisations with far right leanings, chiefly agricultural unions, hinted that they would obstruct the election by denying political parties the right to enter farms to speak to black workers or organise transport for them during the election.

These threats have been made before, but there is every indication that the government and the ANC will do everything they can to ensure that some level of negotiation with the far right will continue — even if the far right decided to boycott the election.

A government proposal for a "volkstaat" — with the proviso that its creation be subject to a test of whether "enough" people supported the idea — is the latest item on offer and it is unlikely to be dismissed out of hand by the far right.

Meanwhile, all political parties have until the close of business on Saturday to register for the April election. Saturday is the absolute deadline for participation, whether or not negotiations on future changes to the constitution continue, and so by next week the country will know who will be standing in the election and who will not.

The Democratic Party was the first to register yesterday.



In other developments:

● Seventy South African scientists stationed in Antarctica and on Gough and Marion islands will not be able to vote in the April election.

A spokesman for the Department of Environmental Affairs said it was impossible to comply with the rules governing voting in such isolated spots.

● Ambassadors and representatives of more than 40 foreign embassies in South Africa yesterday met the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to discuss the April election.

"The briefing was held in response to keen international interest in the South African elections and the IEC's role in ensuring free and fair elections," a statement said.

● Three high-profile ANC members in the Border region have received letters from Ciskei Chief Justice Benjamin Pickard warning them that their names appear on a hit-list confiscated by Ciskei police last month.

They are the Border ANC president Smuts Ngonyama, King William's Town attorney and ANC member Dumisani Tabata, and regional ANC executive member Sam Kwelita.

The brother-in-law of the late Colonel Onward Guzana, Mtandazi Nteyi, also appears on the list which was allegedly found in the possession of four members of the African Democratic Move-

ment, the political arm of Ciskei's ruling Military Council.

● Ex-ANC exile Walter Mojapelo — who the DP insists is one of its PWV candidates for the national parliament — has allegedly been ordered by the ANC to denounce the DP.

This is according to DP PWV campaign director Paul Asherson. He said in a statement last night that Mr Mojapelo had informed him that he had been ordered by ANC PWV secretary-general Obed Bapela to the organisation's Johannesburg head office today "to denounce the Democratic Party for which he is standing".

"It is time the ANC learnt a little democracy. Its intolerance of the choices of Democratic Party black candidates and voters is untenable at this time."

"We will have no hesitation in hauling Mr Bapela before the IEC or laying charges with the appropriate authorities should further harassment of DP candidates, voters or workers take place," Mr Asherson said.

● Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte has given the Transitional Executive Council an undertaking that he would not issue any further licences to new radio stations.

Mr Schutte, who was called into Monday's TEC management committee meeting, had been "rapped on the knuckles" for issuing 15 licences last week.

"We took Mr Schutte to task," said Transkei delegate Zam Titus.

ANC negotiator Mac Maharaj told yesterday's TEC meeting that his organisation was "deeply concerned" at Mr Schutte's action.

"The way he acted, reinforced the public's perception that he, and possibly the government, have been weak-kneed in approaching the defiance from the right wing," he said.

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

Volkstaat option on table to entice right wing into poll (304A)

Political Staff

THE government is offering rightwingers an Afrikaner homeland in an effort to draw them into the election.

A deal on self-determination and a volkstaat could be written into the interim constitution.

This would also ensure the principle was included in a final constitution.

A condition is that the right wing must take part in the election and in transitional structures.

Confirming this today, a top government source in Pretoria said the option was coming strongly to the fore now talks between the government, the African National Council and the Freedom Alliance were deadlocked.

The ANC has agreed to the move, with the proviso that the support the right wing gains in the election be used to gauge the support for self-determination and a "volkstaat".

Support for the right wing in specific regions would also be used to identify an area that could be a volkstaat. But the

government and the ANC have both firmly ruled out the idea of a whites-only electoral test on the issue.

The self-determination and volkstaat idea has been put to the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) in talks between it, the government and the ANC, which have been taking place separately from those with the Freedom Alliance.

An outside possibility being considered is to have a quick session of parliament to amend the interim constitution to make provision for self-determination and a volkstaat without the concurrence of the right wing.

According to AVF leader General Constand Viljoen, the self-determination idea is still "on the table". But he is linking it with the demands of the alliance on a two-ballot election and guarantees of the powers of regional governments.

There are tensions in the AVF on the issue.

AVF council and transitional assembly member Professor Johan Schabert has resigned from all his posts in the move-

ment, accusing the leadership of betraying the Afrikaner and of reaching secret agreements with the ANC and the Communist Party.

Militant elements recently shouted down General Viljoen when he suggested taking part in the election to prove rightwing support.

The government spokesman said another round of talks — between the government and the KwaZulu government on the constitutional position of the Zulu monarch — was also continuing.

Meanwhile it appears the alliance-government-ANC talks are now so deadlocked that agreement cannot be reached before the Saturday deadline for the registration of parties.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said after yesterday's meeting that if no progress was made to accommodate the "reasonable requests and positions" put forward by the alliance there was no sense in carrying on negotiating.

(News by T Wentzel, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town).

● See page 4.

ARC 9/2/94

Right plans passive resistance

No further concessions, says Alliance

B/Day 9/12/94

DAVID GREYBE

THE right wing plans to detail its nationwide passive resistance campaign this week, following last night's decision by Freedom Alliance leaders not to take part in the elections unless government and the ANC agreed to all its outstanding demands.

At a meeting in Pretoria alliance leaders decided not to make concessions on the two outstanding demands — self-determination and regional powers — that have led to the deadlock in negotiations with government and the ANC.

CP negotiator and alliance constitutional committee chairman Fanie Jacobs said: "We will not take part in the election unless there is a firm agreement among the parties on the outstanding constitutional issues."

Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen said the alliance would have to decide by the weekend whether to take part in the election. However, the chances of participation were "definitely fading".

Viljoen's co-leader Gen Tienie Groenewald, an alliance negotiator, said a "very slim" chance remained that the alliance would take part in the election, but he doubted it.

"We're praying for miracles," he said. However, any major concession now by either government, the ANC or the alliance to break deadlocked negotiations "will be a sign of weakness". The parties were too far apart on fundamental issues and he doubted the deadlock could be broken.

The chance of a trilateral deal "was sunk by the communists in the ANC", he said.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that sources

on all sides were "not too hopeful" of reaching agreement before Saturday's deadline for parties to register for the elections. (30/11/94)

But a government source said negotiations could still take place after that. Parties could register without committing themselves to the election.

ANC, Freedom Alliance and government negotiators were expected to meet before Friday following discussions with their respective executives this week.

The ANC's national working committee also meets today to discuss the negotiations, but its negotiators are firm that the alliance has to move on its demands and be prepared to accept a package agreement.

An ANC negotiator said there was some concern that the Afrikaner Volksunie had hardened its position after Groenewald said that unless changes were made to ensure a volkstaat, no agreement could be reached.

"We will not accept the authority of the TEC nor the result of the election if we decide not to participate," Groenewald said. "The question is no longer whether there will be a volkstaat. Even Mr. Mandela accepts that. The question is when and how big and where the boundaries will be. Either we get it now peacefully, or in a few years' time the boundaries will be drawn in blood like in Bosnia."

While Volksfront leaders hoped the resistance campaign would not lead to violence, they would not be able to control their supporters once the campaign got

□ To Page 2

Freedom Alliance

under way.

"The people will decide how the campaign unfolds, not me or Constand (Viljoen)," Groenewald said. (30/11/94)

The Volksfront hoped to get as many as 70% to 80% of Afrikaners to join the campaign. It hoped similar numbers of "Tswanas and Zulus" would also join in.

The initial stages of the protest cam-

paign would centre around conservative local authorities, many of which had already announced their intention to defy attempts to introduce nonracial local government. Other actions would include stayaways, strikes, mass protests and civil disobedience.

The election could be seriously disrupted in towns where councils backed the protest campaign, Groenewald said.

□ From Page 1

DP lays down rules for taking part in new govt

THE DP would not take its place in the government of national unity unless it secured the right to criticise majoritarian decisions by that body, DP PWV leader Tony Leon said yesterday.

Leon said the DP was determined not to be co-opted into future "new SA" power structures at the cost of losing its voice in the next Parliament, reports Sapa.

"The real fraud in this election is President (F W) de Klerk's public posturing against the ANC and its private capitulation to them to secure a few places in the next Cabinet," he said.

"The DP will not take its place in the government of national unity unless it secures the right to criticise in public, and dissent from majoritarian decisions which conflict with party principles and go against the public interest," said Leon.

Meanwhile, our political staff reports from Cape Town that the DP is the only party to have registered for the elections so far — and the deadline for registration is midnight on Saturday.

An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said the body had hoped to complete the registration of parties by Friday.

But progress had been "very slow", he said.

Parties which register for the election have to lodge their lists of candidates with the commission by March 4, failing which they will drop out of the election and have their deposits refunded. (BOHA)

A commission spokesman said yesterday a party's name would remain on the ballot paper if it had completed the necessary registration and list formalities by March 4 — even if the party later decided to drop out of the race. Such a step would result in the forfeiting of the R25 000 registration deposit.

Parties wishing to contest the national ballot have to pay a refundable cash deposit of R25 000, and those entering the provincial election must pay R5 000 for each region they contest.

The total bill for contesting the national and all nine regional polls is R70 000.

□ The Dikwankwetla Party of Qwa Qwa said yesterday that it would field candidates in the Free State and PWV regions in the April elections, as well as contesting seats in the national assembly. The party would field 30 candidates for the Free State, 49 for the PWV and 57 for the national assembly.

fom | Natal farmers soft targets

THE ANC has suggested former British ambassador to South Africa Robin Renwick and former Nigerian military ruler General Olesegun Obasanjo as foreign mediators on South Africa's constitutional deadlock.

The sources said the ANC had also indicated strong support for a mediator from the US, but had not proposed a name.

Under local and international pressure, the ANC has grudgingly accepted foreign mediation in exchange for the Inkatha Freedom Party's provisional registration for the April election. The behind-the-scenes agreement was struck at a marathon eight-hour summit in Durban this week.

The prime mover behind Tuesday's Royal Hotel summit is understood to have been Tongaat Hulett managing director Chris Saunders. Previously a staunch ally of Buthelezi, Saunders has forged ties with Mandela since his release from prison. In the international community, one of the strongest advocates of foreign mediation has been the Commonwealth.

Buthelezi has in the past proposed mediation under the Commonwealth or the Organisation of African Unity. Sources said he had also proposed an Italian-based body called the Council of Venice. Apparently rightwing and largely unknown, this is seen as a non-starter.

The ANC's acceptance of foreign mediation is a

ANC favours Renwick as deadlock-breaker

Two international diplomats have been put forward by the ANC as potential mediators in the constitutional conflict, reports **Farouk Chothia**

major victory for Buthelezi. It will return him to the international limelight, and he may use it to try and extract further concessions from the ANC, including a postponement of the April poll on grounds that the IFP needs time to gear up its election machinery.

Sources revealed that the KwaZulu caucus agreed at a meeting on Wednesday that the IFP should "provisionally" register for elections. An IFP central committee meeting scheduled for this morning is expected to adopt a similar position. The deadline for the registration of political parties is today.

But a tough round of negotiations lies ahead. In his latest gambit, Buthelezi has told the

Am 4-10/3/94
KwaZulu caucus that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini is standing firm on his demand that a Zulu kingdom — separate from the rest of South Africa — be guaranteed in the interim constitution.

But once foreign mediators intervene, Buthelezi could find pressure on him mounting to adopt a pragmatic stance and agree to contest elections — or risk being exposed as a spoiler.

In an interview, the Commonwealth's special representative in South Africa, Moses Anafu, said the body was "willing, able and ready" to send a mediation team to South Africa in a week's time.

Anafu said the Commonwealth could either engage in "shuttle diplomacy" or chair round-table talks among the ANC, IFP, government and the Zulu monarchy.

He added that a mediation team could include a traditional leader — such as the king of Malaysia or the Sultan of Sokoto — to handle the thorny issue of Zwelithini's demand for a sovereign and independent kingdom in

KwaZulu/Natal.

But other sources said the ANC has steadfastly rejected the Commonwealth offer, partly because it fears that Nigeria — a strong proponent of federalism — could wield enormous influence in the mediation team. Others countered that the ANC could rely on the support of countries like India and Zimbabwe to counter Nigerian influence and that the Commonwealth was bound to adopt an impartial stance.

Sources said the OAU, which also announced this week that it was willing to mediate, has also been rejected by the ANC, seeing it as a weak body which has failed to resolve conflicts in Africa.

Sources said the ANC preferred a mediator from Britain or the US, as having the clout to force the IFP to compromise and contest elections.

Obasanjo — who heads the New York-based Africa Leadership Forum — is also a favoured choice as he has developed "chemistry" with both Mandela and Buthelezi. Now seen in some circles as an "elder statesman" of Africa, he led the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group to South Africa on a fact-finding mission in the 1980s in a failed bid to find common ground between the then-banned ANC and the PW Botha regime.

■ Report by Farouk Chothia, 139 Smit St, Jhb

Boycott of election in the offing

Star 10/2/94

◀ From Page 1

tance and estimating the prospects for controlling it.

Government and ANC strategists insist that there is one immovable deadline: the election dates. (30/4/94) (11)

The Government and ANC believe a postponement would open the way to endless delays — effectively allowing the FA to hold the transition hostage indefinitely — and, even more significantly, fear an outpouring of uncontrollable anger from the black majority.

There is a concern that should the election be delayed, violence in trouble-torn townships could spread into the white community and the country would be plunged into a vicious and bloody conflagration with unprecedented racial overtones.

It is believed that some fanatical right-wing elements are actively in favour of sparking such a conflagration.

At the same time it is evident that the major components of the right wing are also growing more serious in their preparations for resistance.

Arms caches are reportedly being stockpiled around the country and the more belligerent right-wing organisations are threatening civil war and warning that the borders of the volkstaat will be "drawn in blood".

Determined

However, observers still believe that leaders such as General Constand Viljoen do not favour widespread violence.

It has been evident for some time that the IFP's Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has grown more determined to stay out of the election. Although he has stated that any anti-election activity will be peaceful, prevailing conditions in the KwaZulu-Natal region make increased violence a probability should the IFP follow the boycott route. In addition, sources say Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini is barely stopping short of demanding independence for a reinstated Zulu kingdom.

Although the current brinkmanship involving the three major groupings could continue for some time, it is clear that the process is no longer regarded as indefinite by any of the sides. Within the current situation, it would require a change of direction from either the Government-ANC axis or the FA for an inclusive settlement to be reached. At the moment, no such initiative is in view.

(Report by S Johnson and C Whitfield, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

■ BY SHAUN JOHNSON and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Right-wing election boycott looms

Star 10/2/94

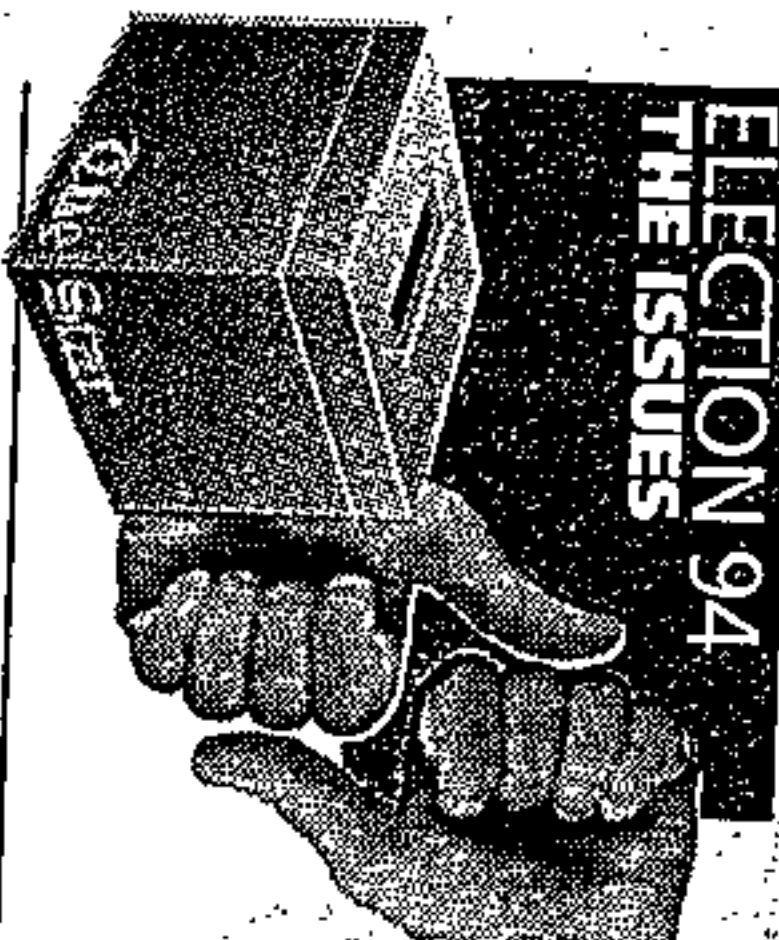
South Africa's first all-race election will more likely than not take place in the face of an active boycott by significant conservative political groupings, sources in the Government and ANC now believe.

The two sides are treating this as a probable rather than possible scenario following the frustrating lack of progress in this week's talks aimed at drawing the Freedom Alliance

into the transition.

With 11 weeks to go to the April election, the practical implications of full-scale boycott and resistance tactics by members of the alliance are being considered in detail, as senior Government and ANC figures become increasingly convinced that the FA has set its face against participation and is unlikely to accept any compromises offered.

This comes amid unmistakable signals of a hardening of attitudes on the right wing and



a spate of sabotage-style attacks in conservative areas. In spite of hardline statements by FA chairman Rovan Cronje it is still possible that

three-way talks might continue. But negotiators hold out little hope that the major remaining gap between the sides — agreement that provinces write and endorse their own constitutions (see accompanying graphic) — can be bridged without movement by the FA.

The Government and ANC believe the compromise package they have proposed is fair, and that they can go no further — having already offered to make concessions on issues including more regional autonomy, the double ballot, increased taxation powers for provinces, and self-determination. (30/4/94) (11)

Government and ANC strategists are therefore reluctantly counting the cost of an election that could see not only the absence of the Inkatha Freedom Party, Afrikaner Volkfront and Bophuthatswana government, but active opposition from them on polling days. This exercise includes predicting the scale of overt resistance.

▶ To Page 3

THE BALANCE SHEET

Government and The FA is being asked to:

- A double ballot
- Take part in the election
- Natal to become Kwazulu-Natal
- Take part in transitional structures
- Stronger regional taxation powers
- Renounce its threats of violence
- Guarantees that regional powers won't be weakened
- Agree to Bophuthatswana's reincorporation
- An open-ended approach to self-determination
- Continue negotiating self-determination

National Party messed up

Star 10/2/94

■ BY CLAIRE GEBHARDT

President FW de Klerk agreed last night that the National Party had applied socialist policies for decades, resulting in the "mess" the economy now found itself in.

He told a mainly black audience at an Enterprise Investment conference in Sandton that his party had as ambitious a housing programme as the ANC — the only difference being its funding.

"Our manifesto has basically the same goals, but we propose to fund our programme in such a way that it doesn't result in runaway inflation and unaffordable deficits."

Rejecting accusations that free enterprise had failed to deliver to blacks, De Klerk said free enterprise principles had not been applied for 30 to 40 years.



De Klerk ... let free enterprise triumph.

"We could not build factories with a view to exports while markets were closed."

"But now that we have been liberated by open markets, we would like to let free enterprise triumph."

De Klerk said sanctions had been to blame for government intervention in the past.

"We have been criticised for Mossagass but, in terms of the oil embargo, we had to become more independent with regard to oil and gas."

"We also had to build a vast armaments industry because of the arms embargo."

"If all that money had been spent on export-oriented industries, many jobs would still be in place."

Answering a question on why blacks should vote for the National Party when the ANC was promising houses, jobs and education, De Klerk said there was no difference in the two parties' socio-economic plans.

De Klerk said the Government had made billions of rands available for housing over the past five years, through the sale of oil reserves before and after sanctions were lifted.

"We also created the Independent Development Trust and made hundreds of millions of rands available in the formal budget (304.9)."
 (304.9)

"We were ready to build, but couldn't because of the threats and boycotts of the Civics."

"Without these, many more houses could have been completed by now, but those actions drove the private sector away."

De Klerk said the National Party believed that sub-economic housing had a special role to play in kick-starting the economy, but wanted the private sector to participate.

He stated ANC proposals as having as their cornerstone policies which had resulted in bankruptcy and poverty in many East European and African countries.

"I ask you to judge for yourselves whether the ANC's pol-

icies will work by comparing the success of free enterprise in countries like France, Germany and the US with the centrally controlled economies of Poland, Hungary and East Germany."

On the issue of the restoration of land to blacks, De Klerk stressed that the draft constitution laid down specific measures offering security for those who could prove their claims.

"The government of national unity has a duty to implement a restoration programme."

"We are bound by an agreement to deliver on the promises made and enshrined in our draft constitution."

De Klerk said if the law was not properly applied, anybody could call upon fully independent courts to ensure that his or her rights were properly dealt with.

How to vote in election

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The message to voters is clear and simple: put a cross or tick in the empty space next to the political party of your choice represented on the ballot paper.

—Most importantly, know that your vote is secret — so there can be no comeback unless you tell others how you voted.

It is the task of the Independent Electoral Commission, mandated to decide whether the election was free and fair, to determine whether an incorrectly marked ballot paper can pass as a valid vote.

Some flexibility will be employed, within reason.

But if you want to avoid spoiling your ballot:

■ Don't put crosses against — or score out — the political parties you don't like. Only one mark must appear, next to the party of your choice.

■ Don't be confused by the cross. It does not have a negative meaning. On a ballot paper, it means "yes".

■ Don't be afraid to ask the electoral officer for another ballot paper if you have made a mistake on the first one.







(Report by H Grange, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Star 10/2/94

BALLOT PAPER

304A

(Make a cross next to the party of your choice): Vote for ONE party only

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA		DPSA	
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY		IFP	
NATIONAL PARTY		NP	
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS		PAC	
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY		XPP	
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS		ANC	
CONSERVATIVE PARTY		CP	
DEMOCRATIC PARTY		DP	
OTHER PARTIES			

This is a sample and not an official ballot paper. Some of the above parties may choose not to participate in the elections. Others, not shown, may enter the election. Some parties may also alter their symbols when registering for the elections. The order in which parties are listed will be determined by lot.

MATLA TRUST voter education trainer's kit

NP interfered in economy, says De Beer

Star 10/2/94

■ STAFF REPORTER

The economic policies instituted by past National Party governments were a form of national socialism, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer said yesterday.

Addressing a meeting at the Roosevelt Park Primary School in Johannesburg, De Beer said the poverty and misery South Africans found themselves in was a result of the central economic policies the NP had followed.

"The evidence is overwhelming that countries succeed when government keeps its fingers out of the economy. Countries fail when governments try to control the economy through central planning. The NP always claimed to be strongly opposed to communism and socialism, but instead of being a supporter of the free market, it interfered in the economy in the grossest way."

(Report by L.A. Alfreds, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

(3014A)

DP cries foul

Sowetan 10/2/94

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party believes Mr Walter Mojapelo, who was on the party's provincial candidates list, has been coerced into withdrawing his name.

Mojapelo, a former head of the religious affairs department of the African National Congress in East Africa, made headlines earlier this week after the DP announced its list of candidates for the PWV regional assembly. (3044)

Speaking at a Press conference in Johannesburg yesterday, DP MP Mr Douglas Gibson said Mojapelo had signed the DP's election motivation form and had gone through the party's electoral college and knew exactly what was going on.

"He has become a pawn in a political

game larger than him. I am not at all satisfied that there was no intimidation. I certainly have information to the contrary which I won't divulge to you," he told newsmen.

However, Mojapelo told the media that he had not been consulted about the nomination and denied he was a DP member.

The DP accused senior ANC regional officials of having been instrumental in Mojapelo's decision.

Gibson said he would consider taking the matter up with the Independent Electoral Commission.

The ANC has demanded that the DP's Mr Tony Leon withdraw accusations of their involvement in Mojapelo's decision.

(News by L Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

focus on rightwing

Sowetan 10/2/94

ALREADY THE merry-go-round over negotiations with the conservative Freedom Alliance has undoubtedly left most voters at least perplexed, at worst bored. There is some comfort in knowing that by the end of this week we will know whether we are poised for civil war — or whether we can engage in the conventional political game of electioneering in peace, with all major parties taking part.

On Sunday, all parties standing in the April 26 to 27 election must register with the chief director of home affairs (at a cost of R25 000 to stand for national assembly and R5 000 for each regional assembly) **(304A) (HB)**

It will then be known whether the Freedom Alliance parties will be playing the game or not.

What we can be sure of is that we can brace ourselves for heavy doses of politics.

Since the Concerned South Africans Group (forerunner of the Freedom Alliance) left formal negotiations in July last year, the Government and the ANC have been engaged in an endless charade of talks going nowhere, signifying nothing.

While the alliance parties have been inflexible at times, it is hard to understand why the unholy government-ANC partnership is unable to accede to all of the rightwing group's demands.

One major sticking point has been the right of regions to write their own constitutions — without central government interference.

If the ANC and Government are so sure of their combined support base of more than 70 percent of the electorate nationally — and at least 60 percent in Natal — one can't fathom why they don't give in to the alliance demand.

After all, Inkatha is most unlikely to win a majority in Natal and therefore won't be able to dictate the terms of the provincial constitution.

In the other eight regions, the likelihood of any of the alliance parties winning a majority of votes is extremely remote.

Only the NP, based on recent opinion polls, has any hope of beating the ANC — in the Western and Northern Cape.

Support

One suspects that the FA recognises its limited support base — probably under 10 percent of the electorate — and is desperately seeking media attention by continuing talks with the ANC-NP partnership.

After all, they would have no problem participating in an election — even under a flawed interim constitution — if they knew they were going to win enough votes to dictate the terms of a final constitution.

The hoo-ha over the double ballot means little if one isn't going to participate in the election.

The sudden moral high-ground which

If you are suffering from *politikverdrossenheit* (German for: absolutely sick of politics), wear ear-mufflers, reports **Donwald Pressly** of Sowetan's political staff:



Freedom Alliance leader Ferdi Harzenberg and Constand Viljoen brace up for an endless round of talks.

Inkatha has taken — by insisting it can't take part in flawed structures — represents a rather remarkable reverse of its previous political behaviour.

After years of participation in apartheid structures, notably the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly and discredited Bantu Local Authorities, it now insists that its hands can't be dirtied by participating in bodies agreed upon by representatives of parties representing about 80 to 90 percent of the populace.

Negotiations process

At the start of the negotiations process, the Democratic Party's Dr Denis Worrall suggested that deliberations should be guided by Supreme Court judges.

This happened at Codesa but they disappeared at the multiparty negotiations forum.

The talks between the ANC, Government and alliance have meant that they have had to be players and referees.

It is, therefore, not surprising that they have been a complete failure.

By Sunday we will know whether or not to just ignore the Freedom Alliance (or avoid its bullets) and get on with the election campaign, or whether we can consider voting for it.

At least the political charade will be at an end. And we can get on with *realpolitik*.

(D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)



Pensive Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronjé during a break in exhaustive negotiations.

NEWS SADF general's lawyer pulls out of inquest • Crime spree alleged in court

News in brief

Learning centre opens

A NEW adult education centre at St Theresa's School in Riversdale Road, Coronationville, opens on February 14. Optimus Foundation spokesman Mr David Martin said the new centre's aim was to promote education among adults or school leavers forced by disruptions to abandon their studies.

Martin said classes would be conducted from 6pm to 8.15pm. Further information can be obtained from Martin at 793-4766 during or 477-7611 after hours.

Aptitude test results

PUPILS who participated in the testing programme in Alexandra on January 22 will receive their aptitude test results tomorrow. The results will be issued at the Alexsan Kopano, corner of 12th Avenue and Selborne Street, Alexandra, from 2pm to 5pm.

For further information contact Charmaine Khumalo at (011) 880-9292.

Reminder for pupils

AN urgent reminder has been issued to last year's Standard 10 pupils wishing to write supplementary exams in May-June this year to register before February 11 at their examination centres.

Any candidate who wrote the November 1993 exams can write supplementary exams this year.

It also advised students, who have applied for remarking, to register for supplementary exams in

New evidence in Goniwe case

■ **DRAMATIC TURN** *Sowetan* 10/2/94 General expected to

lead new evidence at inquest next week:

NEW EVIDENCE by General Johannes Janse van Rensburg, the man who broke ranks with the SADF this week, is expected to be presented to the reopened Goniwe inquest early next week.

According to Eastern Cape Deputy Attorney-General Mike Hodgen, Van Rensburg will file a new affidavit for consideration by Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsmann.

This week the inquest took a dramatic turn when the court heard that Van Rensburg had sent his former SADF counsel, Mr Anton Mostert, SC, a lengthy letter in which he made statements which departed significantly from his earlier evidence to the court.

Sowetan 10/2/94

Mostert told the court that Van Rensburg contracted cancer before his withdrawal as his legal counsel.

Van Rensburg, to whom the infamous signal message calling for Goniwe's permanent removal from society was sent, had repeatedly denied last year that the signal was a death warrant.

The mutilated bodies of the Cradock activist and his three colleagues were found 20 days after the signal was dispatched to Van Rensburg.

In a surprise move yesterday, counsel for Colonel Lourens du Plessis, Mr Glen Goosen, called for his own client to be found guilty of "conspiracy to commit murder, alternatively incitement to murder". — *Ecn*.

Makwetu,

FW clash

Sowetan 10/2/94

By Mzimkulu Malunga

THE African National Congress' Reconstruction Development Programme would plunge the economy into a crisis, President FW de Klerk said in Johannesburg last night.

In an address during which he attempted to sell his National Party to black executives at *Enterprise* magazine's investment forum, De Klerk said the RDP was a document that was influenced by failed socialist policies.

He said he did not have racial prejudices, adding the NP was no longer a "white party".

There was heated debate when De Klerk was questioned by Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu.

Makwetu said: "ANC economic policies have never been applied in this country, so nobody can accuse them of being a failure."

De Klerk replied: "In many respects we have applied socialist policies throughout the decades, but due to sanctions it was difficult to apply free market principles because exports markets were being closed internationally."

"But now that we are liberated, we can talk about free enterprise."

F, AS seems increasingly likely, an inclusive constitutional settlement can not be reached and the three components of the Freedom Alliance — Inkatha, the CP/Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana — resolve to boycott the election, the question that arises is: What then?

Bophuthatswana appears to be the easiest "problem" to resolve, but even then it is not simple. The homeland government's position as a key negotiating partner is curious. Unlike its alliance allies which have a measurable base of support, polls consistently fail to register support for President Lucas Mangope's party equivalent to the 0.25% necessary to win a single parliamentary seat.

In that light, the Bophuthatswana government's vigorous struggle for enhanced and protected regional powers, while perhaps inherently worthy, is fairly meaningless given that it would not be represented at all in a national legislature and would have minimal representation in the relevant regional ones.

It does, however, have a full-scale administration including security forces. And as has been demonstrated during ANC attempts to elect one in Bophuthatswana, those forces are able to block those activities and, presumably, voting, in April. Unless the administration simply concedes defeat, overcoming those problems could be a complicated, even bloody, exercise.

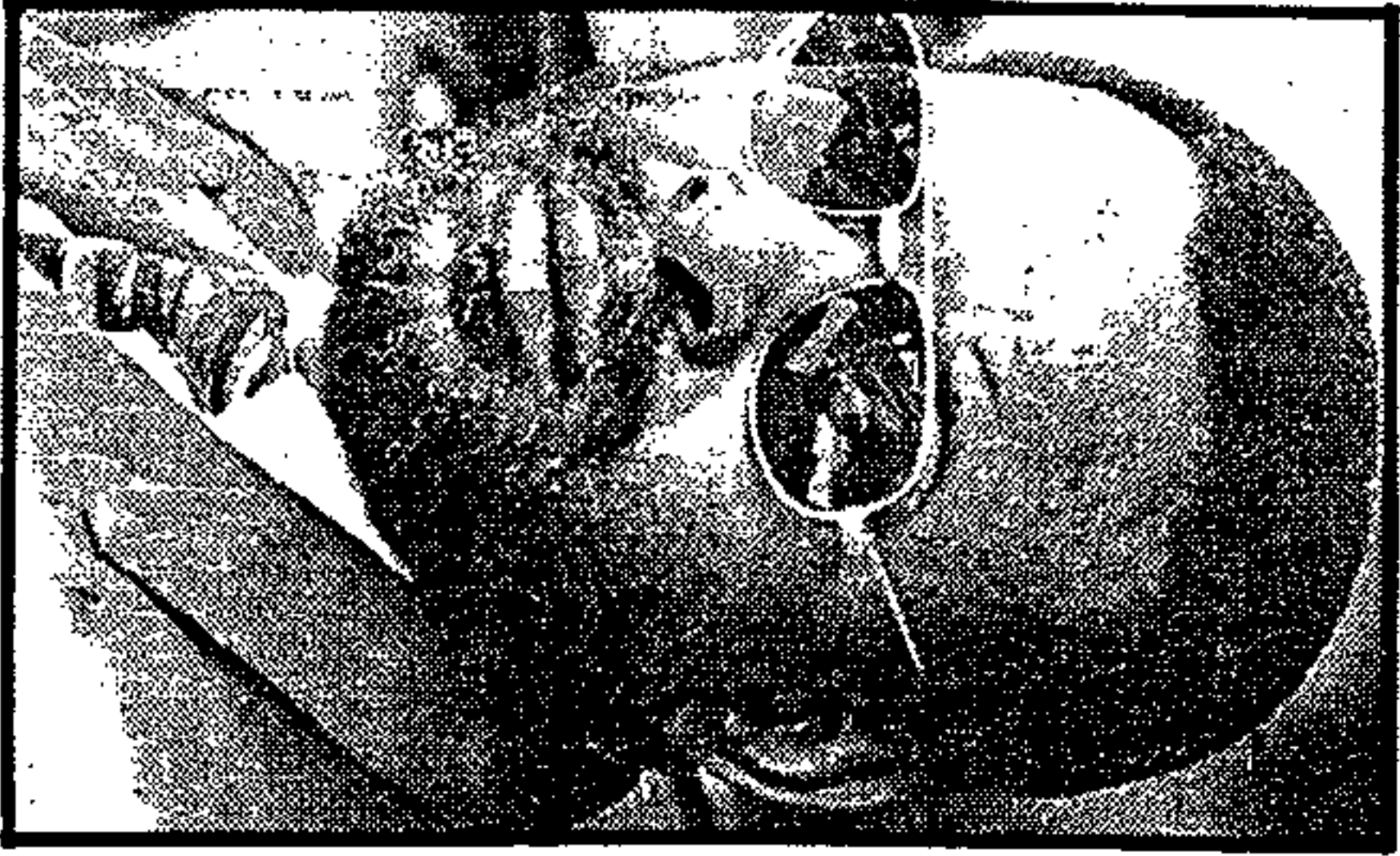
The Inkatha/KwaZulu situation is far more complex, though. As a poorer region, and a self-governing rather than an independent homeland, KwaZulu's physical resources are more limited than Bophuthatswana's. Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, according to the latest polls, can claim the support of about 23% of the voters of KwaZulu/Natal — or less than 5% of the national total.

However, this is a solid constituency, made more potent by the factor of Zulu nationalism which he exploits, not least by his close identification with Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini.

Zwelithini is now the kingpin in talks impasse

ALAN FINE

Barney 10/21/94



ZWELITHINI
(3044) (448) (10/21/94)

lithini. Nevertheless, his support is significantly down on earlier polls, which gave him real hope of controlling Natal. An election which confirms the latest polls may be too great a humiliation for Buthelezi to bear, and probably explains his resistance to any deal.

His problems, though, may increase. Centre for Policy Studies director Steven Friedman says there is talk out of Natal that the NP and ANC's patient work with Zwelithini may yet bear fruit.

Parallel to the inconclusive trilateral talks, the two parties, and President F W de Klerk in particular, have been holding intensive discussions with the king, and some say the king's advisers are suggesting that he accept a deal on offer which formalises his status and that of his kingdom at a level no worse than exists now.

As important, it would guarantee the income he currently receives from the KwaZulu administration — funds which originate in the central treasury but which would in future be channelled through the new KwaZulu/Natal region established by the new constitution and dominated, in Inkatha's absence, by the ANC.

Would Zwelithini forsake Buthelezi? It may seem unlikely. But the

to establish an opposition party to Inkatha. And in December two incidents hinted at tension between them. First, Zwelithini criticised the alliances' withdrawal from talks, and then he appeared to set himself up for a clash with Buthelezi over the appointments of certain chiefs.

Both incidents were quietly smoothed over, but doubts about the relationship remain. And the NP/ANC offer to the king may just be sufficient to wean him away from Buthelezi. This would be close to a death blow to the Inkatha leader who has depended on ethnic politics to maintain his position.

And that may not be the end of Buthelezi's problems, Friedman surmises. A further drain on his support base would occur if those lieutenants, like Joe Matthews and Ben Ngubane, who have consistently fought within Inkatha for a constitutional settlement, then felt sufficiently confident to contest the election under another banner. They would be joined by most of the DP and NP MPs and others who deserted their parties in the hope of fighting the election in Inkatha colours.

The polls point to a drop in Inkatha's national support of three to five percentage points in the past year, coinciding with the party's

toughening negotiating stance. It is feasible that those votes, plus some which a participating Inkatha would otherwise receive, would go to those candidates.

And the party for which they would stand? There is no real evidence so far. But Friedman suggests that the new African Christian Democratic Party, which currently seems merely a new project by elements of the defunct Afrikaner Volksunie and assorted conservative black politicians, may provide a home for them.

And they may have natural allies among the more moderate sections of the white right wing — which has suffered, like Inkatha, a pattern of lost electoral support in the period.

A constitutional settlement with the neo-Nazi right is, and probably always has been, impossible. Their guerilla war has begun, as shown by the rash of bombings. Countering it is a law and order function.

What Friedman calls the "conciliatory right" — which includes Gen Constand Viljoen and parts of the Afrikaner Volksfront — is probably not yet ready for a deal. Although there were claims that Viljoen and some of his colleagues were close to a settlement with the ANC, involving a new constitutional principle which fudged until later the issue of a volksstaat, it seems he cannot sell a strategic compromise to the more militant and impatient Volksfront constituents. His rejection at a rally 11 days ago is evidence of that.

A deal with Viljoen and his allies may have to wait until some time in the post-election future, until (and if) sufficient numbers of their constituents discover that life under an ANC government, while not ideal, is tolerable — allowing them to reduce their sights from a full-scale volksstaat to something less.

Painting scenarios about SA's medium-term future is a tricky, probably foolish, task. The only certainty, perhaps, is uncertainty. But while the country faces a further period of uncertainty and possibly instability, it need not necessarily be unmanageable.

February 10 1984

TEC probes bogus SACP document

B/day 10/21/84

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — A disinformation campaign against the SACP, which threatens to prevent voter education and political access to more than 1-million farm workers, is being investigated by the TEC intelligence subcommittee.

The investigation follows an announcement by the Transvaal and Free State agricultural unions last week that political activity had been banned on farms.

The ban, which was contrary to the Electoral Act, was imposed after union members received a secret document, allegedly published by the SACP, which outlined plans for armed insurrection.

SACP chairman Joe Slovo is scheduled to meet agricultural union representatives in Pretoria today to discuss the ban and to argue that the document was disinformation calculated to cause further friction between the SACP and farmers.

The issue will also be discussed tomorrow when Independent Electoral Commission chairman Judge Johan Kriegler meets National Manpower Commission delegates, including the SA Agricultural Union and Cosatu.

Slovo told the TEC this week the alleged SACP document was "a work of fiction" which threatened to prevent access to a significant number of workers in the run-up to the election.

SACP spokesman Jeremy Cronin said the use of certain phrases in the document, including references to "Operation Sun-

rise", suggested the existence of a disinformation campaign first noticed in September last year.

The strategic "leaking" of the fictional plan to some organisations had resulted in the Afrikaner Volksfront's declaration of war in December, he said. It had also exacerbated tension between the SACP and the Inkatha Freedom Party.

Transvaal Agricultural Union president Dries Bruiwer said the document, entitled "SACP Discussion Document on the Prevailing Situation" had been passed on by "someone from Military Intelligence," according to Cronin.

The document contained numerous spelling, language, conceptual and political errors that proved its fraudulent character, Cronin said, adding that the real but of the disinformation campaign was not the SACP or the ANC but government negotiators.

Sapa reports that Free State Agricultural Union president Pieter Gous said Free State farms would be "no-go areas" until farmers' problems with demands regarding political activity on their properties were resolved.

Off-duty workers should be allowed to attend party meetings in public areas, but farmers objected to the uncontrolled movement of strangers on farms.

Report by A. Hadland, TML, 11 Dagbani St, Jhb.

Officers plotted to kill, court told

PORT ELIZABETH — A second legal counsel argued yesterday that the Gonwe Inquest should find that three senior military officers conspired to murder Matthew Gonwe and two other eastern Cape campaigners. B/day

Glen Goosen, legal counsel for retired SADF Col Lourens du Plessis, said in final argument the three officers, including his indemnified client, were guilty of conspiracy to murder.

He said former Eastern Province Command head Lt-Gen Joffel van der Westhuizen had instructed Du Plessis to send a signal to Maj-Gen Johannes van Rensburg, strategy head at the State Security Council secretariat, on June 7 1985.

The signal had recommended the "permanent removal from society" of Gonwe, his brother Mbulelo, and Port Calata as "a matter of urgency".

Twenty days after the signal, Gonwe, Calata, Sparrow Mkonto and Silelo Mhlanzi were killed.

Senior counsel for the victims' families, George Bizos, has argued Du Plessis, Van der Westhuizen and Van Rensburg, and two security police colonels, should be found to have murdered the four United Democratic Front campaigners.

Du Plessis was the only one of the three military officers to testify the signal was a death warrant.

Goosen argued du Plessis was a reliable witness while the two generals, who claimed the signal was a recommendation for a lengthy detention, were not. — Sapa.

Production could have

Proposal to change Act to extend election deadline

B1 Day 10/2/94
BILLY PADDOCK

A PROPOSAL that the Electoral Act be changed to extend the deadline for parties to register is being mooted in government circles as one of several attempts to prevent the door being shut on negotiations with the Freedom Alliance.

This follows the firm refusal by Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to register under the constitution as it now stands.

The Freedom Alliance approached government yesterday and called on it to come up with a further proposal to take negotiations forward, softening the tone of its initial statements made after its leaders met on Tuesday night.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said it was not shutting the door on further talks and he would be contacting the ANC to convey the full tenor and official position of the alliance leaders.

The ANC's national working committee met yesterday to evaluate the position of negotiations with the alliance. Depending on the outcome of the meeting, further talks with the alliance can not be ruled out despite there being little hope that the ANC will compromise further. There is speculation in the organisation that there are other ways of accommodating the alliance.

Apparently the idea of shifting the deadline is being floated as one measure which could relax the pressure on negotiators. Inkatha has a central committee meeting on Saturday, the deadline date, to decide on its stance.

But the idea has not yet been put forward as a firm proposal to any of the other parties and sources stressed this option could be fraught with difficulties. The Independent Electoral Commission would have to accept the

plan, and a series of other date problems would be created.

And there is no guarantee such a move would facilitate agreement with the alliance. (304A)

As it stands, the Freedom Alliance is facing its own difficulties, with the possibility that the CP or the Afrikaner Volksfront will break ranks and register as a tactical measure, withdrawing later if negotiations fail to meet their demands.

Cronje said the alliance was purely a negotiating front and parties would each decide what to do to meet the requirements of their constituencies.

Another initiative to break the deadlock is a meeting between a Sacob delegation, headed by its president Cedric Savage, and Buthelezi in Ulundi today.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer was also launching an initiative to enter into discussions with parties in the alliance.

Report by B Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

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Fledgling party 'first in line to register for polls'

CAPE TOWN — The fledgling African Christian Democratic Party said yesterday it had been the first party to register for the April general election. **B10**

It said it had registered on Tuesday for the poll in all nine regions. **101219**

A spokesman said the "avalanche of voters to the party is something of an enigma in SA politics".

The party was, however, disillusioned with the registration procedure at the Independent Electoral Commission's offices at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park. **(304A)**

The party's national co-ordinator, Johan van der Westhuizen, said that when party officials arrived, "there was not even a receipt book."

"It is obvious that nobody

expected any party to register at this early stage — and while we are serious in our intentions, we expect other parties to make their registrations a media event. We just hope the officials are ready for them."

A commission spokesman confirmed yesterday morning that one application for registration had been lodged so far, but declined to name the party.

Earlier, the DP said it had lodged an application for registration, putting down the required R70 000 deposit to contest the poll at national level and in all nine regions.

The commission pointed out that the deadline for registration applications was midnight on Saturday.

— Sapa.

Report by D van Zyl, Press Gallery, Parliament.



THE likelihood of more right-wing parties boycotting the poll dashes prospects for a relatively peaceful transition

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA and CHRIS WHITFIELD

Hopes that the Freedom Alliance (FA) might make an 11th-hour about-turn and contest the April election were dealt two heavy blows last night.

A decision by the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) not to contest elections was followed by an FA letter to the Government which Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer said made further progress "virtually impossible".

The developments came on the heels of KwaZulu Legislative Assembly decision in Ulundi to resist the election and appear to finally dash any hopes of an all-inclusive political settlement. With the main components of the FA — the IFP and the AVF — now apparently set to boycott the election, the prospects of a relatively peaceful transition have also taken a nosedive.

The AVF announcement, made by "transitional president" and Conservative Party leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg at the end of a meeting of his organisation's "national representative council" in Pretoria, hinted at trouble if the election went ahead.

Although Hartzenberg said the AVF still opted to attain its volkstaat through peaceful means, he also disclosed that the right-wing front would be putting "pressure on the election in various ways".

"We can't be associated with or be part of the establishment of a communist government in South Africa. That is totally unacceptable to us," he told a press conference.

The AVF's decision was taken on a day when the Gov-

► To Page 3

AVF election boycott

Star 11/2/94
◀ From Page 1

ernment made a last bid to secure the FA's participation in the election when it wrote to the FA asking it to submit its concrete constitutional proposals.

Yesterday President de Klerk said if this "last-gasp" effort succeeded, a snap session of Parliament would be called to process amendments to the constitution.

Last night Meyer issued a statement saying the FA response had contained no reference to the specific issues or a query on what was required for a "final solution" (304A)

"This makes constructive negotiations with a view to reaching solutions virtually impossible," said Meyer.

It seems unlikely that another round of Government/ANC/FA talks will take place and that the transition will go ahead without the dissenting grouping.

47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.

Hopes of Freedom Alliance about-turn dealt major blow

Volksfront to boycott

Star 11/2/94 (304A)

Mod

AS negotiations between the Freedom Alliance, the ANC and the government ground to a halt this week with no settlement in sight, the moderates inside the Afrikaner Volksfront were being steadily pushed into the background.

With the radicals rapidly gaining ground, plans for local communities and districts to declare themselves independent and then link up to establish a *de facto* *volksstaat* from the grassroots upwards, could be set in motion as early as this month.

Included in these plans are the possible takeover of government structures and buildings in right-wing communities, and the establishment of own authorities with exclusive allegiance to the AVF.

Part of the strategy also seems to be to provoke a violent response from the security forces, while trying to ensure that if shots are fired, rightwingers will be seen as the victims. This would galvanise the remainder of the right-wing, hard-core strategists believe.

AVF militants gain ground

With the 'strategic option' finding little favour among rightwingers, plans to declare a *volksstaat* could be put in motion as early as this month, reports **Jan Tajaard**

On several occasions during the last few weeks the police have been put on standby for such a possibility while security measures at police stations in the "threatened areas" have also been stepped up.

At a police meeting in the Northern Transvaal, commanding officers were warned that attempts would be made during the next few weeks to provoke them into a violent crackdown.

A last-ditch proposal to avert conflict by getting all the parties to agree to a mechanism making it possible for negotiations on a *volksstaat* to continue after elections, may be to no avail. While this so-called "strategic option" was found acceptable by AVF moderates such as General Constand

Viljoen, it is finding no favour among the majority of rightwingers.

In right-wing circles a school of thought suspecting the ANC and the government of using stalling techniques has been growing in strength. Such elements do not believe the government or ANC will stick to a deal.

Conservative Party officials and workers have also threatened to resign if CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg endorses the "strategic option".

In the farming community, leaders are also finding it increasingly difficult to control their constituency. Transvaal Agricultural Union leaders were apparently willing to meet the South African Communist Party this week, while most of their supporters wanted

nothing to do with the SACP.

Sources said farmers viewed the good rains as an opportunity to survive independently in times of conflict.

The sentiments of these hard-core elements were this week also expressed by a former member of the AVF executive, Professor Johan Schabot, who resigned all his AVF posts.

In his letter of resignation, Schabot stated it was ANC strategy to keep the rightwing occupied in negotiations until the election, as ANC leaders believed they could deal with the right-wing threat once they had control of the security forces.

Schabot, a former professor of microbiology at the Rand Afrikaans University, was also the leader of the

previously banned Boere-Bewegingsbeweging. His resignation may signal a renewed fragmentation of the right.

Sources say there are indications that the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging is becoming decentralised, with regional commanders increasingly struggling off the control of the AVF and AWB supremos.

Right-wing sources close to the AVF directorate admitted the directorate had very limited control over incidents such as the recent spate of bomb explosions in the Western Transvaal and Free State.

But one of them also added with discernible glee that "the professionals are doing it (acts of sabotage) now. Did you see the way in which the buildings were demolished?"

What was meant by "professionals" is not clear. But among the handful of people arrested this week in connection with the blasts was a medical doctor from the Western Transvaal.

■ See PAGE 13

FW slams ANC minerals policy

Star 11/2/94
■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Welkom — The ANC's mineral rights policy will destabilise the gold mining industry, says President de Klerk.

On the first day of a three-day National Party election blitz in the Free State, he told shoppers at a Welkom shopping centre: "With their policy on mineral rights, the ANC is casting the biggest shadow over your assets."

De Klerk said he was not asking South Africans to vote for the NP because they were afraid of the ANC, but because

his party had the best policies. Only the NP's economic policies would lead to more jobs, he said.

The ANC was a "dangerous" party with policies that had failed elsewhere. (304A)

"We have wrung apartheid's neck and thrown it into the ditch," he said.

Earlier yesterday, the NP leader opened a hospital on the outskirts of Welkom's Thabong township. The same hospital was visited by ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Saturday.

De Klerk also warned against the politicisation of health services.

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Jhb)

THE RIGHTWING: 'Accommodate us or we may be forced to resort to resistance politics'

WALL the Boers fight for self-rule in the form of a *volksstaat*? This is the question asked by many people who fear that the exclusion of the Afrikaner and the Zulu in the future dispensation, may be just one too much for South Africa. To answer the question, one must look at the options which remain for the Afrikaner and others who have similar aspirations. Several scenarios are possible for the near to medium future in South Africa.

The worst case scenario is undoubtedly one wherein the Afrikaner Volksfront and the Freedom Alliance as a whole, are not accommodated in the constitutional dispensation and may be forced to resort to resistance politics. Whilst this seems to be the most likely scenario at the moment, the ANC and the government do not appear to be concerned and continue marking time at the negotiation table. In spite of the "two ballot" concession, both the NP and the ANC remain adamant that there will be no permanent and significant powers devolved to the regions, thereby rendering the "two ballot" principle useless. Seemingly dogmatic about having a unitary state as the final product, the ANC and NP appear inflexible on the entire issue of the devolution of power in any way.

To add even more concern to that already voiced by the Freedom Alliance, foreign newspapers are

'A volksstaat is a small price to pay for peace'



The government and ANC's inflexibility on self-rule threatens to lead to civil war. One way out would be to grant the volk a homeland of their own, argues **General Tienie Groenewald**

touching on the implications of the current interim constitution, some describing it as a "monster". The reason for this is simple, though mostly ignored.

The current interim constitution will be replaced by whatever the ANC wants subsequent to the election and through the constituent assembly. Only the so-called constitutional principles will remain, although it is questionable that the ANC will even bother to look back on them, many of the principles being so vague that they can be interpreted to mean anything anyway. In short, constitutionally the country will be at the mercy of the ANC. One will find few other constitutional time-bombs such as this one.

The resulting frustration which is currently building on the right, is not only a threat to the existing AVF leadership as radicalisation takes place, but has indeed the potential to desta-

bilise this country on an unprecedented scale.

Already there have been numerous acts of sabotage which have been attributed to the rightwing. Any talk of possible participation in the election nearly caused a riot among the 25 000 Afrikaners gathered in Pretoria on January 29 to discuss the options.

Internal movement against AVF leader General Constand Viljoen has given an indication that the patience of the volk is running out. Having been advised against negotiations with communists, the general risked much in attempting to reach a settlement.

On the NP and ANC side, his influence was abused to restrain the Afrikaner from any actions which would have already resulted in violence earlier. Irresponsible statements by the ANC leadership, com-

bined with serious backtracking at the negotiating table, have resulted in further polarisation. The general will find it almost impossible to restrain his constituency, following the final rejection of the Afrikaner bottomline of a *volksstaat*.

How this will cascade down to grassroots level, is anyone's guess. Most civil wars do not start on predetermined dates or even a predetermined moment. Instead they usually start as a result of a misunderstanding and evolve into open conflict gradually. It is like sliding down a slippery slope.

On the other hand there are those who contend that the Afrikaners have too much to lose and will have no potential therefore for any sustained conflict. This may have been the case five years ago, but in the meanwhile things have changed drastically for the Afrikaner. Thirty-two percent of Afrikaners are believed

to be unemployed and/or living under the breadline.

Thousands of young Afrikaner males have fallen victim to "affirmative action" and, in the absence of a positive vision of the future, are fast becoming restless.

The only way to address the issues which bring South Africa to the brink of civil war, is to reach an inclusive settlement where self-rule is made possible. Not only would such a step defuse the immediate threat, but indeed ensure that the Afrikaners who pose a potential threat to the "new SA", are given a back door through which they can leave and decide on their own future. Given the fact that South Africa's economy and infrastructure are interwoven, the future *volksstaat* will not hesitate to co-operate economically with the rest of the country.

If a *volksstaat* can bring peace, it is a small price to pay. In any case, it may be far cheaper to bring about a *volksstaat* than to try and make a go of the new South Africa at the exclusion of the Afrikaner and the Zulu, both proud and stubborn nations with a military tradition.

Accommodation of those parties excluded at this stage is the greatest single prerequisite for political stability in South Africa. Political stability in turn, is the pre-requisite for any form of economic recovery.

■ General Groenewald is a leading member of the directorate of the AVF

Secret 'UDI' plan scrapped

CT 11/2/94

304A 107

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — A confidential Freedom Alliance document has revealed that members discussed seceding from South Africa or creating conditions under which it would be impossible to have a free and fair election.

The confidential strategy

document was drawn up at a meeting of the executive in Richards Bay on January 10.

The document also said members ruled out an electoral alliance because "the differences in the policies of the member organisations are too great".

The meeting was called to discuss the formation of an electoral alliance, as opposed to a mere negotiating Alliance.

The executive considered three options — participation, non-participation and doing nothing. The third option was shelved.

Alliance chairman Mr Rowan Cronjé confirmed the authenticity of the document, but said: "These are only scenarios and were never adopted by the leaders of the Alliance."

The participation option was split into sub-options, namely,

Mangope, Mandela meet

MMABATHO. — Bophuthatswana's Department of State Affairs confirmed yesterday that Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope and ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela met in Johannesburg this week.

At the Monday meeting, the two leaders agreed to establish a joint committee of six members from each side.

This committee is to address the position of Bophuthatswana in view of a new constitution in Southern Africa, as well as the possible normalisation of relations between Bophuthatswana and the ANC, according to a statement by the department. — Sapa

winning the poll, preventing the ANC getting a two-thirds majority and "disrupting the election".

The second option was to "abstain and secede from the RSA or create conditions under which it would be impossible to have a free and fair election".

It concluded that if members participated individually "no member would obtain sufficient votes (20%) to elect a deputy president or to have a position of power through the number of members elected to the cabinet, constitutional assembly and other organs of government".

Support from the press and international community would be limited and supporters of the Alliance would vote either NP or ANC.

The option of participating to disrupt the election would de-

pend on the legal implications. However, it would also have "more freedom of movement for actions aimed at resistance".

The document states that should the Alliance not participate but take the option of disruption "the full power of the government, the ANC and the TEC will be directed against it".

Secession only becomes an option if the country is ungovernable and the Alliance will have to secure its position in a situation similar that of Angola and Mozambique, the document said.

Factors weighing negatively on an electoral alliance were, among others, the "political cost for the IFP of being associated with the Afrikaner Volksfront, the CP and the AWB, and that Bophuthatswana would have to sacrifice its independence".

Secret document reveals disruption plans

SECESSION and ways to prevent free and fair elections are considered, writes Political Correspondent Chris Whitfield

A secret Freedom Alliance strategy document lists the creation of conditions which would make it impossible to hold a free and fair election as an option it could consider.

It also contemplates the conditions in which secession might be possible.

Conservative Party and FA member Tom Langley admitted on television this week, when confronted by Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Frans Schoeman, that the document was genuine. But he said it was already "history" as it had been drawn up months ago.

The document reveals that

on January 10 this year an FA executive committee meeting in Richards Bay had considered a number of options.

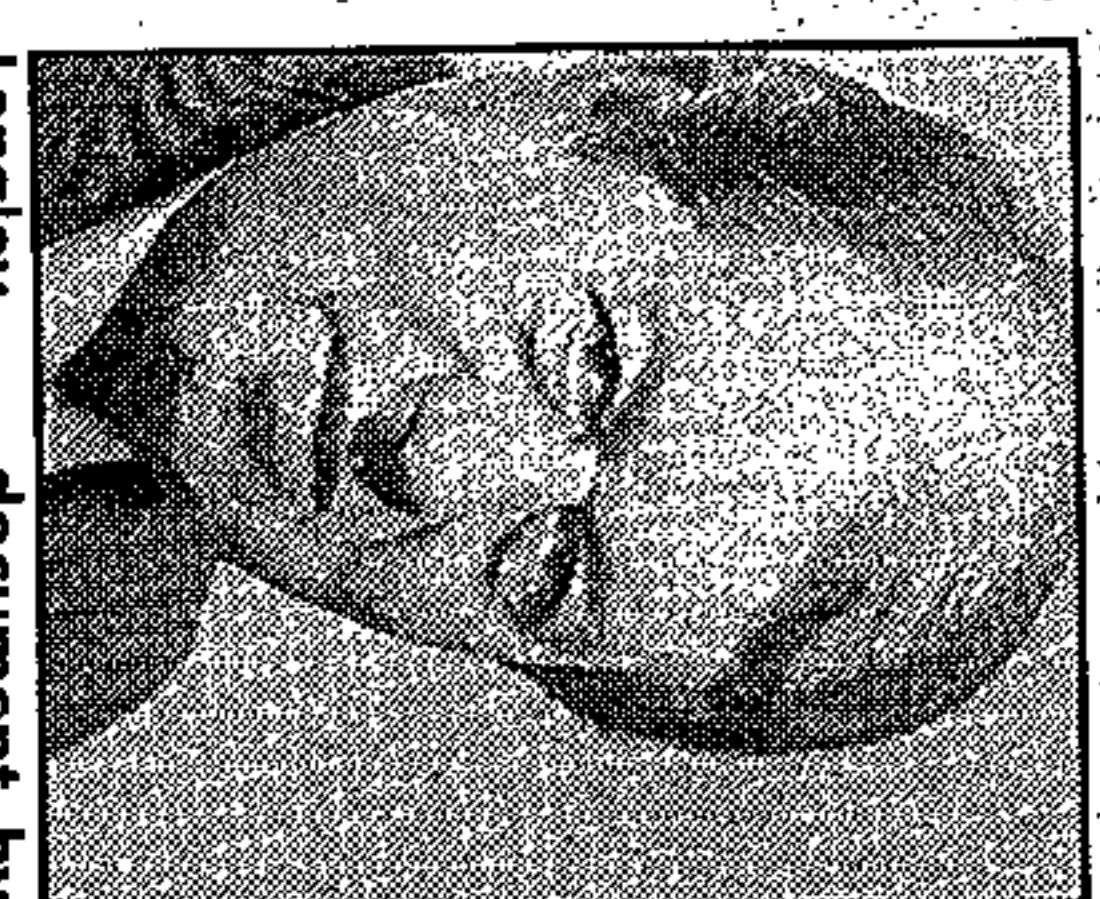
The first option included fighting the election with a view to either winning at the polls, preventing the ANC from securing a two-thirds majority or "disrupting the election".

A second option was to boycott the election and to "secede from the RSA" or create

ate conditions "under which it would be impossible to have a free and fair election".

Interestingly, the document says that if the FA were to contest the election, it should keep this a secret in order to "force acceptance of FA constitutional proposals".

The document appears to lean towards the FA forming a fully fledged political alliance — at present it describes itself as a negotiating



Langley . . . document by now is "history".

alliance — if it were to contest the election.

It says that no individual

member could secure enough votes to have a deputy president in the new dispensation.

However, it cautions that the IFP would have to pay a "political cost" for being associated with the Afrikaner Volksfront, the CP and the AWP in a political alliance.

It suggests that if the FA did take part in the election, this would not mean the end of "resistance". Taking part in the campaign would simply give it more freedom of movement to carry out this sort of activity.

The document says secession is an option only if South Africa becomes ungovernable or the FA becomes "a force

feared by the ANC and the Government".

To achieve this it would also require the SADF and SAP to "not support the Government in using force to neutralise the FA". Sympathy would also have to be generated abroad to prevent UN military intervention.

It says that if the alliance decides not to contest the election, preparation for "Option Two" — either secession or the creation of conditions under which it would be "impossible to hold a free and fair election" — "should be started immediately".

(Report by C Whitfield, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Fm 11/2/94
DEMOCRATIC PARTY

Reaffirming a role (304A)

The DP's showing in what leader Zac de Beer describes as "the mother of all elections" hinges on whether there is a place in the rough-and-tumble of SA politics for a "Mr Nice Guy" as a champion of human rights. It also depends on his ability to dispel some myths surrounding the new political process.

That's the platform on which the party will fight the election — a position distilled from its regional congresses and articulated at its national media launch on Sunday. Though its manifesto and national and regional candidate lists are still to be finalised, the DP's upbeat message is: "Write us off at your peril. We have as important a role to play in the new SA as we did in the old."

De Beer believes the election will be all about fundamental human rights and that the DP, with its liberal democratic tradition, has a key role to play.

By contrast, the primary preoccupation of the ANC and the Nats is the acquisition of power. Both, says De Beer, hold human rights in contempt. While the new constitution has liberal democratic elements, De Beer says it is shot through with constitution-

Fm 11/2/94
al non sequiturs resulting from private deals between the Nats and the ANC. This was demonstrated by attempts, successfully opposed by the DP during the negotiation process, to have political rather than judicial appointees to the constitutional court.

Further, says De Beer, the ANC goes into the election encumbered by the baggage of communism, while the Nats are weighed down by that of apartheid. The DP, he argues, is the natural home for those who oppose both. (304A)

De Beer makes a telling point in noting that the State is often the biggest enemy of human rights and that centralised government — as favoured by previous Nat governments and the ANC now — carries the greatest risk of developing into tyranny. Federalism, which has been fundamental to DP policy since 1962, is the only effective bulwark against it. While conceding the new constitution has federal elements, he maintains it is still essentially centrist, particularly when compared with the great federal democracies of the US, Canada and Germany.

More important, he notes, voters need reminding that the election is not just about putting people in parliament; it's about creating a body to write a new constitution based on the principles thrashed out at Kempton Park. The election of any party with more than a two-thirds majority gives it the unfettered right to write the constitution. Some people, says De Beer, believe the ANC could win more votes than is healthy. Their interests would be better served if they voted for the DP. That's also another reason why he feels Inkatha should contest the election.

But, in spite of the weekend's media hype, the party faithful were treated to a healthy dose of reality with the acknowledgement that the opinion polls don't augur well for the party's showing on April 28.

As De Beer puts it, the tragedy of the DP is that the success of its ideas has never been, and may never be, translated into success at the polls.

To do well, the DP's campaigners will have to overcome hurdles such as intimidation, which prevents free electioneering, and the perception that the best antidote to the ANC is a vote for the Nats.

A more difficult task is making voters aware that, unlike first-past-the-post elections, the proportional representation system means no vote is wasted. Every vote contributes to someone being elected to parliament — even when cast in an area where the DP has not traditionally enjoyed support.

Another widely held misconception is that there is a 5% of the national vote threshold which entitles a party to enter parliament; this only applies for Cabinet representation.

Whichever way one looks at it, the DP has several major obstacles to overcome if it is to feature significantly on polling day. Its slender resources resting on sincerity and human rights campaigning may be insufficient to seriously appeal to undecided voters looking for an alternative to the bigger parties. ■

We'll join the Nats, ^(304A) say jilted squatter leaders

By Sabata Ngcai

South

11/2

15/2/94

EMBATTLED squatter leaders are up in arms over their exclusion from the ANC regional list and are threatening to defect to the National Party if the list is "not rectified" to accommodate them.

Two squatter leaders, Mr Jeffrey Nongwe and Mr Christopher Toise, were on the ANC list of nominations for provincial legislature, but were outvoted in the organisation's ballot.

"If the ANC is leaving us behind, we will see ourselves joining the NP," said squatter leader Mr Jerry Tutu.

Tutu said the squatter leaders have taken up the matter with the ANC regional leadership, following the meeting in Crossroads last Sunday.

The meeting was attended by, among others, Nongwe and Toise as well as

Mr Mali Hoza and Mr Johnson Ngxobongwana who are on the NP's list for provincial government.

Tutu said the squatter leaders had "a big following" and it would be disastrous for the ANC "with which we still identify ourselves, if we crossed over to the National Party".

He said he had told the ANC regional executive member, Mr Christmas Tinto, about their concerns but could not get a "satisfactory response".

Tinto said Nongwe and Toise appeared on the nominations list because they were nominated by their branches as with all candidates were outvoted in the elections took place.

He added they should not worry because being outvoted did not mean one was thrown out of the organisation and the leaders still had a role to play.

AVF warns of trouble

THE Afrikaner Volksfront yesterday said it would not take part in the April election, and warned there would be trouble if the poll went ahead without it being accommodated.

AVF chairman Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg told a news conference after a national representative council meeting in Silverton, Pretoria, that the AVF would, however, employ peaceful means of achieving an Afrikaner *volkstaat* and to end the negotiations deadlock.

With tomorrow's deadline for registering for the elections looming, Hartzenberg said the Government and the African National Congress should

come to their senses and submit a proposal ensuring a *volkstaat* and self-determination for Afrikaners. He said such a proposal would be considered.

If the constitution did not accommodate the aspirations of the Afrikaners, Zulus and Tswanas, "you must be prepared to face the consequences".

"I'm not prepared to say that retaliation won't take place, because there is violence, there is a revolution and they are intimidating people and I think there will come a time when people will say things have gone far enough." — Sapa.

(Report by Evan Wyk, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

(SOLFA)



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Volksfront decides to boycott election

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA. — The Afrikaner Volksfront has decided to boycott the April election and would do everything possible to peacefully prevent the poll taking place, it announced here last night.

However, there was a flurry of behind-the-scenes activity as government negotiator Mr. Roelf Meyer and Freedom Alliance chairperson Mr. Rowan Cronje tried to take negotiations forward.

CP leader Dr. Ferdi Hartzenberg told a news conference that if the election went

ahead, the Volksfront would not be bound by the result. He said the only thing that would prevent this was if the government and the ANC "came to their senses" and agreed to the demand for a Volksstat.

He was speaking after the first meeting of the so-called Boer parliament, or transitional council.

Dr. Hartzenberg was flanked by AWB leader Mr. Eugene Terre-Blanche and Volksfront co-leader General Tienie Groenewald.

General Constand Viljoen was absent but Dr. Hartzenberg assured reporters that the

Volksfront leader supported the decision.

He said General Viljoen was involved in a frantic bid, with the government and the ANC, to salvage the peace process.

Constitutional Development Minister Mr. Roelf Meyer initiated yesterday's bid to get the Alliance to participate in the election. If an agreement looks imminent, tomorrow's deadline for registration for the election could be postponed.

Mr. Meyer sent a letter to Alliance chief negotiator Mr. Rowan Cronje yesterday asking the Alliance how the proposed trilateral talks involving the ANC could proceed.

In particular, Mr. Meyer said, he wanted proposed amendments to the powers and functions of regions, and how to entrench regional constitutions without the override of the constitutional assembly.

He gave Mr. Cronje till 6pm to reply. However, a government spokesman said late last night the Alliance's response to the letter was "woolly and unsatisfactory".

Mr. Cronje said: "What do they want me to do, I only had a few hours to organise an Alliance response to Mr. Meyer's letter." Mr. Cronje said if the government was unsatisfied with his response, "so be it".

President F.W. de Klerk confirmed last night that the deadline could be moved by means of a short parliamentary session if agreement was reached.

On the Volksfront decision, a government spokesman said: "It appears the Volksfront has already made a decision regarding the election while its Alliance partners are still negotiating."

"This confirms the nagging suspicion that they were never serious about participating in the election."

● Alliance discussed 'UDI' — Page 2

CURRENT AFFAIRS

Continued from page 45

In the ANC-AVF talks, by contrast, in which ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki is involved, there is agreement on continuing a process of addressing the concerns of the Volksfront, including the concept of a *volkstaat*. This, it is said, could include a consolidated territory for rightwing Afrikaners. Also entailed is an agreement that the concept of a *volkstaat* will be defined.

According to the *FM*'s information, the sovereignty of such a *volkstaat* has never been put on the table by the Volksfront; nor has the idea been racially defined.

The jury is apparently still out on all this, however, informed sources believe there's a chance of a breakthrough before tomorrow — the Independent Electoral Commission's deadline for parties wishing to contest the general election to register.

The difference with Bophuthatswana's and Inkatha's positions is that they already have territorial power bases to defend. The key to any breakthrough in their case lies in the extent to which proposed constitutional amendments put forward in the government's six-point package are seen as guaranteeing those territorial bases.

Government's plan, which the ANC basically accepts, includes: changing the name of Natal to include the word KwaZulu; a double ballot (both unequivocally accepted); the tax base of provinces — which could be agreed depending on whether Inkatha can live with government's proposed redrafting of clause 155 of the constitution; the issue of provincial powers (over which the ANC is prepared to relent); self-determination — Inkatha and Bophuthatswana are looking at a proposal which looks good to the AVF and which may mean drafting a new constitutional principle; and, lastly, provincial constitutions.

For his part, Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje insists on an undertaking that provincial powers now agreed to will not be removed from provinces "as the SA government did to the four provinces in 1986."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer suspects that the question of entrenching provincial constitutions could be the issue on which the talks finally break down. In any case, the lack of homogeneity in the alliance, he says, causes problems, as each time there seems to be agreement on a particular issue, one alliance partner will say he has to consult his principal.

Meyer urged the alliance to accept the package, which, he believes, materially satisfies their demands. But he says the alliance decided to go for the jugular following the ANC's acceptance last week of a two-ballot election.

Be that as it may, the quid pro quo being sought from the alliance consists of four points: A commitment to take part in the election and transitional structures, forswearing violence and Bophuthatswana's reincorporation.

There are snags over the second and last points. Alliance leaders were meeting on

Tuesday to consider their response, and another trilateral meeting is possible this week.

Today is for all practical purposes the last chance to amend the constitution; and if the alliance parties do not register for the election tomorrow they can't participate. ■

NEGOTIATIONS

Finding each other

Despite Monday's ill-tempered deadlock between Inkatha/Bophuthatswana and government/ANC negotiators, hopes of a breakthrough could just emerge out of separate talks with Constand Viljoen's rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront.

It is a faint hope, but there exists a "considerable basis," a source close to the talks says, for a compromise to be struck between the ANC and the AVF regarding the idea of a *volkstaat*.

Assuming this is pulled off, the question is whether such a deal will be imperilled by the impasse between Bophuthatswana, Inkatha, government and the ANC, or whether the AVF will take its concession and effectively break with the alliance. Splitting the alliance has always been an ANC objective.

Oddly enough, it appears that the chemistry among the main personalities involved in the one set of talks — the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa, Inkatha's Walter Felgate and Bop's Rowan Cronje — is simply "not right." An undercurrent of mutual suspicion seems pervasive, according to the *FM*'s source, who likens it to "trying to buy a used car from someone you don't trust." Felgate accuses the ANC of intransigence; Ramaphosa accuses Inkatha of shifting the goal posts.

Continued on page 48

FINANCIAL MAIL • FEBRUARY • 11 • 1994 • 45



THE ELECTION

Fun 11/2/94

An absence of slogans

The two-horse race between the ANC and NP is being penetrated by the DP's launch of a general election advertising campaign highlighting its value as a smaller, watchdog party.

Because the election will be decided on proportional representation, this is perhaps the first time such a stance makes sense in SA. Every vote except those cast for tiny fringe groups carries weight. In the past, the DP has always suffered from a perception

what most people think, has been weak. In other countries, memorable slogans such as "You've never had it so good" (Macmillan's Britain of the Sixties) and "I like Ike" (Eisenhower in the Fifties) carried their candidates along on a wave of popular acclaim.

Nothing in SA this year threatens to do that. The ANC's "A better life for all" expresses a universal hope but has little to offer the sceptics and has enjoyed only limited use. The NP doesn't appear to have a

(304F)

slogan, though its latest ads undercut the ANC clarion call with the riposte: "Don't just hope for a better life, vote for one."

Perhaps in "Protecting you from the abuse of power" the DP provides the closest thing to a slogan which encapsulates a real issue. Yet it's not a slogan that will set the world alight. In an election where an ANC victory seems a foregone conclusion,

electorate to vote. It will aim to reinforce political tolerance, promote freedom of association and assembly and persuade people that their votes will be secret.

A full range of communications disciplines is expected to be brought into play. Media owners have been asked to contribute in the form of cheap advertising.

Sub-par round

Which world golfer earned the most money last year? Nick Faldo? Nick Price? Greg Norman? Surprisingly, none of the above. The man who makes the most from this sport is semi-retired Arnold Palmer (64), who made US\$11m from endorsements but won only \$100 000 on the seniors' circuit.

Close behind him in a table of highest-paid athletes published by *Forbes* magazine recently was another over-the-hill golfer, Jack Nicklaus, with \$10.2m in total earnings. Current world No 1 Greg Norman was credited with \$8.4m, of which only \$1.4m was from winnings.

Second-ranked Nick Faldo didn't even make the list, which covered the 40 biggest sports earners.

HOW YOU CAN STOP THE ANC FROM WRITING THE NEW CONSTITUTION.

ANC OTHERS DP

ALTHOUGH WE'RE A SMALLER PARTY, WE HOLD A VERY IMPORTANT POSITION.

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DEMOCRATIC PARTY. PROTECTING YOU FROM THE ABUSE OF POWER.

DP ad ... small can be beautiful

that a vote for it, except in a few constituencies, is wasted.

The initial one-month phase focuses on the wasted vote question and the contributions which the DP has made in the negotiations. Phase two has been allocated to issue-driven tactical advertising. In the final month, the campaign will concentrate on portraying a strong DP team. "Many potential DP voters are feeling apprehensive and insecure," says art director Derek Logan of the DP's ad agency, The Jupiter Drawing Room. "The DP must be projected as tough and uncompromising on fundamental principles. The tone must not be arrogant, patronising or offensive." The party believes it can capture far more of the vote than the 3%-5% suggested by opinion polls.

Creativity has not been the dominant characteristic of political advertising so far. While the ANC takes the moral high ground, using copy-rich ads to outline its plans for justice and equity, and to try to reassure white opinion, the NP tends towards a combative, reactive approach, marked by attacks on ANC statements and personalities. NP advertising gives the impression of a party that thinks it's going to win, though for most people an ANC win is a *fait accompli*.

Sloganeering, which can make or break a political campaign by pithily summing up

the biggest question remaining is whether it will win a two-thirds majority and thus the unfettered power to remake the constitution.

Election blitz

Attempts are being made to mobilise SA's business community behind an intense advertising blitz intended to educate people on the value of using their vote.

The Business Election Fund, an initiative taken by individual companies and facilitated by the Consultative Business Movement, has been established and the advertising account has been awarded to Ogilvy & Mather Rightford, SA's biggest ad agency. An announcement is to be made on February 22, but meanwhile information about the programme is as hard to find as hen's teeth. Given the time constraints between now and election day, however, the budget of R50m mentioned when the plan was announced in December now seems unattainable.

The interests of the business community are clear. Without a demonstrably fair, free and representative election, the potential for unrest or for a loss of foreign investor confidence is high. It is understood the campaign will seek to sell democracy and, from a non-partisan business perspective, to inspire the

Animal Farm

The cricket tour of Australia provided numerous opportunities for tactical advertising. Perhaps the best was the eight-second Nando's Chickenland spot triggered whenever a batsman went out for a duck. "Why go out for a duck," asked Nando's, "when you can go out for a chicken?"

The idea was the brainchild of the Hunt Lascaris creative team of Mike Schalit, Johnny Dubin and Rui Alves. The biggest problem was working out a system to synchronise the flighting with the moment of a batsman's dismissal. But with the co-operation of M-Net, procedures were set up to ensure this happened.

There is no set schedule. The client doesn't even know how many flightings to expect. "We know of no other tactical TV advertising that is driven by an event within the play itself," says Nando's marketing manager Josie McKenzie.

Another Hunt Lascaris ad which cashed in on the cricket tour was for Adidas. A "welcome home" spot depicted the team members' labelled baggage passing through the airport carousel and ending with a "baa!" for the Australian umpires.

□ Grey Advertising, not Lindsay Smithers (FM Jan 14) won the Smart Centre account last year. Apologies.

Tony Koenderman

Volkstaat better than years of violence, says Cape DP leader

CLIVE SAWYER, Staff Reporter

DEMOCRATIC Party regional leader Henrie Bester says a sovereign volkstaat would be better than years of discontent and violence. ARG 11/2/94

"I am not an advocate of a racial state," he told an Institute of Citizenship meeting. "My view is purely pragmatic: do not underestimate ethnic nationalism's ability to disrupt national politics."

Mr Bester said the volkstaat should be a small area, perhaps in the Northern Cape or Western Transvaal.

He doubted that anyone would move there "apart from a very few Afrikaner bureaucrats and professors". The volkstaat would have to be outside a new federal South Africa, but the constitution should allow for its eventual reintegration.

Speaking on the new Cape parliament, Mr Bester said the DP had vowed to fight for stronger provincial powers.

The 42-member legislature, with a premier and 10-member cabinet, is to sit for the first time within seven days of the April election.

The interim constitution was "federalist in form but much too centralist in substance", he said.

There were no areas of jurisdiction where provinces would have exclusive powers. One of the DP's chief goals was a more federalist final constitution, and constitutional principles enshrined at DP insistence would aid a move in this direction.

Federalism was a check on central government tyranny, he said.

He predicted that only two provinces would fight for greater provincial powers — the Western Cape and Natal.

In the interim constitution, provinces will have concurrent legislative power with the national assembly over 21 functions, including education, health services, housing, local government, provincial police, trade and industrial promotion and urban and rural development.

In certain circumstances, national legislation will take precedence.

Each political party getting more than 10 percent of the provincial vote will be entitled to a cabinet seat.

Each province will get an "equitable" share of income tax and value added tax raised within its borders and could get conditional or unconditional grants.

The "equitable share" would be decided by the national cabinet after consulting a fiscal commission.

Mr Bester said the DP believed central government should be bound by the decision of the fiscal commission.

(News by C Sawyer, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

Freedom Alliance talks continue

Volksfront calls boycott of elections

B/day 11/2/94

THE Afrikaner Volksfront announced last night it was boycotting the April election and would do everything possible to peacefully prevent the poll taking place. (BOLA) (HSA)

However, there was a flurry of behind-the-scenes activity as government negotiator Roelf Meyer and Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje tried to take negotiations forward.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg told a Pretoria news conference that if the election went ahead, the Volksfront would not be bound by the result. The only thing that would prevent this was if government and the ANC "came to their senses" and agreed to the demand for a volkstaat.

He was speaking after the first meeting of the so-called Boer parliament, or transitional volksraad, and was flanked by AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche and Volksfront co-leader Gen Tienie Groenewald.

Gen Constand Viljoen was absent but Hartzenberg said he "fully supports" the decision by the 90-member volksraad. He said Viljoen was involved in frantic last-minute attempts with government and the ANC to try to salvage the peace process.

Hartzenberg warned there was no guarantee peaceful resistance against the election would not lead to violent protest. If a communist government tried to crush the volkstaters, as the ANC had threatened, "we must use a little bit of violence to protect ourselves".

The right-wing campaign to halt the poll would start at local government level, spearheaded by the Transvaal Municipal Association and white councils that sup-

DAVID GREYBE
and BILLY PADDOCK

ported the volkstaat demand.

Terre'Blanche said it was impossible for any group to rule SA without the support of the Afrikaners, the Zulus and the Tswanas.

Hartzenberg said two demands had to be met before the deadlock could be broken:

- Government and ANC recognition of the right to self-determination including a volkstaat; and

- A whites-only referendum to determine support for a volkstaat, and its boundaries.

Meanwhile, Meyer yesterday asked Cronje for the alliance's proposed amendments to the powers and functions of regions and its proposals to entrench regional constitutions without central government intervention.

Meyer demanded an alliance commitment that it regarded resolution of these issues as a full and final settlement. However, a government spokesman said late last night that the alliance's response had been "very woolly and unsatisfactory".

Cronje said: "What do they want me to do. I only had a few hours to organise an alliance response to Meyer's letter."

Reacting to the Volksfront boycott, a government spokesman said: "It appears the Volksfront has already made a decision regarding the election while its alliance partners are still negotiating."

"This confirms the nagging suspicion that they were never serious about participating in the election in the first place."

Report by D Greybe and B Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Comment: Page 14

Alliance report moots disrupting elections

B/D Bay 11/2/94
BILLY PADDOCK

A CONFIDENTIAL Freedom Alliance strategy document proposes that in the event of the alliance boycotting the elections, it should prepare immediately for secession and create conditions making free and fair elections impossible.

However, this should be kept secret for as long as possible to force acceptance of the alliance's constitutional proposals and motivate foreign financial support.

The document was drawn up at a meeting of the alliance's executive committee in Richards Bay, on January 10.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje confirmed the document was authentic, but said it contained only scenarios which had never been adopted by alliance leaders. The January 10 meeting was called specifically to discuss the formation of an electoral alliance, as opposed to a mere negotiating alliance. It was decided against because "the differences in member organisations' policies are too great".

The executive considered three options — participation, non-participation and doing nothing. The third option was shelved.

The participation option was split into suboptions: winning the election; preventing the ANC getting a two-thirds majority; and "disrupting the election" (30/4/94).

All were possible, whether the interim constitution remained in place or was amended to suit the alliance. (30/4/94)

The second option was to "abstain from

□ To Page 2

Alliance report

B/D Bay 11/2/94

□ From Page 1

participation in the election and secede from the RSA, or create conditions under which it would be impossible to have a free and fair election (30/4/94) (30/4/94)

It concluded that if members participated in the election individually, rather than as an alliance, "no member would obtain sufficient votes (20%) to elect a deputy president or to have a position of power through the number of members elected to the Cabinet, constitutional assembly and other organs of government at regional and/or national level".

Support from the Press and international community would be limited; and the alliance's supporters would either vote for the NP, to prevent the ANC getting a two-thirds majority, or for the ANC, to be on the winning side.

It also warned that participation implied the alliance would have to "accept the results of the election and give credibility to the multiparty process".

The option of participating with the aim of disrupting the election would depend on the legal implications. However, it would also have "more freedom of movement for

actions aimed at resistance. (This option does require further investigation.)"

The document states that should the alliance not participate, but take the option of disruption, "the full power of the government, the ANC and the TEC will be directed against it".

The situation regarding the security forces and their attitude to the alliance could also influence the decision.

Secession becomes an option only if the country becomes ungovernable and the alliance will have to secure its own position in a situation similar to Angola and Mozambique, the document says.

Alternatively it is an option if the alliance becomes a force feared by government and the ANC, who believe it cannot be subjugated by military force. This would make a peaceful secession possible.

Factors against an electoral alliance, which could contain the ANC majority, or even win the election, included the "political cost for the Inkatha Freedom Party of being associated with the Afrikaner Volksfront, the CP and the AWB" and Bophuthatswanan independence would have to be sacrificed.

De Klerk slates ANC mining plans

TIM COHEN

WELKOM — President F W de Klerk condemned the ANC's mining policy during his visit to the Free State gold fields yesterday. (B1D94)

Responding to ANC president Nelson Mandela's reiteration that the ANC would shift ownership of mineral rights to the state, De Klerk said this was throwing a shadow over the mining industry, which was the "backbone" of the economy. (112194)

The ANC intended to replicate policies that had failed all over the world, he told a crowd at a shopping centre on the first day of his three-day election "roadshow" through the Free State. (20449)

Asked about Mandela's assertion that he was a weakling for not arresting right-wing members who had committed acts of violence, he said: "He has so much egg on his face he needs two bars of soap to wash it off."

He pointed out that the day after Mandela had made the statement, a large number of right-wingers had been arrested.

Earlier, De Klerk visited patients and opened a regional hospital at Thabong, near Welkom. Coincidentally, he kissed the same baby as Mandela kissed on his recent Free State tour.

Last night he addressed about 500 enthusiastic supporters who were bussed to a heavily secured water purification plant in Bothaville and later treated to a braai.

De Klerk will visit various locations in the Free State over the next two days.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Volkstaat map now ready for Mandela

B/DAY

11/2/94

DAVID GREYBE

THE Afrikaner Volksfront has drafted a volkstaat map, where Afrikaners are in a majority, which it is hoping to present to ANC president Nelson Mandela soon.

The proposed territory had a single "consolidated" border, sources said yesterday. It covered between 25% and 30% of the combined area of the former Boer republics in Transvaal and Free State.

A source said Afrikaners made up 70% of the population in the area, and 80% of them had voted "no" in the whites-only referendum in March 1992.

The area contributed between 12% and 13% of the country's GDP.

It excluded most of the Witwatersand, the southern Free State, the northern Transvaal and homeland territories such as Bophuthatswana and Venda.

Pretoria was included, but sources were not prepared at this stage to name other towns, except to say they were "mostly traditional (Afrikaner) towns".

Sources said they were afraid to divulge more details in case behind-the-scenes negotiations with the ANC and government were jeopardised.

One source described the proposed map as a working document which had still to be finalised.

The proposed volkstaat was divided into

four regions and covered between 15% and 18% of SA's total land mass — "about five times the size of Switzerland".

"You can get to each of the volkstaat's regions without crossing SA territory," a source said. (304A)

The borders, however, were still "soft" and could be altered through negotiations.

Mandela has on several occasions called on the Volksfront to present the ANC with a map on its proposed volkstaat which could be used as the basis for further negotiations.

Dutch Reformed Church vice-moderator Prof Johan Heyns was trying this week to secure agreement by government, the ANC and Volksfront for international mediation to break the deadlock over demands for a volkstaat.

Pockets of pro-volkstaters outside the proposed homeland who wanted to be part of it should be allowed to form "volkstaat cantons", said the Volksfront.

This idea was based on the Swiss model, a source explained.

Similarly, the "one or two" English-speaking and black areas which fell inside the proposed area should be given the option to form "new SA cantons", the source said.

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

NP warning on Argus sale

B/DAY

11/2/94

LLOYD COUTTS

THE National Party yesterday cautiously welcomed the buyout of Argus newspapers as a foreign investment, but called on the new majority shareholder to assure South Africans that editorial policy would not be influenced to favour a single political party.

Anglo American and JCI announced on Tuesday that they would sell their 31% interest in Argus Newspapers to Irish-controlled Independent Newspapers (INP), headed by Heinz food boss Tony O'Reilly, who has been linked with ANC president Nelson Mandela.

The NP said the move was to the advantage of SA and should be welcomed if the investment was based purely on business considerations.

"There is always a danger, however, that somebody in Mr O'Reilly's position would succumb to the temptation of meddling in the newspapers' editorial policy.

"It is therefore essential that Mr O'Reilly gives the assurance — as a non-South African with strong ANC ties — that he will not use his position to influence editorial policy to favour one of the political parties.

"This emphasises the need for careful consideration where non-South Africans

acquire interest in our powerful media," said the NP.

The Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging said it believed the Argus buyout to be another disinvestment in the new SA, similar to the registration of offshore companies by De Beers and Anglo American.

"Although the AWB regards the Argus group as hostile to the boers, we regard the blatancy of the political realignment of the media as a whole as an indicator that an ANC-ruled SA is indeed going to be no different to tinpot one-party states elsewhere in Africa. (304A) (112)

"Given the composition of the SABC board, even at this stage it is clear that the only non-ANC media is Radio Pretoria.

"Even this the ANC-aligned TEC wants to close down."

The AWB said the haste with which local businessmen had been disinvesting and even smuggling their money out of the country belied their commitment to the new SA, and exposed them as the closet, racist hypocrites they were.

The AWB asked whether payment would be made locally or abroad and whether it would be made in finrands.

Poll registration deadline 'can change'

FW gives alliance one last chance

ESTHER WAUGH
and CHRIS WHITFIELD

PRESIDENT de Klerk has offered the Freedom Alliance (FA) a last chance to become part of the country's historic political settlement.

Speaking in Clarence on his Free State election roadshow, he said it was "technically possible" to change today's midnight deadline for parties to register for the April election.

Government sources indicated last night that the deadline could be shifted only by amending the Electoral Act, which would require Parliament to be called for a brief sitting.

De Klerk said that if agreement was reached soon between the FA, Government and ANC, the deadline could be shifted.

Divisions

But he warned that his comments did not create an "open door" situation, and that agreement would have to be reached soon.

There have been clear indications in recent days of divisions within the alliance. A substantial group of Conservative Party moderates were this week set to force a caucus vote on participation in the election, arguing that the party should not hand a two-thirds majority to the ANC "on a plate".

But a senior CP source revealed that the group had "the wind taken out of our sails" when the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly caucus took its decision on Wednesday night to resist the election. He explained that members of the CP's pro-election grouping felt that they did not want to destroy the alliance with KwaZulu by taking a conflicting decision.

Today the Inkatha Freedom Party central committee meets to take its decision on the election, and dissenting voices are bound to be raised. At the IFP's recent special general conference, some significant figures in the party were outspoken in calling for participation.

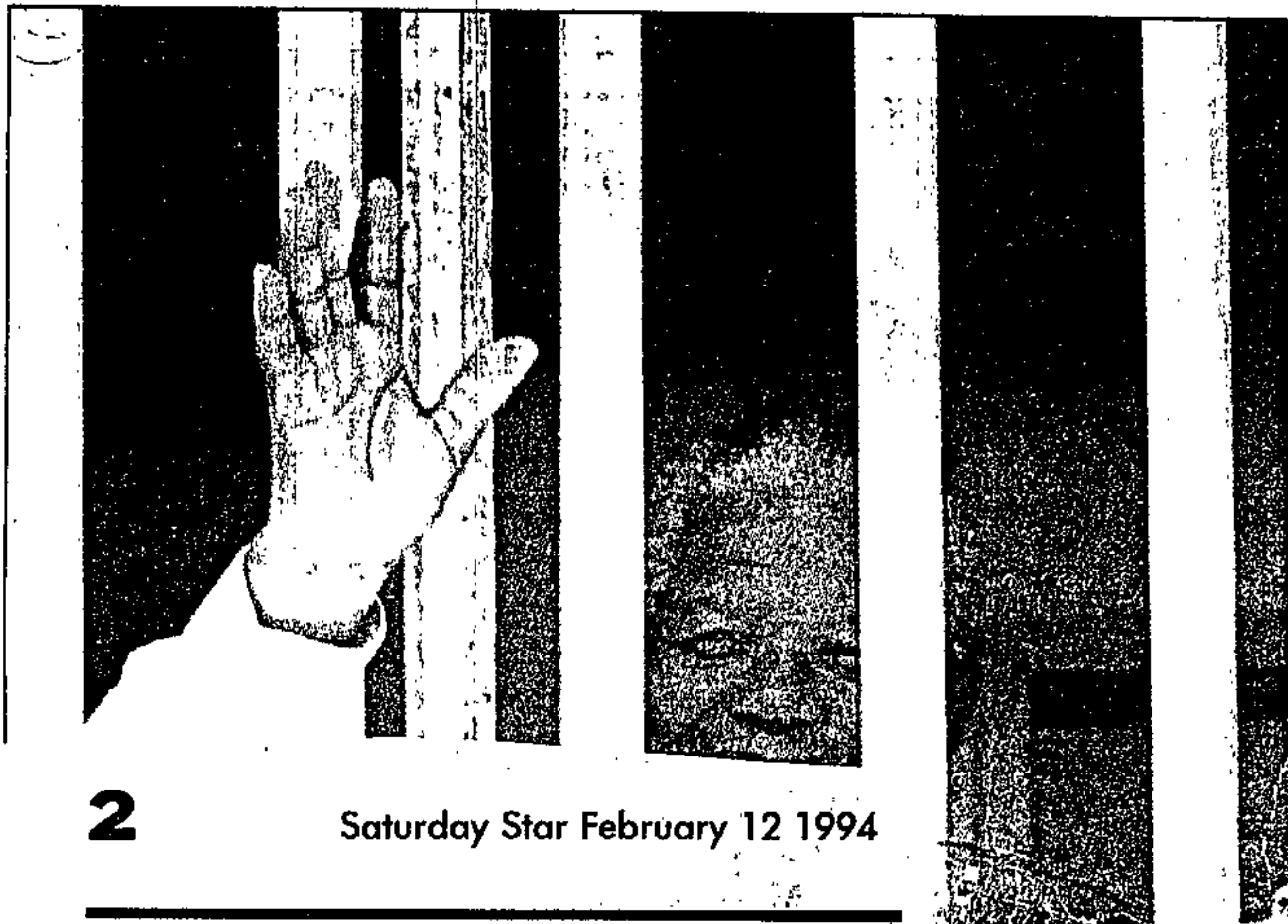
However, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi appears to have set his mind against the polls and will have the backing of the conference resolution, which called for a boycott if its demands were not met in negotiations.

Government sources were last night pessimistic about any breakthrough before the existing midnight deadline for registration.

John Soderlund reports that 10 political parties, including the DP, ANC and NP, had registered for the election by late yesterday.

First at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday was the centrist African Christian Democratic Party, which ap-

● TO PAGE 2.



2

Saturday Star February 12 1994

Star Alliance

● FROM PAGE 1.

plied to stand in all regions (304A)

The ANC, NP and DP followed with applications for all regions, and the Dikwankwetla Party in the Orange Free State and PWV regions.

The tiny Merit People's Party applied to stand only in the Western Cape and last night Amichand Rajbansi's newly named Minority Party (formerly National People's Party) submitted an application to stand in the Natal/KwaZulu region.

The PAC is expected to apply for registration this morning.

The signals this week have all pointed to a boycott of the election by all members of the FA, with the possible exception of Bophuthatswana.

Besides the hardline KwaZulu resolution, the Afrikaner Volksfront also resolved on Thursday not to take part in the election.

Yesterday De Klerk said the Government still had to get clarity from the AVF on whether its decision also meant that the CP would not be contesting the April poll.

He warned that if the AVF's boycott meant a move to violence or attempts to prevent the election, the Government would act "firmly".

De Klerk told a press conference that the Government would continue negotiations until the "very last possible moment". It had put a "concrete and well-constructed" proposal to the FA, but the alliance's response had not been satisfactory.

47 Sauer St, Johannesburg

but the ANC leader also sadly re emotional and physical hardships

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OHNSON

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policies".

Mandela said: "Because leadership, I agonised a government without disc colleagues. I felt I had a approaching the authority did, they would reject it."

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He then arranged to se
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JUDE WEBBER

was buying nearly 67 per cent of Capital News- papers from British publishing company EMAP and Stantonmill Ltd for £4,8 million (R24,2 million).

● See Pages 4, 12 and 17

Bos

LONDON - Western allies Serbs of Bosn

This would 1991 Gulf War a fight, West mined to limit air strike

A war would auspices of against the wishes of Russia and without the endorsement of China.

In the countdown to midnight on Febru-

Bosnian Serbs have honoured the cease-fire on Wednesday, there will be no war. - The Independent/Sapa-Reuter.

Independent News- papers, Ireland's biggest media company, said it

DP's candidate list

CT 12/2/94 (304A)

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE Democratic Party's final lists of Western Cape candidates have been bolstered by the inclusion of prominent figures like renowned historian Professor Rodney Davenport and former commanding officer of the SADF Women's College at George, Mrs Hilda Burnett.

The consolidated lists for the provincial legislature and the national assembly — released at the official launch of the DP regional election campaign on Signal Hill yesterday — contain a wide cross-section of candidates, from politicians and academics to township activists and workers.

However, the top positions on the lists remain unchanged from the selections settled on by party branches two weeks ago.

The national list is headed by Mr Ken Andrew, DP national chairman and MP for Gardens, and the provincial list by Mr Hennie Bester, Western Cape leader and MP for Green Point.

An interesting inclusion on the list for the national assembly is that of Professor Davenport, Emeritus Professor of History at Rhodes University and author of *South Africa — A Modern History*.

The ordered list of Western Cape candidates for the national assembly or central parliament is:

Mr Ken Andrew (Gardens), Mr Jasper Walsh (Pinelands), Mr Colin Douglas (Rondebosch), Ms Dene Smuts (Kenilworth), Ms Jill Mathiesen (Knysna), Mr Roger Hulley (Constantia), Mr David Curry (Pniel), Mr John Fortuin (Atlantis), Mr



NEW BLOOD . . . Launching the Democratic Party's Western Cape campaign on Signal Hill yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach de Beer wishes party candidates Mr Abel Kiwitz, 19, of George, and DP Youth leader Mr Colin Douglas, 23, well in their bid to become South Africa's youngest MPs. Dr De Beer became the country's youngest MP in 1953, at the age of 23.

Picture: JACK LESTRADE

Andhor Marks (Retreat), Mr Jacobus Koopman (Atlantis), Mr Joseph Maart (Wynberg), Mr Dennis Marinus (Grabouw), Ms Allison April (Stellenbosch), Mr Neville Padiachy (Bredasdorp), Mr Allie Norodien (Worcester), Ms Hilda Burnett (George), Mr Ben Rabinowitz (Sea Point), Mr Errol Gordon (Berg River), Dr John Sonnenberg (Sea Point) and Prof Rodney Davenport (Groote Schuur).

Position No 12 has still to be finalised by the Southern Cape sub-region.

The full ordered list of DP candidates for the Western Cape provincial assembly or regional parliament is:

Mr Hennie Bester (Green Point), Prof Richard van der Ross (Belhar), Mr Joe Marks Snr (Retreat), Mr Chris April (Outeniqua), Mr Herbert Hirsch (Fresnaye), Ms Elmarie Neilson (Table View), Mr Stephen Ntsane (Guguletu), Mr Demetri Qually (Muizenberg), Mr Graham Retief (Paarl), Mr Dennis Marinus (Grabouw),

Ms Florina Serfontein (Belhar), Mr Chris Joubert (Sea Point), Ms Karen Hvidson (Newlands), Mr John Fortuin (Atlantis), Ms Jill Mathiesen (Knysna), Mr David Curry (Pniel), Mr Keith Gurney (Noordhoek), Ms Lynita Conradie (Zonnebloem), Mr Andhor Marks (Retreat), Ms Belinda Walker (Gardens), Mr Peter Krummeck (Rondebosch), Mr Pieter Visser (Bellville), Mr Theodore Swanepoel (Ashton), Mr Joseph Marks Jnr (Retreat), Mr Pierre Nel (Oudtshoorn), Mr Farouk Daniels (Wynberg), Mr Daniel Ngo (Guguletu), Mr Owen Kinahan (Observatory), Mr Taffy Shearing (Beaufort West), Mr Esau Jones (Woodstock), Ms Kate Alexander (George), Mr Enslin Lodewyk (Vredenburg), Ms Gisela Jespersen (Somerset West), Mr Julian Stander (Bridgeton), Mr Cedric McNeil (Worcester), Ms Vicky Kempthorne (Wynberg), Mr David Wilson (Tafelsig), Ms Hazel Bowen (Woodstock), Ms Faiza Jacobs (Eastridge), Mr Attie Engelbrecht (Piketberg), Mr Ray Sylvester (Fish Hoek) and Ms Caroline McKay (Heideveld).

Talks: Constand Viljoen cries 'foul'

JOHANNESBURG. — Mr Nelson Mandela's statements that there would never be a volkstaat were provocative and might lead to a situation "we all want to avoid", Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

In an open letter to the ANC leader Gen Viljoen said: "Your remarks have been inconsistent with what went on in negotiations and has left my team confused and embarrassed."

The two sides had agreed that the first three weeks of January were to be spent in a joint effort to facilitate a final decision on a Volkstaat, Gen Viljoen said.

However Mr Mandela had "unexpectedly on quite a number of occasions publicly denied the possibility of a volkstaat per se", he said — even while negotiations were ensuing.

Granting a volkstaat would be the

only way to ensure a peaceful future, said Gen Viljoen.

Meanwhile HNP leader Mr Jaap Marais said yesterday the HNP's first task was to wreck the April 27 elections and force President F W de Klerk to hold a white election.

Mr Marais proposed a countrywide campaign by right-wing leaders to discourage their supporters from voting.

Freedom Alliance supporters that if they boycotted the elections they might just as well vote for the ANC.

Mr De Klerk said that the Alliance leaders had been "extremely frustrating" during negotiations but they now had an opportunity to clinch a deal that would entail real concessions from the government and the ANC. — Own Correspondent, Sapa

■ From page 1

threw in his lot with the National Party.

As a result, he has been forced to resign and is to be replaced by Desmond Lockey, son-in-law of LP leader Alan Hendrikse. ARG 12/2/94

This was followed by the surprise decision earlier this month by Solidarity leader J N Reddy to join the ANC alliance. Already on the sub-council are a senior ANC economics spokesman Tito Mboweni and T J Ndaba, of the ANC-alliance Inyangza Party from Kangwane. The formal appointment of Mr Lockey within days will give the ANC the two-thirds majority it needs to control the sub-council in terms of TEC legislation.

The other two members of the sub-council are deputy Minister of Finance Theo Alant and chairman of the sub-council S Moji of the QwaQwa Dikwankwela Party, which is not aligned to any other party.

Democratic Party finance spokesman Ken Andrew said the control could have a significant affect on the moulding financial policy.

"We have been totally dissatisfied with the appointments to the sub-council including the finance sub-council. In my view, they generally were rigged in favour of the ANC alliance with the total compliance of the National Party. The NP has allowed this to happen by being half asleep all the time"

(News by Bruce Cameron, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

■ The African National Congress has caught the National Party napping and has quietly snatched extensive powers, including limited veto powers, to run the economy.

BRUCE CAMERON
Business Editor

IN a remarkable political coup, the African National Congress is about to grab control of the Transitional Executive Council's key finance sub-council, giving it substantial influence in government financial policy and over the first post-election budget.

The Democratic Party, which does not have a full member on the sub-council, has accused the National Party of abdication by being "half asleep".

The council has the right to be represented on all function and budgeting committees and has to be consulted or informed on nearly every aspect of fiscal or monetary policy.

Although it does not have veto powers, it could delay or force changes to existing policy decisions.

The main task of the sub-council at the moment is monitoring the budget, which is due in August and is well into the preparation stage, and watching the country's international financial transactions.

The ANC's two-thirds majority on the sub-council followed fluctuating political alliances between parties after the initial appointment of the members.

The first step towards control came when former Labour Party MP John Douw split with the party after it decided to enter the ANC alliance. He

■ To page 3

ANC grabs the TEC purse strings

ARG 12/2/94 3044

India sees SA in a new light

(304A) ARG 12/2/94

NEW DELHI. — Links between South Africa and India, frozen for decades, are warming up.

Reacting ecstatically to a visit to South Africa last week by two Indian government ministers, The Pioneer newspaper of New Delhi called the visit "a stupendous success".

The paper said Civil Aviation and Tourism Minister Ghulam Nali Azad was able to tell South Africa what India could offer as a tourist destination, a trading partner and an investor while Minister of State for External Affairs Salman Khurshid wanted to find out how South Africa's one million-strong Indian community would be likely to fare after the April elections.

The Pioneer said that, while there were some apprehensions, there was "no sense of immediate panic about their future, as in Uganda".

The newspaper added: "On his part, Khurshid made it clear that Indians in South Africa were South Africans first and last, although with a special bond with India ...

"The Indian government wants to play down too intimate a relationship, concentrating on only the emotional bond. This, it is felt in official circles, is good for all concerned, because too much emphasis on the India connection could be counter-productive for the Indian community in the future."

Government circles in New Delhi feel that, because of its geographical

■ As relations between South Africa and India blossom, talk is turning to joint military exercises and a trading pact between the two nations.

GRANVILLE WATTS

Weekend Argus
Foreign Service

position, India is snubbed by the Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) and by the United States with its new interest in East Asia.

"But, South Africa is close and together with India might be able to form a trade grouping in the Indian Ocean region," said one Indian official.

In a paper prepared for Indian businessmen, the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) said: "South Africa has the potential now to once again become a significant trading partner for India.

India also is nervous about China's military budget which has doubled since 1988, particularly the build-up of the Chinese Navy which could eventually pose a threat in the Indian Ocean. So, joint Indian-South African navy exercises in the future cannot be ruled out.

The latest stepping stone in relations between South Africa and India was the appointment of a senior diplomat, Madhav Mangalmurthi, as India's first ambassador to South Africa.

DP to make 'deals' with Nats, ANC in W Cape

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

WITH the Western Cape election result in the balance, the Democratic Party plans to force trade to tip the balance in favour of the party that offers it the best deal.

Hennie Bester, DP Western Cape premiership candidate, this week revealed the DP's horse trading plan that could make it the kingmaker of the Cape in the event of close calls between the National Party and the African National Congress in the province.

With polls so far unable to predict a clear winner between the Nats and the ANC in the Western Cape, the chances of the DP holding the balance-of-power in the province are becoming stronger.

This would put the DP in the vanguard seats when the newly-elected provincial parliament meets shortly after the election to elect the provincial premier, shaping up as a fight between the NP's Hennis Kriel and the ANC's Allan Boesak. Mr Bester told Weekend Argus that in the event of a "hung parliament" with no party enjoying a clear majority in the Western Cape, "the horse trading will begin immediately after the election".

He said the DP would bargain with the NP and ANC separately for at least two seats on the provincial executive or "cabinet". The two key portfolios the DP will seek are police as well as trade, industry and economic development — both new powers granted to provinces.

■ The DP will give its support to the highest bidder if it holds the Western Cape balance of power between Hennis Kriel and Allan Boesak after the elections.

As part of the horse trading the DP would sound out which of the NP or ANC would put more effort into ensuring greater personal security for the people of the province against crime and violence.

"We have a specific agenda for the Western Cape which puts personal security high up, particularly policing. We feel incredibly strongly on provincial policing to create the climate for the economy to perform at its optimum," Mr Bester said.

He said the DP would also bargain with the NP and ANC on which of them was prepared to push for even greater provincial powers — an issue the DP took very seriously.

He said it was impossible to predict which way the DP's support would go even though the Nats ostensibly supported greater provincial powers.

"The NP has already sold out

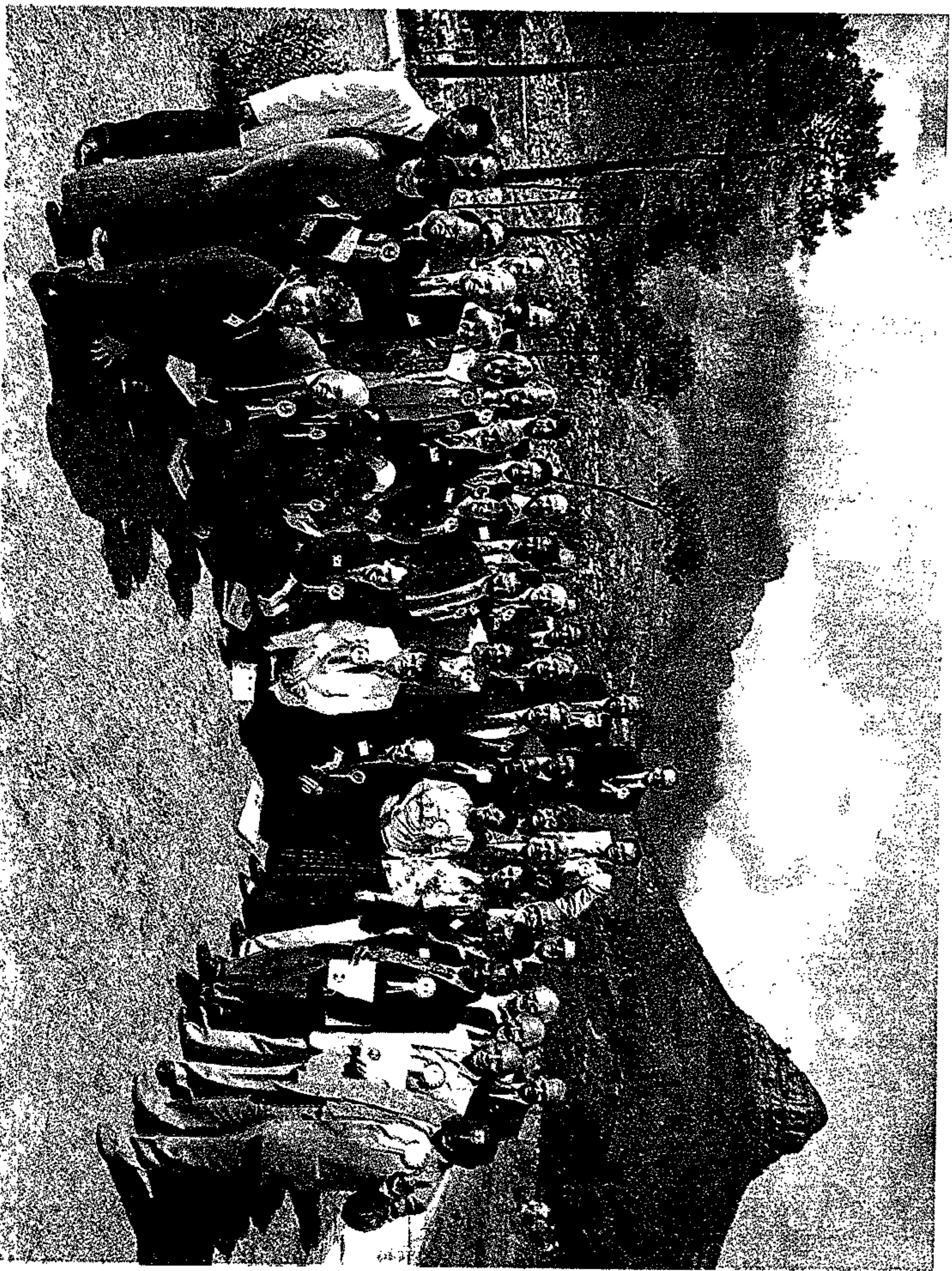
on provincial powers," he said. While no neutral observers give the DP a chance of coming better than a distant third behind the NP and ANC in the province, Mr Bester staunchly predicts the ANC will come third.

The recent Argus poll showed the DP with four per cent of support in the entire Cape province. But as this includes the heavily pro-ANC Eastern Cape, the DP's support in the Western Cape is likely to be much higher.

The poll gives the DP eight per cent of coloured support and eight per cent of white support in the whole Cape with a huge 33 per cent of coloured voters and massive 45 per cent of whites still unsure. The DP could attract some of the swing vote. However, black DP support is negligible.

The Pan Africanist Congress has only one per cent of support in the whole of the Cape according to the poll. In the unlikely event of the PAC holding the balance-of-power in the Western Cape, the PAC is virtually certain to support Dr Boesak against Mr Kriel.

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



Picture: HANNES THART, Weekend Argus

DP watchdogs aim to keep the rest honest

TOS WENTZEL

Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE April election is going to be about honesty in politics and the creation of jobs, Democratic Party leader Zach de Beer told candidates at the launch of the party's campaign in the Western Cape.

DP supporters would have the "tremendous task" of combating the authoritarian tendencies of both the National Party and the African National Congress, he said.

"Our job is to keep the others honest."

He said people were already beginning to see that the Na-

tional Party and the ANC could not be trusted.

Dr De Beer said the NP was trying to undo all it had done in the past while the ANC was promising everything to everyone without a price tag.

The DP had a fine record in the defence of human rights which was again the case at the Kempton Park negotiations when it had to fight against the ANC-NP single ballot plan because these parties had begun to love each other so much, he said.

Dealing with economic problems Dr De Beer said that, with 50 per cent of those who wanted to work now unemployed, the situation was worse

than it had been in the great depression of 1933.

There was no way of creating jobs without economic growth or of achieving stability without justice, he said, adding that the DP had always stood for the free enterprise democratic system.

Western Cape DP leader Hennie Bester said the party not only intended expanding its balance of power position in the province. It would also become one of the two largest parties in the area.

The Western Cape campaign was likely to be the most exciting of all the campaigns in the election. There was no clear winner at this stage, he said.

The DP's main objectives were to:

- Ensure the safety of all the people by building a legitimate community-based police force primarily to combat crime.
- Generate economic growth, create jobs and deliver housing and social services through free enterprise and responsible economic policies.
- Make the Western Cape the national centre for education and technical excellence.

● Let the area be the bridgehead for strong provincial government throughout South Africa.

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

'Aliens' have a say in new South Africa

■ A feature of the April election is that certain categories of foreigners will be able to vote. (3044)

FRANS ESTERHUYSE

Weekend Argus
Political Correspondent

FOR the first time, thousands of people who are not South African citizens will be entitled to vote when the elections are held on April 27.

They are aliens, including citizens of independent black homelands, who have been officially granted permanent residence in South Africa.

A spokesman for the Department of Home Affairs confirmed they would be able to vote — provided they had the necessary identity documents or voting cards.

A "permanent resident" is a

person who holds a permit for permanent residence or who has been exempted from the requirement for holding such a permit in terms of the Aliens Control Act of 1991.

Those qualifying for permanent residence include former South African citizens who qualify for the restoration of South African citizenship, a South African citizen's or former citizen's child or spouse who has entered South Africa with the intention of staying permanently and persons in several other categories. **ARG 12/2/94**

In terms of new legislation, millions of people deprived of South African citizenship when the TBVC homelands opted for independence, will now be able to vote in the April election. Their citizenship was restored, with effect from January 1, under provisions of the Restoration and

Extension of South African Citizenship Act passed by parliament in December last year.

Permanent residents, like South African citizens, must have identity (ID) documents. In the documents issued to them, it is stated they are non-citizens.

Five different types of identity documents will be acceptable for the April elections. These are:

■ The green ID plastic card issued since 1950.

■ The blue ID document issued since 1972.

■ All green ID documents (including the "Book of Life") issued since 1980.

■ Reference books issued to black people since 1950, and

■ ID documents issued by the independent homelands (Transkei, Bophuthatswana,

Venda and Ciskei) since they became independent.

In certain cases, voters' cards are being issued to voters. These will enable them to vote if they do not have any of the other documents available.

The new provisions in the Electoral Act appear to have been designed to accommodate returning exiles, homeland citizens living in South Africa, and other new voters qualifying for the first time to vote in a South African parliamentary election.

In terms of the Electoral Act, a person qualifies for the issuing of a temporary voter's card if he or she is entitled to vote but does not possess any other valid voter's eligibility document.

The home affairs spokesman in Cape Town told Weekend Argus the issuing of vot-

ers' cards began this week. The cards are issued to people applying for the first time for ID documents, such as young people turning 18 before the election. Others who qualify for voting cards include people who qualify for ID documents but whose applications cannot be fully processed before election day.

People who have lost their ID documents can obtain temporary documents.

Recent calculations by the home affairs department showed that about 22 340 000 people will be eligible to vote in the election. In the Western Cape there are 2 360 000 voters, in the Eastern Cape 2 850 000 and in the northern Cape 437 300.

It has been estimated that more than 90 percent of eligible voters already have acceptable ID documents.

(News by F S Esterhuysen, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

India sees SA in a new light

(304A) ARG 12/2/94

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GRANVILLE WATTS

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Foreign Service

position, India is snubbed by the Association of South East Nations (ASEAN) and by the United States with its new interest in East Asia.

"But, South Africa is close and together with India might be able to form a trade grouping in the Indian Ocean region," said one Indian official.

In a paper prepared for Indian businessmen, the Confederation of Indian Industry (CII) said: "South Africa has the potential now to once again become a significant trading partner for India."

India also is nervous about China's military budget which has doubled since 1988, particularly the build-up of the Chinese Navy which could eventually pose a threat in the Indian Ocean. So, joint Indian-South African navy exercises in the future cannot be ruled out.

The latest stepping stone in relations between South Africa and India was the appointment of a senior diplomat, Madhav Mangalmurthi, as India's first ambassador to South Africa.

By NORMAN WEST: Political Reporter

THE political temperature among CP, NP and ANC supporters in the Northern Cape (437 000 voters), matches the 40°C heat of summer.

The CP, which polled 36 percent in the region against the ANC's 39 percent in a Sunday Times survey, will "draw the borders of a volkstaat in the Northern Cape with weapons", said CP Cape secretary Koot Jonker in Kimberley this week. "We have no election fever here yet. But the 1992 referendum results, which returned a big 'no' vote against Mr F W de Klerk's reforms, proved the Northern Cape was CP country."

But the CP was "living in fool's paradise", countered Mr P W Saaiman, MP for Mid-Karoo and the P's No 2 Northern Cape candidate for the national parliament after chief hip and MP for Kimberley South Johannes "Kepes" Mennand.

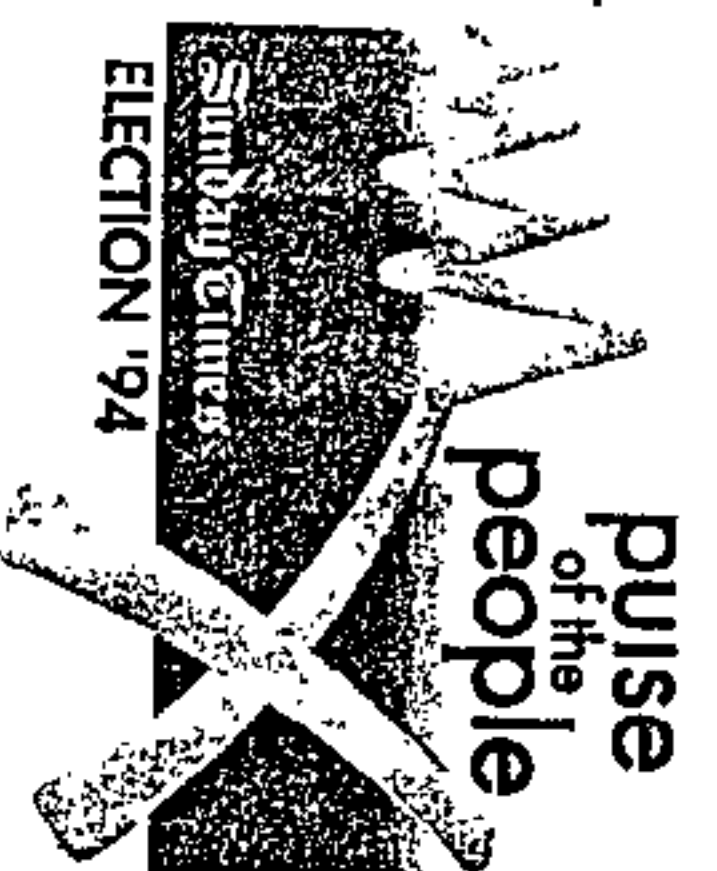
"The coloureds — together with most of the second-largest group, the blacks — share with whites the Afrikaans language and other cultural values in this region. They will never vote the ANC or the NP into power," said Mr Mennand. "We are taking the Northern Cape, that's sure."

In Kimberley, Mr William Steenkamp, 29, a former University of the Western Cape student and lecturer in engineering science, is secretary-general of the ANC in Northern Cape and in charge of its Kimberley branch office.

In some farms, he said, field workers had been sent away and threatened with assault and even by right-wing farmers.

The ANC had, however, 13 meetings with organised agriculture and more than 100 meetings with business people in Kimberley.

They are beginning to see the inevitability of ANC-shared government and that we are not to gain their cooperation in the interests of common future," he said. "The ANC would take the Northern Cape."



Cape's vast north holds the election wild card

SITING 13/2/94

3047

The poll showed the white Right taking an astonishing 36 percent of the province, just behind the ANC's 39 percent.

According to the poll, the NP had 21 percent support, the DP only four percent while Inkatha and the PAC scored zero support.

However, market research firm Markinor, which undertook the study, admitted that samples taken from Northern Cape voters were too small for accurate projection.

One issue which dominates debate from Pofadder in the north to Sutherland in the south is whether the Northern Cape is economically viable and able to survive on its own with its thinly spread population. The other point of debate questions the wisdom of severing Namaqualand from the Western Cape and lumping it with the Northern Cape.

Many Namaqualanders think it is "plain stupid" and they intend fighting for

belongs to the Western Cape.

"Those who decided on the boundaries didn't know what they were doing. We look south at Cape Town — not north at Kimberley."

"We don't like outsiders to force the *wors* here."

Her barman, Hendrik Van Zyl, 38, "born and bred in Pofadder", said everyone in the town drank at his bar — black and white, CPs, A WBs, NPs and ANCs. Racial tolerance in Pofadder was "remarkable", he said.

"I've never had racial trouble in my bar. My rule is no gambling and no politics inside. Never mind how big a guy is, if he gets drunk and rowdy, I cut off his supply."

Halfway between Pofadder (nothing to do with snakes, but named after notorious stock thief Klaas Pofadder, say locals) and Uppington is Kakamas, famous for its windmills. It is also famous for an

capital of sultana country. Local headmaster, bus service and supermarket owner, Mr Ernest February — an executive member of the Keimoes ANC branch — said coloured voters in Uppington and Keimoes voted in the past for the Labour Party, of which he is organiser in the area.

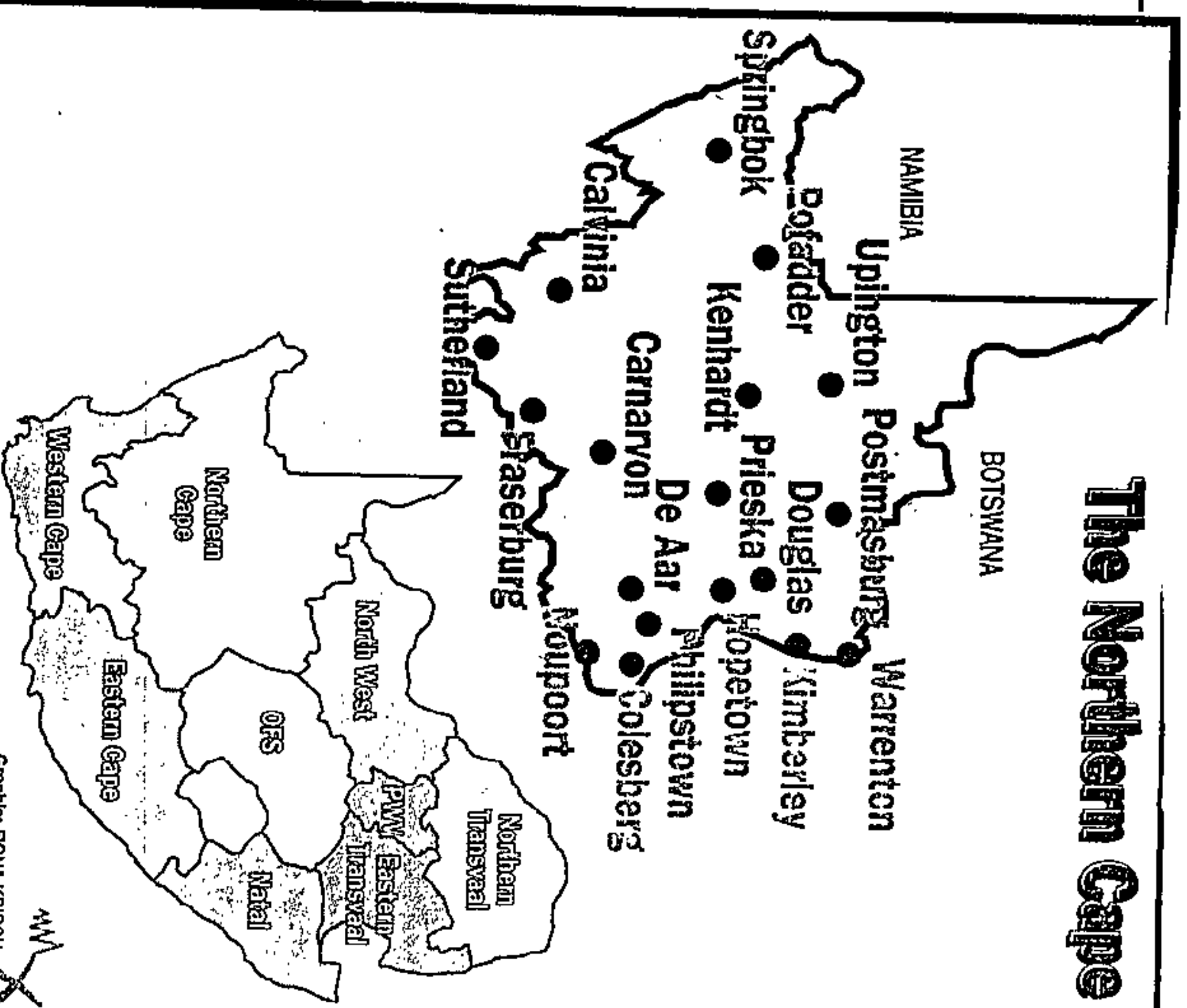
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"The rural people are poor and exploited and those who benefited from their bondage were always Nat-supporting white farmers. The ANC will walk it here," he said.

At Prieska (11 245 voters), NP local chairman Adriaan van Niekerk, a candidate for the Northern Cape provincial legislature, said the province was upbeat about the NP's chances.

He believes the NP can get 55 percent of the vote in the Northern Cape. However, this would entail the NP getting 90 percent of the coloured vote, more than half the white vote and about a fifth of the black vote.

Wealthy Prieska businessman and farmer Saneesman and farmer Sanees



Williams said he had resigned from the NP and is a founder member of the local branch of the SA Civics Organisation, which supports the ANC in the election. He said: "Rural people have been neglected by the NP in the past that rural voters here would argue they have nothing to lose. They will choose the ANC."

(News by Norman West, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Graphic: ROVA KRISCH

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The ANC had, however, held 13 meetings with organised agriculture and more than 100 meetings with business people in Kimberley.

"They are beginning to realise the inevitability of an ANC-shared government and that we are not monsters. We sincerely want to gain their co-operation in the interests of our common future," he said.

The ANC would take the Northern Cape "because the lesser-privileged are in the majority and they look to the ANC to address their backwardness caused by apartheid which the Nats invented," he said.

The Northern Cape has 436 362 voters of whom 73 616 are white, 260 360 coloured, 1 174 Asian and 101 212 black.

The Sunday Times Pulse of the People poll returned startling results in the Northern Cape. However, it was only a vague indicator of political sentiment because of the tiny sampling taken in this sparsely populated desert scrubland.

Cape's vast north holds the election wild card

STimes 13/2/94

11A 304A

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Many Namaqualanders think it is "plain stupid" and they intend fighting for re-incorporation into the Western Cape during and after the election.

Mr David Mason, spokesman for the Surplus People's Project (SPP), which fights the cause of the Namaqualanders, said the proposal by the Commission on the Delimitation of Regions for the inclusion of Namaqualand in the Northern Cape was unanimously rejected at a meeting held by the Namaqualand communities late last year.

Mrs Nella Britz, Namaqualand tourism organiser and co-owner with her husband, Mr G P Britz, of the Pofadder Hotel, agrees that Namaqualand

belongs to the Western Cape.

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Halfway between Pofadder (nothing to do with snakes, but named after notorious stock thief Klaas Pofadder, say locals) and Upington is Kakamas, famous for its windmills.

It is also famous for another reason. It is the birthplace of the two contenders for the premiership of the Western Cape, Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel and ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak.

Prominent businessman Frans White, 45, said the Northern Cape was economically viable "but only for the white farmers who run successful irrigation schemes and vineyards with cheap and exploited labour."

"Personally, I empathise with the ANC because they, and not the Nats, have initiated change. But I fear the ANC has also neglected this region by taking it for

granted. I have no doubt the farmers who still conduct a feudal system will instruct their labourers not to vote ANC," said Mr White, who, for the record, is not white.

About 50km south of Upington lies Keimoes,

vice and supermarket owner, Mr Ernest February — an executive member of the Keimoes ANC branch — said coloured voters in Upington and Keimoes voted in the past for the Labour Party, of which he is organiser in the area.

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Wealthy Prieska businessman and farmer Saneel



ANC says it is not against extension

By EDYTH BULBRING: Political Correspondent

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said yesterday the organisation would not oppose the extension of the date for election registration if it helped to create the space for an agreement with the Freedom Alliance. *Stimmed*

This follows President F W de Klerk's statement in the Free State on Friday that it was technically possible to arrange for late registration of parties through a special sitting of parliament. 13/2/94

The deadline for registration was midnight last night.

But despite the apparent flexibility, negotiators held out no hope of reaching an all-inclusive settlement.

Neither the ANC, the government nor the FA is prepared to make the concessions necessary to reach an agreement. But none wants to be blamed for causing the breakdown in talks. (30/4/94) (FAP)

Mr Mbeki said he would not oppose the extension as long as it did not postpone the election.

He said ANC and Bophuthatswana delegations would meet this week, and Mr de Klerk would meet King Goodwill Zwelithini tomorrow.

Mr Mbeki also said there were elements in the IFP and AVF that were not interested in a negotiated settlement.

The IFP had proved inflexible, and the AVF had "turned their backs on an agreement that would have meant they could have pursued the question of a volkstaat in the constituent assembly," he said.

The agreement was concluded between CP leader Ferdi Hartzenburg and General Constand Viljoen the day before a recent AVF meeting at the Skilpadsaal in Pretoria. It was then ditched after those at the meeting objected to it.

(News by E Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

In a flap to find a new flag for SA

SITWED 13/2/94

(3044)

By CLAIRE ROBERTSON

THE new South Africa is in danger of being heralded in under an empty flagpole because the politicians have procrastinated for so long on the design of a new flag.

Manufacturers and experts in the field say unless the politicians decide on the design of the new flag almost immediately, there won't be time to produce enough flags before the end of April.

The issue was passed to the Transitional Executive Council last year after the Negotiating Council wearied of the criticism heaped on designs submitted by the public and advertising agencies.

The TEC duly placed the flag question on the agenda of its first meeting months ago — and then mysteriously dropped it. Now the body has been told by TEC management committee member Colin Eglin to discuss it at its next meeting on Tuesday.

"The flag and the anthem are two matters that, because they are so emotive, cannot be overlooked," said Mr Eglin.

But even if the politicians finally get to grips with the matter this month,

flag manufacturers and one of the country's leading vexillologists (flag experts) fear it may be too late.

"If we don't get an answer virtually immediately, there will not be enough time to produce enough flags," Mike Clingman, MD of the country's largest flag producer, said this week.

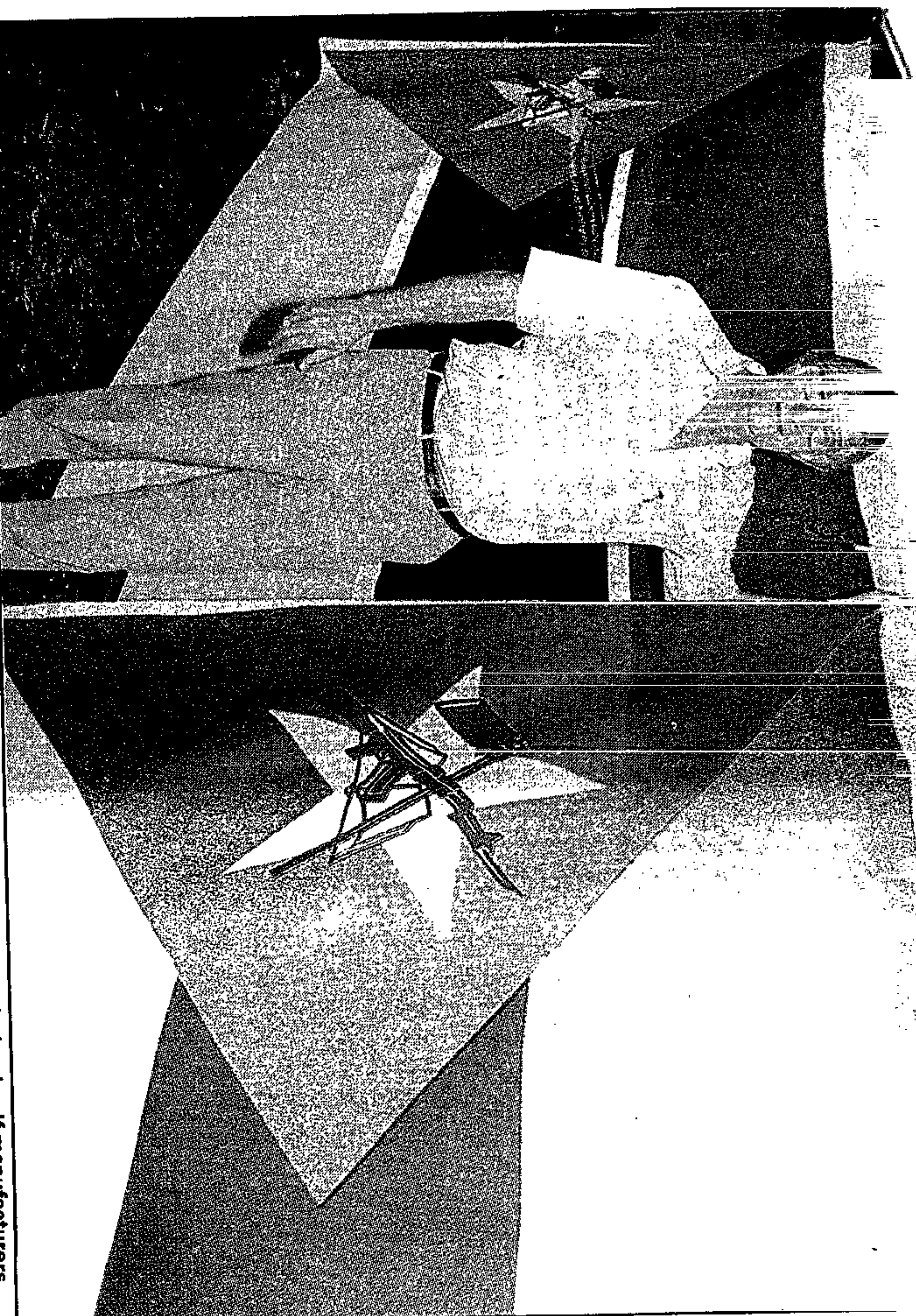
He explained that, while computer technology made printing the flag a relatively swift process, a huge demand would result in a shortage of the particular cloth needed.

"It is in fact already too late," said State Herald and chairman of the Vexillological Society, Fred Brownell.

"One of South Africa's largest factories ran day and night for three weeks to make flags for Namibia — and they only needed 3 500. I have been told that our basic requirements could be as high as 100 000."

He and two colleagues took three days to produce Namibia's jolly sun-motif flag — "on Monday we evaluated, on Tuesday we designed, on Wednesday we bought the cloth and cut and sewed a flag very like the one eventually accepted by Namibia".

Here, of course, the matter has been dogged by



HURRY UP: Mike Clingman with the Mozambican flag. Time, however, is running out on this side of the border. If manufacturers aren't given a design soon, the new SA may find itself flagless

Picture: HERBERT MABUZA

controversy. The present flag, although it predates the apartheid government by more than 20 years, has come to symbolise an era of white supremacy to some, and is offensive to many South Africans.

But that old flag will almost certainly still be flying on some official flagpoles as the new government assumes power in May. There will be enough of it to go around: Manufacturers are churning out more than ever to meet a burst of renewed demand for the doomed orange blanje blou as they wait for the new design.

A sour end to FW's

OFS bid

Sunday Times 13/2/94
By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

STATE President F W de Klerk's election tour of the Free State ended on a sour note when ANC supporters drowned him out in Bloemfontein's Heidedal township.

A group, mostly children and youths, chanted "ANC, ANC" and brandished a lyre during the disruption which culminated in the burning of NP posters soon after Mr de Klerk was whisked away by his bodyguards. (3044)

A visibly angry Mr de Klerk told the protesters: "The ANC must watch out, they are in the minority and if they do not watch out they are going to get hurt. I killed apartheid, not Mr Mandela."

Mr de Klerk earlier met OFS sports administrators and stars in Bloemfontein's Clarendon Hall — just metres away from the ANC's national land committee, but there was no interaction between the two parties.

Mr de Klerk told the meeting of sports officials: "I am of the firm belief that politicians must stay out of sport."



ANTI-FW ... protesters mar De Klerk's meeting at Bloemfontein's Heidedal township

SADF is ready to deal with a right-wing revolt, says FW

By RAY HARTLEY and
EDYTH BULBRING

PRESIDENT DE KLERK yesterday dismissed suggestions that he had lost the support of large sections of the SADF, and vowed strong government action to put down any right-wing rebellion.

Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee added that the SADF had made contingency plans to deal with any possible violence from this quarter.

Their strong warnings follow the announcement by the Afrikaner Volksfront on Thursday that it would not participate in

the forthcoming elections.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said that, while the Afrikaner Volksfront still wanted to attain its volkstaat through peaceful means, the right-wing front would be putting "pressure on the election in various ways".

Briefing journalists in Bloemfontein, Mr de Klerk said: "I have no doubt about the basic loyalty of the security forces that, should any plans to disrupt the election come to fruition, contingency plans are ready."

"We will not and cannot allow minorities in South Africa to undermine the election process and to disrupt or derail that which clearly has the support of the majority of South Africans."

Mr de Klerk warned that violent actions aimed at derailing the election would be countered with strong government action.

"If staying out means becoming involved in violence, we will act firmly within the framework

of the law," he said.

Right-wing suggestions that a large section of the security forces would support a rebellion against the election were inaccurate. (304A)

"I believe the security forces have a proud track record of being loyal to the state ... of being non-partisan. I really don't think in any way there is a serious threat within the security forces," Mr de Klerk said.

Elaborating on contingency plans, Mr Coetsee said that the SADF had repossessed a large number of weapons issued to private citizens.

"Any weapons which have been issued for official use and which have been abused will summarily be withdrawn — as a matter of fact we have already withdrawn a large number," he said.

Disciplinary steps would be taken against any member of the

□ To Page 2

De Klerk warns Right

□ From Page 1

defence force who abused his position for political ends. (304A)

"The defence force has tightened up measures concerning the security of its bases and installations and to safeguard its armaments," Mr Coetsee said.

"The defence force has launched a special communications plan to keep its members abreast of developments in the security and military field." 13/2/94

Subversion of the principle that the defence force serves the elected government of the day could lead to chaos and anarchy, he added. (304A)

● Police spokesman

Major Louis le Roux has confirmed special measures to secure police stations against political threat, reports DIRK VAN HEERDEN.

He declined to give details, but said a strategy had to be planned by station commanders and regional police chiefs.

The SAP was confident it could control any campaign against police stations. Task forces would be made available to stations under threat.

Major le Roux said the SAP was also confident it could control dissident policemen.

(News by Ray Hartley and Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

17 parties register to run in April election

By EDYTH BULBRING and LEW ELIAS

SEVENTEEN political parties had registered to fight the April 27 elections before last night's midnight deadline.

One of the last to register was the Keep it Straight and Simple Party (Kiss) — which so far has one registered member, Mrs Claire Emary.

Mrs Emary, a Heidelberg housewife, drew up the simple party constitution just after breakfast on Saturday — hours before she paid R25 000 to register her party for the elections for the national assembly.

She said the acronym Kiss was used in business practice and stood for "keep it simple, stupid".

"You can't call voters 'stupid' so it was adapted," she said.

Mrs Emary said her campaign would only be able to get under way in earnest from the beginning of March as she had been travelling and has people staying with her.

Like the constantly shifting deadlines for reaching a settlement in talks with the Freedom Alliance, the cut-off date for registration might also be extended to accommodate late registrations.

A government legal adviser said Parliament could change the Electoral Act in three ways. It could scrap the provision that sets a time limit for registration, or amend the act to make new registrations retrospective, or change the time limit for registration.

The legal adviser said there was also

no legal reason preventing the interim constitution from being amended right up to the day before the April 27 election.

This would enable any agreements reached in talks with the Freedom Alliance to be included.

The Afrikaner Volksfront announced on Thursday it would boycott the election, and the IFP central committee decided yesterday to also boycott the elections.

The six parties registered with the Independent Electoral Commission that will fight the elections nationally and in all nine regional legislatures are the ANC, the NP, the DP, the PAC, the Ciskei's African Democratic Movement and the African Christian Democratic Party.

The Merit Party, Workers' International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA and the Islamic Party registered for elections in the Western Cape; Dikwankwetla registered nationally and in the PWV and Free State; the Minority Front registered nationally and in Natal; and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party registered nationally and in the PWV and Northern Transvaal.

The North-West Democrats was the 15th party to register, the Workers' List Party 16th, and Lebowa's United People's Party 17th.

Mrs Emary's Kiss party and the Johannesburg-based Women's Rights Peace Party will compete only nationally.

The SA Women's Party was also expected to register in the Western Cape.

(News by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg and Lew Elias, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

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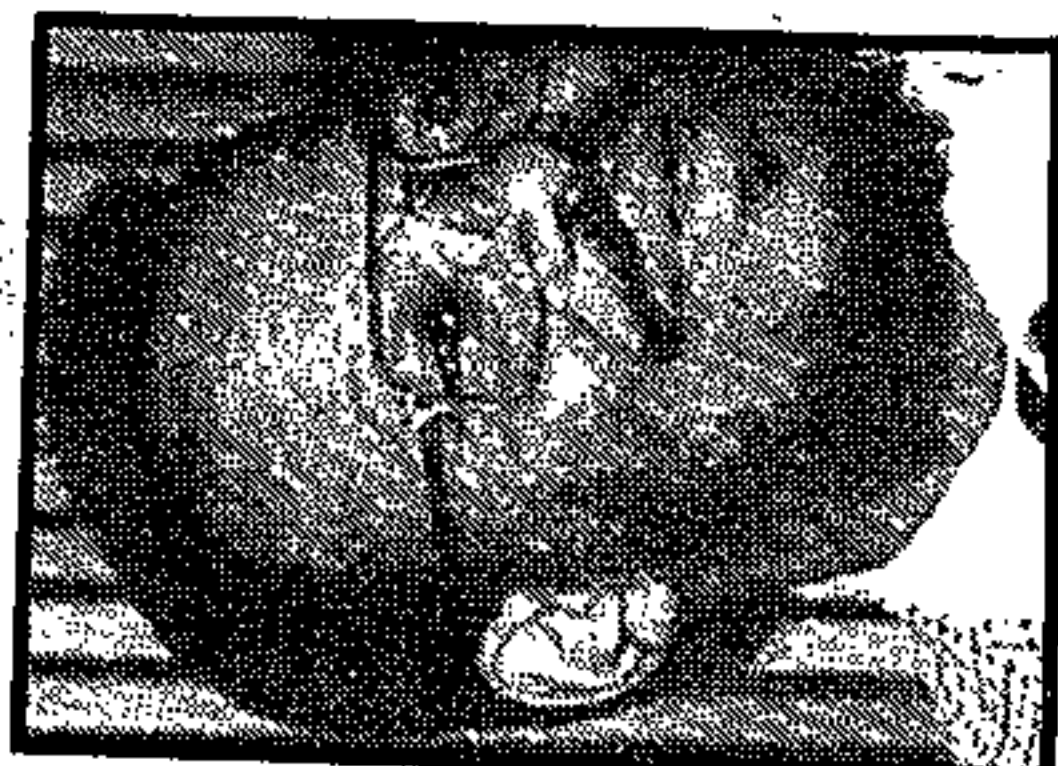
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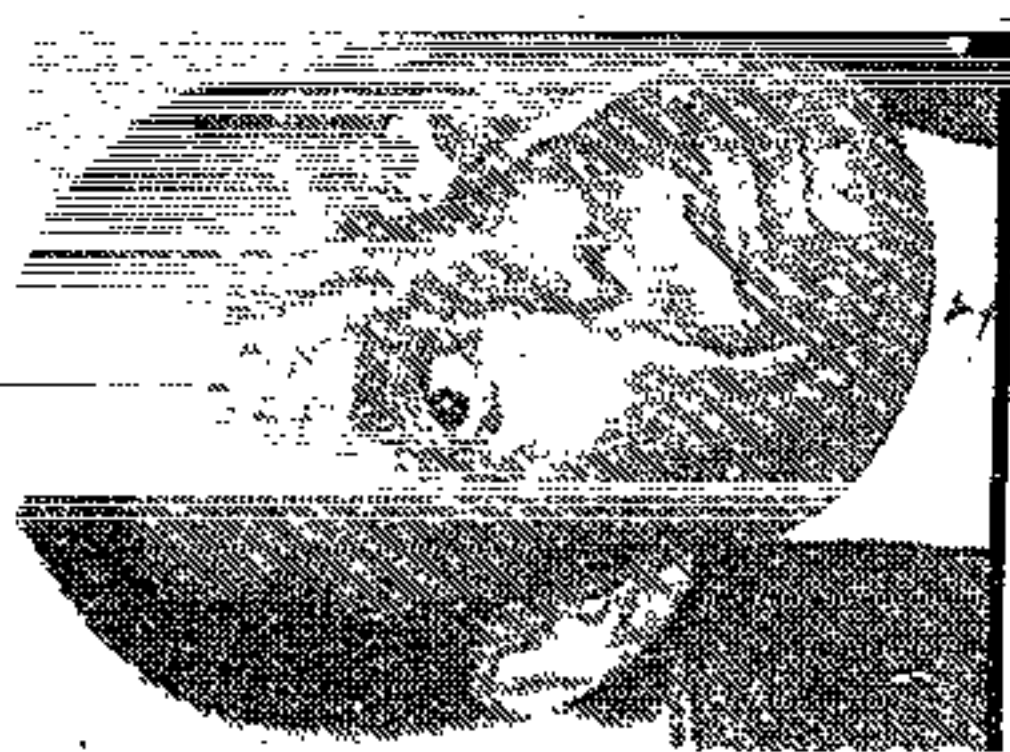
(News by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg and Lew Elias, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Now MDC

PLAN TO SPLIT THE RIGHT



BUTHELEZI



MANGOPE

Signs of
divisions in
Alliance

CIPKas 13/12/94

THE ANC and the Nationalist government are beavering away behind the scenes on a master plan to split the rightwing Freedom Alliance down the middle. (304A)

Their aim is to minimise right-wing opposition to the April elections. (11B) (15A)

In terms of the plan which is said to be at an advanced stage and could unfold in a matter of days - Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen could form a breakaway party which supports participation in the elections.

According to reliable sources, about 10 members of the Conservative Party could also join Viljoen's breakaway bunch. Their identities are not known at this stage.

Relations between Viljoen - a popular figure among the military establishment - and rank-and-file AVF members, have been uneasy since he was booted off stage for proposing that the Afrikaner should consider taking part.

Apparently Viljoen's proposal was delivered with full approval of the AVF executive committee - yet not one of the committee defended Viljoen from the jeers of the rightwing crowd.

It is believed that most of those who jeered him are members of the ultra-right Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging.

Meanwhile, a breakaway could also hit Inkatha. A number of Inkatha central committee members are said to be unhappy with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's aggressive rejection of the election.

Resignations

Although the party decided at its special general conference recently to boycott the elections unless certain conditions were met - largely at the instigation of Buthelezi - the decision did not lead to resignations or the formation of a new Inkatha party as many expected.

Among the names linked to the formation of a new party are the so-called moderates national chairman Dr Frank Mdlalose, KwaZulu government chief negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane, information chief Dr Ziba Jiyane and parliamentarians Mike Tarr, Farouk Cassim and Peter Miller.

While rightwingers this week fought a rearguard battle to maintain their unity, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope appeared to be showing signs that he would take part in the elections.

After separate meetings this week with ANC leader Nelson Mandela and State President FW de Klerk, Mangope's chief confidant and Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje hinted that Bop would participate in the election without the other Alliance members

Report by Sekola Sello, 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

13/2/94
C/PRESS

309A

lections in gr



MARKET APPROVAL . . . Nelson Mandela gets dressed up in traditional garb to attract votes . ■ Pic: THULANI SITHOLE

ive danger

By CP Correspondent

THE country's first nonracial elections are now under grave threat following the decision by the Afrikaner Volksfront to boycott them and the growing possibility that Inkatha and Bophuthatswana's Christian Democratic Party will also give them a wide berth.

At the time of going to press Inkatha and the CDP had not finally decided. Both parties had until yesterday to register.

During the past three weeks the ANC and the government have offered the Freedom Alliance – the AVF, Inkatha and the CDP – several packages to break the deadlock.

It appears that whatever key ANC concessions to the Alliance, the latter still demands the same assurance which caused the feud about the one- and two-phase approach which has been raging for over a year.

The Alliance demands the assurance that powers and functions which have now been allocated to the provinces won't be removed when the final constitution is drawn up.

But time is running out. Yesterday was the final date for parties to register with the Independent Electoral Commission for participation in the election.

The government believes the Alliance's insistence on more guarantees is unnecessary. It is

Civil war threat if deadlock continues

CIPRESS 13/2/94
(3044) ~~THE~~ ~~THE~~
Time is running out fast for the possibility of a peaceful settlement between the parties fighting over the country's future. The Afrikaner Volksfront has decided to boycott the elections and this week it was still uncertain whether the Freedom Alliance would take part. If they don't, it could mean war.

satisfied that the constitution offers sufficient protection to prevent the provinces' powers being substantially reduced in the final constitution.

According to government negotiators and the ANC's Valli Mohammed Moosa, the senate has been allocated a special role in the constitution to protect the powers of the provinces.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer this week drew up a "balance sheet" of concessions offered to the Alliance and the counter-achievements expected from the Alliance. The concessions are:

■ Amendments to the transitional constitution which strengthen the abil-

ity of provinces to levy taxes.

■ The name of Natal can be changed to KwaZulu/Natal.

■ An additional constitutional principle can be included which will make self-determination in a specific area possible.

■ If an agreement could be reached on the package, two ballot papers will be used in the election.

■ Article 160 of the constitution can be amended to enable provinces to claim more powers than have been provided in articles 157 to 159.

Meyer said this means provision could be made in the constitution of KwaZulu/Natal for the Zulu monarchy.

The other side of the

balance sheet, said Meyer, appears to be:

■ The Alliance must take part in the election.

■ The Alliance must take part in the transitional process and structures. But the Alliance refuses to agree on this.

■ The Alliance must reject threats of violence.

■ Bophuthatswana must participate and be re-incorporated.

Alliance negotiators this week persisted that the ANC must give the assurance that powers and functions allocated to the provinces may not be "substantially reduced" in the final constitution.

Alliance negotiator Rowan Cronje said this assurance should be contained in one of the constitutional principles.

The ANC is wary of this concession, as it will bind the constituent assembly to agreements on detail entered into before the election. The ANC is only in favour of frameworks of principle in which the constituent assembly will operate.

But the Alliance wants ironclad protection to the assurance. It's a Catch-22 situation – which threatens to plunge the country into civil war.

And there is the hidden danger that the Alliance's bottom line could be a Volkstaat for the Afrikaner farmers, self-determination for Bop and a KwaZulu monarchy.

The ANC as the dominating negotiating partner cannot accept this. –

Report by Sekola Sello, 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.

TEN weeks before the April 27 general elections, the ANC and the NP have taken off the gloves as they intensify their campaigns to win the hearts and minds of voters.

Although the DP have already entered the fray and the PAC unveils their election manifesto with a rally in the Orange Free State today, it is the ANC and the NP who are blazing an upbeat elections campaign trail.

Camaraderie that developed between the NP and the ANC - exemplified by the trout fishing escapades of the NP's Roelf Meyer and the ANC's Cyril Ramaphosa - seem to have been shelved.

Instead of the bonhomie that has characterised the relationship between the Nats and the ANC in recent months, Nelson Mandela and FW de Klerk are now tearing at each other like pit bulls.

De Klerk is no longer referred to in such affectionate terms as a man of integrity. He is now depicted as a man who was part of a political party which brought about the ills of this country.

Mandela has also used his election platform to disparage De Klerk and his party.

During his OFS tour, which saw him treated like a demi-god by the enthralled multitudes, his primary message to supporters was that if the white farmers and employers offered to transport their workers to the polling booths to vote for the NP, the workers should not refuse the offer.

But, Mandela said,

No easy road(show) to freedom

CINEMA 13/2/94

South African politics has never seen anything like it before - with party leaders taking to the campaign trail like US election candidates - kissing babies, hugging the elderly and slamming each other's manifestos. THEMBA KHUMALO reports.

they should use the opportunity of a secret ballot to do the opposite and vote for the ANC. They should do the same if their employees offered them R10 to vote for NP, he said. (30/4/94)

The criticism is robust and getting stronger by the day. De Klerk says Mandela cannot be trusted to rule this country, that he would destroy the economy and lacks experience.

De Klerk has accused the ANC of "living in the past with its criticism of the NP because the NP they are talking about is no more".

"We are a new party with a new vision. We've forgotten about the past and Mandela is wasting his energy by attacking us," De Klerk has said.

Another contentious

issue between the two leaders is who ended apartheid. De Klerk claimed that it was his party that took the initiative in 1985 towards dismantling apartheid.

Mandela's contention is that it is the might of the oppressed masses with the guidance of the ANC inside and outside the country that saw to the annihilation of racial discrimination in this country.

The electioneering by both parties is at times as glitzy as a North American campaign.

Walkabouts in the villages and townships, holding babies and embracing the elderly is now as much part of the campaigning as it is a constant nightmare for the security guards.

The impromptu walkabouts, something completely new in SA's election history, are paying dividends.

People are turning out in large numbers to see the most powerful political figures (Mandela and De Klerk) during their campaigns.

Electric poles and road signs are coming under the weight of posters countrywide. "Mandela for President", "De Klerk - The Man who ended Apartheid" and the DP's "We Did Not Kill People - Only Apartheid" are now a common sight throughout the cities, suburbs and townships.

The ANC introduced a novelty in their campaign when Mandela started addressing "People's Forums" in far flung parts of the country where the crowds were allowed to express their hopes and fears.

With the campaigns hotting up and more parties entering the fray, the South African political landscape is abuzz with activity. Report by Themba Khumalo, 2 Herb St, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.



ON THE TRAIL ... De Klerk canvasses even the youngest South Africans. ■ Pic: BEELD

Election goes ahead as scheduled despite threats, Govt and ANC vow

IFP's dire warning

Star 14/2/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and ANC have vowed that the election will go ahead on April 27, despite continued threats from the right wing and a warning yesterday by the Inkatha Freedom Party of an "escalation of violence and perhaps even civil war".

President de Klerk warned at the weekend that any attempts to disrupt the election would not be tolerated.

And Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee announced SADF contingency plans to deal with right-wing threats to disrupt the election.

Sapa reports that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi told followers in Empangeni yesterday: "It is impossible for me to lie to you and reassure you that the IFP's opposition to fighting the election under the present constitution will not bring casualties and even death."

The IFP central committee decided on Saturday to boycott the election, and said the Interim Constitution laid "the basis for continued polarisation of our country, the continuing escalation of violence and perhaps even civil war".

Its Freedom Alliance (FA) allies — the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana government — have also decided to boycott the poll.

Although it reaffirmed a commitment to negotiations, the IFP proposed an FA pact to oppose the Interim Constitution and the election.

But, Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said yesterday the pact was an IFP proposal and had not been agreed on by other FA mem-

SADF formulates contingency plans to deal with right-wing threats to disrupt April poll

bers.

Speaking to journalists in Bloemfontein on Saturday, Coetsee said the SADF was continually making contingency plans, and had therefore already drafted such plans in the case of the right wing.

Security around SADF bases and installations had been tightened, and its armaments safeguarded, he said.

These contingency plans did not imply that the Government was "panic-stricken", but it would be irresponsible to ignore the verbal threats made by the right wing, Coetsee said. (304A) (HB) (HA)

At this stage no further meetings are scheduled between the Government, ANC and FA in an effort to pin down an inclusive settlement.

De Klerk has confirmed that he would be meeting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini again today in Durban.

Cronje also confirmed that Bophuthatswana would meet the ANC on Friday to discuss the homeland's position in relation to the new constitutional dispensation.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Fanus Schoeman yesterday confirmed that the Government and ANC met on Friday to discuss ways of accommodating the FA's demands. No firm proposal emanated from these talks, he said.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)



Star 14/2/94 Choice of 19 parties (304A)

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH

In April South Africans will be able to choose from 19 parties.

In an expected move, the Freedom Alliance parties — the Conservative Party, Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophuthatswana and the Inkatha Freedom Party — have decided to boycott the election.

The Government and ANC have confirmed that they would be prepared to support changing the registration date — which expired at midnight on Saturday — for parties to apply to take part in the election, if an inclusive settlement was reached "soon".

The only way this date can be changed is if the Transitional Executive Council recommends to the president that a special session of Parliament be called to change the Electoral Act.

The public now has the opportunity to comment on the final list of parties which will be made available by the Independent Electoral Commission.

Six parties have registered to take part in national and all regional elections. They are the ANC, PAC, National Party, Democratic Party, African Democratic Party and African Christian Democratic Party.

The parties which will contest the election only on a national basis are the North West Democrats, Women's Rights Peace Party, Keep it Straight and Simple Party, and Workers' List Party.

Those which will take part on a limited basis are the Merit Party (Western Cape), the Dikwankwetla Party (nationally, Free State and PWV), the Minority Front (nationally and Natal), Islamic Party (Western Cape), the Ximoko Progressive Party (nationally, Northern Transvaal and PWV), the Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA (Western Cape), the United People's Front (PWV and Northern Transvaal), the South African Women's Party (Western Cape) and the Re-

► To Page 3

Choice of 19 Star 14/2/94 parties

◀ From Page 1

alists Party (PWV).

Sapa reports that the Keep it Straight and Simple Party (KISS) has only one member so far — Claire Emary.

Emary, a Heidelberg housewife, drew up the KISS constitution just after breakfast on Saturday — a few hours before she registered her party for the National Assembly.

She said the acronym KISS was used in business practice and stood for "keep it simple, stupid. You can't call voters 'stupid' so it was adapted to 'keep it straight and simple' (304A).

"You have to get down to a concrete way of limiting the power of government and to put the politicians in their place," Emary said.

The simple after-breakfast constitution puts forward a proposal to limit taxes to a 10 per cent value added tax on all consumption — with exceptions on certain items.

(Report by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, and L. Elias, 141 Commissioner Street, Jhb)

The Ballot paper

The ballot paper is the piece of paper on which you vote. The names of all the parties contesting the election will appear on a list.

Each party's logo will appear next to its name on the same line, followed by the party's initials and a photograph of its leader. At the end of the line is an empty space.

You are only allowed to vote for one party, by placing an X or any other mark in the space next to the party that you support.

It is not yet clear whether there will be one ballot paper or two at the election, but the form of the ballot paper will not change.

DIKWANKWETLA PARTY OF SOUTH AFRICA		DPSA		
INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY		IFP		
NATIONAL PARTY		NP		
PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS		PAC		
XIMOKO PROGRESSIVE PARTY		XPP		
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS		ANC		
DEMOCRATIC PARTY		DP		

This is a sample and not an official ballot paper. Some of the above parties may choose not to participate in the elections. Others, not shown, may enter the election. Some parties may also alter their symbols when registering for the elections. The order in which parties are listed will be determined by lot.

4-million ID backlog and Home Affairs can't cope

Doubling the number of staff in South Africa's Home Affairs offices has failed to meet the increased demand for ID documents in our country.

A backlog of 3.8 million applications for new IDs has accumulated at Home Affairs.

Even with its increased capacity, these offices will only be capable of issuing another 1.8 million IDs before the election on April 27th.

To make up the shortage, the IEC will introduce Temporary Voter's Cards, which can be presented in place of an ID at voting stations.

The cards will be available in early March, and

will be issued on the spot from Home Affairs offices.

The IEC will also introduce mobile units that will travel into townships and rural areas to issue Temporary Voter's Cards.

To qualify for a Temporary Voter's Card, you will need:

- A passport-size photograph and
- Proof of identity and age. This can be any of the following:
 - * a passport
 - * birth certificate
 - * primary school document

For further information telephone 0800 113937, free of charge.

INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION

HEAL OUR LAND



VOTE APRIL 27TH

Committee to fight for double ballot

Star 14/2/94

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Democratic Party, PAC and Inkatha Freedom Party have forged an "action committee" to continue the fight for a double ballot, DP MP Tony Leon revealed last night.

The committee's first task would be to "meet President de Klerk in his capacity as head of state and say 'Listen, you now have to go into bat for this (the double ballot)'," said Leon.

Leon told the DP's Sandton campaign launch last night that he had met PAC leader Clarence Makwetu, IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and representatives of the Ciskei and Bophuthatswana governments on Friday night. Within half-an-hour they had reached agreement on the issue and formed the action committee. (3047)

Meanwhile, it was evident that ANC Sandton MP David Dalling — who defected from the DP — will be a DP target during its campaign.

The party is to challenge Dalling to a public debate in Sandton, and Leon launched a scathing attack on him last night.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Star 14/2/94 Who's who in the zoo? Ask FW

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Phuthaditjhaba — What is the difference between the National Party and the ANC? Horses, bulls, chickens and geese.

Addressing QwaQwa's Makgolokwe tribal chiefs at Korfshoek on Friday, President de Klerk used horses as a metaphor to explain the difference between the NP and the ANC.

He said the two were "two fully grown horses", and dismissed the other political parties as "fillies".

Then he added: "One of the fully grown horses is a wild horse and the other one a well-trained horse."

And then the punchline: Buying a horse, one would select the well-trained horse, he said.

On Thursday he used bulls to illustrate the difference between the two parties.

He told a group of invited guests at Bothaville in the Free State that there were "only two bulls (the ANC and NP) and the rest are calves". (304A)

Explaining the Interim Constitution, De Klerk said: "In the new kraal of the new government there will be more than one bull. We call it a government of national unity."

The ANC had said the NP was a "white bull", he said. "They say we are the party which created apartheid. This is true.

We are also the party which killed apartheid. And now we are no longer a white bull. We are now a new, good friesland."

On an election blitz in the western Transvaal a few weeks ago, the NP leader used chickens to explain communism.

And on Friday came the turn of the geese.

De Klerk told a gathering in Harrismith that a goose can lay golden eggs. But the ANC's economic policy "is more or less" to slaughter a fat goose and eat it.

The NP's policy was to buy food for the goose and then to sell the eggs, he explained.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

Govt rejects IFP demand

(304A)

CT 14/2/94

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC have rejected the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for international mediation, but say "the door is slightly open for at the most another week".

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman yesterday said the government had had meetings and it had also met the ANC whose position was flexible. The ball was now in the Freedom Alliance's court.

Inkatha's central committee decided finally at the weekend not to take part in the election, but decided also to ask for international mediation to resolve the political log-jam.

Mr Schoeman said the government and the ANC were insisting that the Alliance come forward with very firm proposals on changes to the constitution, that they accept that resolution of these problems would constitute a final settlement, and they commit themselves to participation in the election.

He said so far the Alliance had

Mbeki explains deadlock

JOHANNESBURG. — Elements within the Freedom Alliance that negotiated with the government and ANC were not interested in a settlement, ANC national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki said on Saturday.

He said the ANC had come close to agreement with the Afrikaner Volkfront (AVF) on aspects of a volkstaat.

The ANC had agreed that by adjusting final provincial boundaries, a Volkstaat could be negotiated.

"Some of the things we were agreeing to were things that the ANC was not necessarily very happy with," Mr

Mbeki said.

But after the AVF meeting at which General Constand Viljoen was booed, the AVF said it could not proceed with the agreement.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC was prepared to concede a double ballot as part of a package deal which, he said, would have allowed exclusive powers for the provinces and entrenchment of provincial constitutions, two of the Alliance's key demands.

He said talks had been started with Bophuthatswana and delegates would meet later this week. — Sapa

not come forward with firm proposals and was still "playing the brinkmanship game and wanting a return to a pre-December 1991 position where they negotiate a final constitution and rule out the compromise two-phase process".

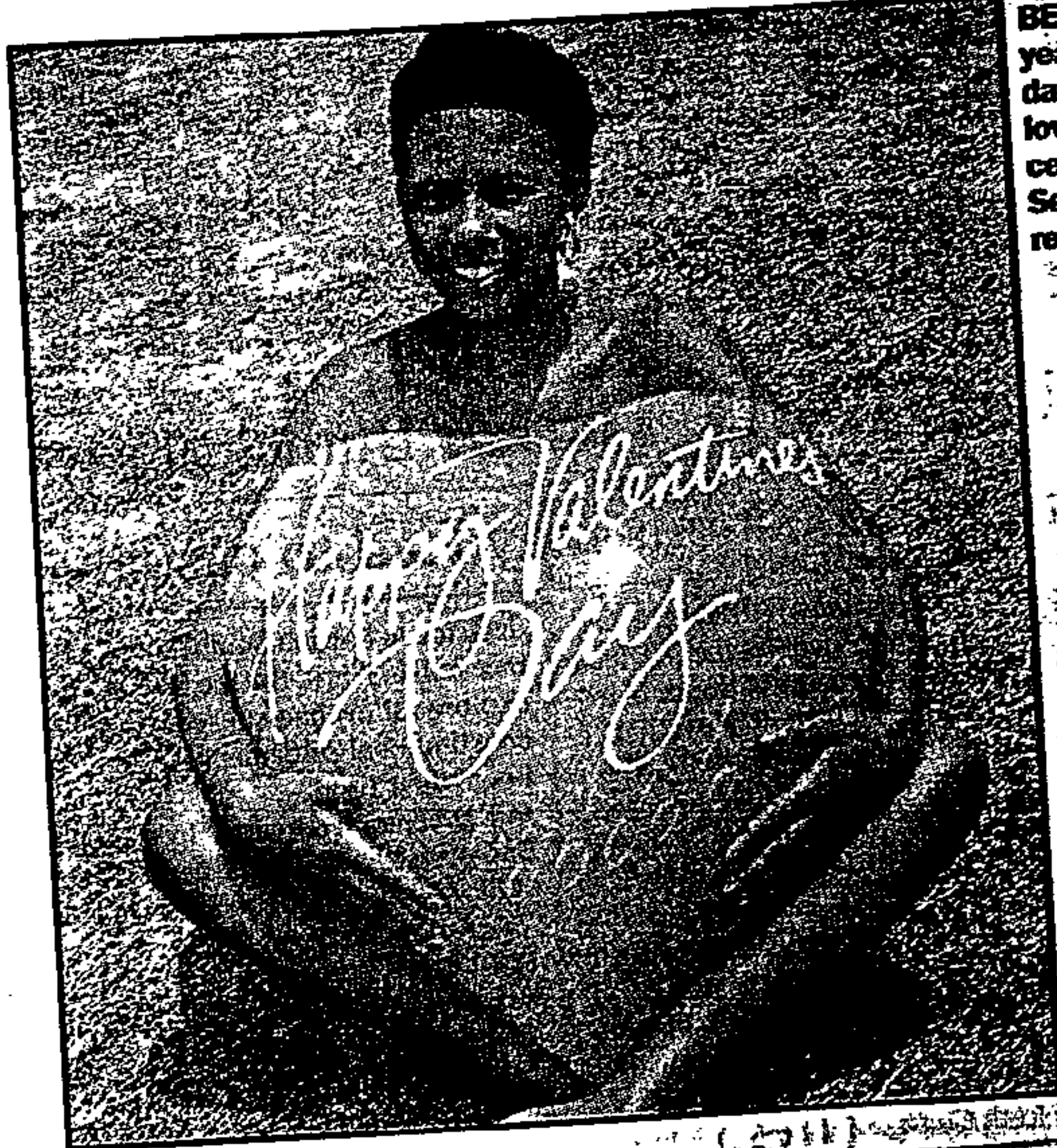
He warned that time was running out very fast.

Questioned after an NP fundraising dinner in Port Elizabeth at the weekend, President F W de Klerk said that should an agreement be reached with the Alliance it was technically possible

to amend the deadline for parties' registration.

Asked about Inkatha, Mr De Klerk said: "We get the idea that the problem in making real progress is that there is not unanimity in the Freedom Alliance. If it can help we are prepared to try to solve the problems of specific parties and to interact with them."

Mr De Klerk added he was meeting Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini again today in Durban. The talks would focus on the future of the Zulu monarchy.



BE MY VALENTINE ... Nineteen-year-old Orlando West ballet dancer Winnie Mokgosi joins lovers around the world today in celebrating St Valentine's Day. See pages 20 and 21 for readers' messages of romance. PIC: MPHO MPHOTO.

By TH Coiser
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Door seems to be firmly closed on FA

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Government has all but closed the door on the further negotiations with the conservative Freedom Alliance.

The Government yesterday insisted that future talks with the FA — which failed to register at the weekend for the April poll — would have to show a commitment to compromise and agreement to accept a four-year long process of constitutional process.

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Mr Fanus Schoeman said if any talks took place, there had to be an acceptance of the constitutional process.

"Less than 20 percent of the electorate can't be allowed to hold the whole election process back," he said last night.

He said the election would go ahead come what may.

Government and ANC sources both pointed out that the Alliance would have achieved most of its demands if it had settled last week — including a double ballot, greater regional fiscal and administrative powers and the inclusion of the name KwaZulu in the Natal province.

An ANC source, however, said the one issue which remained a sticking point was the alliance demand to "cast

regional constitutions in stone" something which would have gone against the spirit of agreements reached as far back as 1991 at Codesa.

Entrenched in stone

Originally one group, headed by the NP, sought a constitution entrenched in stone before non-racial elections, and the other group, headed by the ANC, wanted it drawn entirely by an elected constitution making body.

A plethora of 19 parties registered for the elections by the Saturday midnight deadline, but only six are contenders for both national and all nine regional elections.

They are a newly formed freemarket party the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP), the Democratic Party (DP), National Party (NP), Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and African National Congress (ANC) and the African Democratic Movement (ADM), headed by Ciskei military strongman Brigadier Oupa Gqozo.

The other parties are:

- Merit Party which is contesting seats in the Western Cape assembly;
- Dikwankwetla Party of SA — fielding candidates for national; OFS and PWV regions;
- Minority Front — national and Natal (led by Mr Amichand Rajbansi);

● Islamic Party — Western Cape assembly;

● The Ximoko Progressive Party — national, PWV and Northern Transvaal;

● Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA — Western Cape;

● Women's Rights Peace Party — national;

● Keep it Straight and Simple Party (Kiss) — national;

● North West Democrats — national;

● Workers' List Party — national;

● United People's Front — PWV and Northern Transvaal;

● South African Women's Party (SAWP) — Western Cape;

● Realiste/Realists Party — PWV region;

According to IEC officials the SAWP did not pay the required R5 000 deposit but their application was recognised and recorded.

Unless the Electoral Act is retrospectively amended, the Freedom Alliance is out of the April general election.

The ANC and Government have not ruled out a special sitting of parliament if agreement is reached this week with the Freedom Alliance.

(D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

19 parties sign up for election

204A
21/4/2/94
Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Nineteen political parties registered for the April election at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park by the midnight deadline on Saturday, with a few surprise late entries.

With the notable exception of the Freedom Alliance, all the main players — the ANC, NP, DP, PAC, the African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP) and the African Democratic Movement (ADM) — have registered for both the regional and national elections.

Other parties are:

The Merit Party (Western Cape); Amichand Rajbansi's Minority Front (national, Natal); The Ximoko Progressive Party (national, Northern Transvaal, PWV); The United Peoples' Front (PWV, Northern Transvaal); The Keep it Straight and Simple Party (Kiss) (national); The North West Democrats (national); The Islamic Party (Western Cape); The Workers' List Party (national); The Ikwankwetla Party of SA (national, Free State, PWV); The Workers International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA (Western Cape); The Women's Rights Peace Party (national); The SA Women's Party (Western Cape) and The Realists/Realists Party (PWV).

Nats will use Alliance sit-out for their own gain

304A ARG 14/2/94

Political Staff

ATTENTION focuses today on the decision by the Freedom Alliance parties to boycott the April election.

With 19 other parties gearing up for the historic election, the Alliance parties' decision to opt out raises the prospect of gains for other contestants, particularly from Inkatha Freedom Party and Conservative Party ranks.

The National Party will seek to exploit the decision by the Alliance parties, and try to convince their supporters to ignore the call not to vote.

The IFP, the Afrikaner Volksfront, Bophuthatswana's ruling Christian Democratic Party and the Conservative Party failed to register for the election by midnight on Saturday.

The IFP's central committee decided at the weekend to boycott the election, but said it would explore all avenues to seek a multiparty constitutional settlement through international mediation.

The central committee also called on IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi to lead a united national rejection of the 1993 constitution and to oppose it in "every possible legal way", and called on its supporters not to vote.

Chief Buthelezi yesterday emphasised that his party would contest the election only if the government and ANC



"give in to our five reasonable demands".

These included the recognition of Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini as constitutional monarch of KwaZulu/Natal, a double-ballot voting system, regional taxation powers, entrenched regional constitutions and a federal form of government.

The full list of political parties whose applications for registration in the April election have been approved by the Independent Electoral Commission is expected to be released by March 4, the IEC said.

IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje said that, in terms of the Electoral Act, parties that missed the deadline "have missed the boat".

The IEC will release the details and names tomorrow of the applicants to take part in the election.

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

19 parties make election deadline

LLOYD COUTTS

NINETEEN political parties registered for the April election by the midnight deadline on Saturday, with a few dark horses making late entries. 14/2/94

With the notable exception of parties in the Freedom Alliance, all the main players — the ANC, NP, DP, PAC, the African Christian Democratic Party and the African Democratic Movement — have registered for regional and national elections.

Other participants are the Merit Party (which will contest the western Cape); Amichand Rajbansi's Minority Front (national and Natal); the Ximoko Progressive Party (national, northern Transvaal and PWV); the United People's Front (PWV and northern Transvaal); the Keep It Straight and Simple Party — Kiss (national); the North West Democrats (national); the Islamic Party (western Cape); the Workers' List Party (national); the Ikwankwetla Party of SA (national, Free State and PWV); the Workers' International to Rebuild the Fourth International SA (western Cape); the Women's Rights Peace Party (national); the SA Women's Party (western Cape); and the Realists/Realists Party (PWV). (304A)

The Realists Party was the last to register, sneaking in with 10 minutes to spare. The surprise of the day, however, was the Kiss party, registered by Heidelberg housewife Claire Emary, who said she had drawn up the party manifesto in her kit-

□ To Page 2

Parties

BIDAY 14/2/94

□ From Page 1

chen earlier in the day.

Parties contesting both the national and regional elections were required to pay a R75 000 deposit. To contest nationally required a R25 000 deposit and each region a R5 000 deposit. (304A)

The PAC arrived to pay its R75 000 in cash, with president Clarence Makwetu confiding that the party had no confidence

in cheques that could bounce later.

The only party which did not pay the required minimum R5 000 deposit was the SA Women's Party.

An Independent Electoral Commission spokesman said yesterday there was no indication that the deadline for registration would be extended.

Report by L. Coutts, TML, 11 Diagonal Street, Jhb.

NP denounces 'interference' with SADF

BLOEMFONTEIN — President F W de Klerk and Defence Minister Koble Coetsee on Saturday denounced outside interference in the SADF's loyalty to the state. *B/Say*

Speaking on the NP election tour, they said contingency plans had already been made regarding any insurrection, theft or break-in at army depots, as

well as political pressure on loyal SADF members.

Coetsee said strict disciplinary action would be taken against any member of the SADF misusing a weapon. *442/94*

De Klerk said he had "no doubt of the basic loyalty of the security forces" *(3047)*

Coetsee warned against outside "adventurers"

wishing to interfere with the SADF's loyalty in order to obtain weapons.

Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman Stephen Manning said withdrawing citizen and commando force members' weapons would leave them "at the mercy of killers".

Report by P Claessen, Saps, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● Picture: Page 3

NP denounces 'interference' with SADF

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wishing to interfere with the SADF's loyalty in order to obtain weapons.

Afrikaner Volksfront spokesman Stephen Manger said withdrawing citizen and commando force members' weapons would leave them "at the mercy of killers".

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

● Picture: Page 3

Government and ANC reject Inkatha demands but leave door open

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have rejected the Inkatha Freedom Party's demand for international mediation, but say "the door is slightly open — for at most another week".

Deputy Constitutional Development Minister Frans Schoeman said yesterday government had held meetings and had also met the ANC, whose position was flexible. He said the ball was now in the Freedom Alliance's court.

Inkatha's central committee decided at the weekend not to take part in the elections, but to ask for international mediation to resolve the political log jam.

Schoeman said government and the ANC

were insisting that the alliance come up with firm proposals on changes to the constitution that it have a firm mandate that resolution of problems would constitute a final settlement and that it commit itself to participation in the election.

He said that so far the alliance was still "playing the brinkmanship game and wanting a return to a pre-December 1991 position where they negotiate a final constitution and rule out the compromise two-phase process". Time was running out very fast. Practical problems were now becoming a constraint to reaching agreement.

Sapa reports that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi told several thou-

BILLY PADDOCK

14/12/94

sand supporters at a youth brigade rally near Empangeni yesterday that Zulus, Tsvanas, Afrikaners and others opposed to the ANC alliance should stand together and fight for freedom, justice and democracy. "We must stand together and fight the evil which is lurking in the midst. If we do not then we will fail. United we stand. Divided we fall."

He reiterated that his party would contest the elections only if the ANC and government "give in to our five reasonable demands" — the recognition of King Goodwill Zwelithini as the constitutional

monarch of KwaZulu/Natal; a double ballot, regional taxation powers, entrenched regional constitutions, and a federal system of government.

He warned that difficult times lay ahead. "It is impossible for me to lie to you and reassure you that the IFP's opposition to fighting the election under the current constitution will not bring casualty and even death. It would be equally impossible for me to tell you that the new SA is going to bring peace, prosperity and freedom."

He again accused the ANC alliance of attempting to "destroy us". While Inkatha members should never make killing a way

of life, "we must defend our communities with all our might".

President F W de Klerk is to meet the Zulu king in Durban today — their third meeting this year.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that the action committee, formed by the DP, PAC, Inkatha, African Democratic Movement and Christian Democratic Party on Friday, had approached De Klerk for a meeting to discuss the double ballot. It was awaiting a reply.

Report by W Paddock and J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and C Doonan, Sapa, 330 West St, Dbn.

● See Page 2

● Comment Page 4

Government has three days to respond to monarchy 'as per 1834'

Zulu kingdom call

GOVERNMENT and the world are against any balkanisation of South Africa - De Klerk

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban — President de Klerk has three days to come up with a way to stop King Goodwill Zwelithini from rolling back the historical clock and declaring Natal/KwaZulu an independent kingdom.

King Goodwill told De Klerk in their three-hour meeting at the Durban City Hall yesterday that the kingdom and the land he was asking for were "something that belongs to me, belongs to my people, no one else".

He said: "I am preparing myself to promulgate the constitution of KwaZulu-Natal which will establish a monarchy modelled after the best examples of democratic and pluralist monarchies in the world. It is within my powers as king and sovereign to issue and promulgate such a constitution to enshrine in KwaZulu-Natal a kingdom and freedom, pluralism and prosperity for all its citizens for centuries to come."

King Goodwill would not be drawn on when he would take this step.

He is claiming "exclusive and independent sovereignty over our atavistic territory as per 1834 boundaries".

De Klerk undertook to consult his Cabinet and report back to King Goodwill on Thursday on "specific proposals" made by the king.

Frightened

One man was killed and another injured when a volley of gunshots was fired outside the city hall from a huge crowd of the king's supporters, estimated by police to be 50 000-strong.

The shooting frightened the crowd confined between police cordons and razor wire. The king interrupted his meeting with De Klerk to placate the crowd.

Earlier, at a rally at King's Park Stadium, shots were fired in the air when residents from Tokoza on the East Rand arrived wearing Inkatha Freedom Party colours and were

► To Page 3



Addressing his subjects ... I am only claiming what belonged to the Zulu nation, said King Goodwill Zwelithini yesterday. PICTURE: AFP

Demand for a Zulu kingdom

From Page 1

greeted with applause.

Political violence was reported in several areas round Durban.

Several journalists were victims of intimidation and attack during yesterday's events — in effect a show of strength by the Zulu nation as they accompanied their monarch for the talks with De Klerk.

King Goodwill said the Afrikaans and British white nations, who had conquered the Zulus, were relinquishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa. This

went beyond a change of government — it was a radical change of states.

He demanded that the Zulu nation therefore be given the opportunity "to become free once again and to choose their own destiny for themselves".

De Klerk and the royal Zulu delegation, which included Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, disagreed on many points.

De Klerk said the position of the king and the kingdom could be accommodated within the transitional constitution. The king and Buthelezi disagreed. When this was repeated to the people

outside in West Street afterwards they roared their disapproval of De Klerk's position.

He abandoned plans to address the crowd with the king.

De Klerk said the answers lay in a federation. South Africa as an entity did not need to fall apart.

Secession, De Klerk said, was a unilateral act. The Government and the whole world was against the balkanisation of South Africa.

Attention had to be given to the uniqueness of specific problems and specific areas, with room and space created for

their special needs so that the risk of secession and balkanisation could be avoided.

King Goodwill said the Zulu kingdom was not formed by white people.

After the meeting King Goodwill went on to the steps of the city hall to tell his followers that De Klerk as a leader could not take immediate decisions on the issues raised, and first needed to consult his Cabinet.

The king said that he wanted to secure his kingdom through negotiations, not violence.

(Report by M Challenor, West Street, Durban)

Star 15/2/94

NP slams land demands

■ BY JO-ANNE COLLINGE

The National Party has attacked the land reform demands of the Community Land Conference as "ill-considered and short-sighted" and has in turn been attacked for attaching an ANC label to the conference.

"The demand that farmers should not be allowed to own more than one farm does not accord with economic realities. It is tantamount to placing a damper on the individual's ability to achieve," reads the NP's reaction to the conference.

The NP described this demand as being in keeping with "socialist principles which destroyed agriculture and the economy of the Eastern bloc and Africa".

The conference was attended by more than 700 delegates from about 350 deprived rural communities. It was convened by the National Land Committee, an umbrella organisation of regional development groups.

The NLC hit back at the NP's

claim that the conference was ANC-leaning. It pointed out that communities themselves had dominated the conference and that these communities "have worked hard at maintaining party-political independence, especially in areas such as Natal, where political intolerance continues to claim lives". ~~SECRET~~

In the light of this climate of violence it was "mischievous and dangerous of the NP to label the conference as ANC-oriented", the NLC said. (304A)

Delegates rejected in no uncertain terms the NP Government's minimal land reforms, and dismissed the State President's Commission on Land Allocation as a useless mechanism.

The NLC pointed out that it had invited six major political parties to the rally. Only the ANC sent a high-profile political leader — probable Free State premier Patrick "Terror" Lekota. The NP sent top civil servant Eric Buiten.

Star 15/2/94

'Boer without a gun a dead Boer'

■ POLITICAL STAFF

The AWB and Conservative Party have reacted angrily to Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee's threat to withdraw arms from commando unit members.

Warning of an "impending conflict", AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche called on all Citizen Force commandos not to hand in their weapons. (30/4A)

He urged supporters to

ensure they were armed since "a Boer without a weapon is a dead Boer".

CP deputy leader Dr Willie Snyman said the CP "soldiers" would no longer obey commands when it became evident that the TEC subcouncil had assumed command and control of the SADF.

And the Afrikaner Volksfront yesterday rejected the creation of a local government negotiating forum for the Roo-depoort, Muldersdrift, Dobsonville and David-

sonville/Fleurhof areas.

■ The threatened "removal" of guns owned by whites was in conflict with the Bill of Rights' guarantee against dispossession of private property, SA Gunowners' Association national chairman Ian Lehr said in Cape Town yesterday.

He was responding to ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela's statement that whites should be limited to owning only one firearm.

Keep your arms - ET

Sowetan 15/2/94
AFRIKANER Weerstandsbeweging leader Mr Eugene Terre'Blanche yesterday urged Citizen Force and Commando unit members not to hand in their weapons.

This followed Defence Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee's announcement that arms issued to Citizen Force members would be withdrawn. *(3041A)*

"We urge all Boere to ensure that they are armed. A Boer without a weapon is a dead Boer and we must be completely prepared for the impending conflict.

"I call on loyal Citizen Force units, all freedom-loving Boere and those who identify with the Boer's struggle, not to hand in their weapons and be part of the National Party's surrender to the African National Congress/SA Communist Party," Terre'Blanche said.— *Sapa*.

Rivals hit at NP manifesto

(304A)

CT5/2/94

Political Correspondent

THE National Party's election manifesto unveiled this week at its federal congress came in for sharp criticism from rival parties yesterday.

The ANC said the much-vaunted "new" NP had revealed itself to be much the same as the old NP. "Their election manifesto reveals the old NP tarted up in new clothes."

Instead of presenting concrete proposals, the NP only attempted to undermine the ANC.

The Democratic Party said it was ironic that the NP talked of bringing peace and prosperity to South Africa when it had brought the country to the brink of civil war and economic bankruptcy.

DP executive chairman Mr David Gant slammed NP suggestions that voters should not waste their ballots on smaller parties. There was no such thing as a "wasted vote" under the proportional representation system.

Mr Gant pointed out that a party needed only 0,25% of the total vote tally for one MP.

Own Correspondent

The IEC was putting the final touches to a contingency plan which

Details of the "ground rules" — regulations for holding the election — would be announced this week.

Mandela says 'no' to two (304A) ballot system

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has rejected a two-ballot vote in the election because it is "too complicated".

In a wide-ranging interview with The Argus he said most of the parties at the Kempton Park negotiations had been in favour of one ballot.

He also warned his followers not to be complacent because of opinion polls that showed the ANC to be far ahead.

While rejecting the idea of a "volkstaat" he made it clear he was still willing to go out of his way to consider the concerns of Afrikaners and rightwingers.

(News by Tos Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

● See page 15.

Man killed as shots fired in crowd

Zulu king's demands can be met — FW

B/Day 15/2/94

DURBAN — Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for an independent sovereign Natal/KwaZulu could be accommodated within the interim constitution, President F W de Klerk said after meeting the king and Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Durban's City Hall yesterday.

The meeting was marred by the death of a man in the 50 000-strong crowd of Zulu supporters that gathered outside the city hall in West Street. Our Durban correspondent reports the man was killed and another injured when gunshots were fired. Pandemonium broke out and Zwelithini and Buthelezi interrupted the talks to urge the crowd to stop firing, sit down and sing.

Sapa reports that in a joint news conference after three hours of talks, De Klerk said the constitution could be amended to address the king's further concerns.

The waiting crowd booed De Klerk when he emerged from the talks, and also booed the joint statement. But Zwelithini, who was met with thunderous applause, urged the crowd to exercise restraint.

Zwelithini claimed Natal/KwaZulu as a sovereign entity, but stopped short of seceding. "I'm asking for something that belongs to me and my people — no one else."

De Klerk said he would respond fully to the king's "new position" on Thursday, but it could be accommodated within the

framework of the transitional constitution and was negotiable. (304A) (18)

Earlier, Zwelithini stressed the interim constitution "is not the constitution of the Zulu nation which will neither now nor at any time in the future be bound by it".

He was preparing to promulgate a constitution for Natal/KwaZulu but had not yet decided when to do this.

He said his demands had to be met soon and scoffed at a suggestion that he should be discussing these with the ANC. "I'm speaking to the head of state," he said tersely.

De Klerk said he did not regard the king's position as a "unilateral act", adding that both parties were "solution orientated, otherwise we wouldn't be here".

"I'm not in favour of secession of any part of SA. I don't think that is really what his majesty and KwaZulu are looking for."

He stressed the importance of negotiating an acceptable solution and "in that way the risk of secession and balkanisation can be avoided".

Earlier, an emotional Zwelithini told a crowd at King's Park stadium that he was not prepared to discuss the reality of a KwaZulu kingdom and would negotiate only on how it would be governed.

He said his claim to sovereignty rested in the hands of Buthelezi, his "first adviser" and the "most bold and true" Zulu.

□ To Page 2

Zulu king

B/Day 15/2/94

□ From Page 1

"The sovereignty of the Zulu kingdom is a reality and I do not have to persuade anybody that the kingdom of KwaZulu is sovereign, nor do I have to negotiate about the acceptance of its sovereignty."

"What I am prepared to negotiate about is how that sovereignty is expressed in terms of a government, a public service, a police force, a defence force and all the other structures of government which must be put in place to give the sovereignty which is our expression in a workable government for the people."

Zwelithini admitted his claim to independence would "give rise to very complex negotiations and will throw up many thorny issues". He mentioned as an example that the fate of Durban's harbour and the prosperity of Durban's people "will hinge on how a sovereign kingdom of KwaZulu relates to the rest of SA". (304A)

The Zulu nation did not want to be ruled by a central government and would be ruled only by its own government.

Many city centre businesses closed early and streets were cordoned off. There was a strong security force presence, with members of the SAP, SADF, City Police and KwaZulu government marshalls trying to control the crowd. After the talks ended the crowd dispersed quickly.

SAP spokesman Maj Hamilton Ngidi confirmed two people had been shot. He said police had battled to get through the crowd to the victims. A policeman was assaulted and robbed of his shotgun.

There were reports of buses being stoned in Umlazi, Ntuzuma and Kwa-Mashu.

Report by C Doonan and C Govender, Sapa, 330 West St. Dbn; and G Malherbe and S Blaine, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St. Dbn.

● See Page 4

Electoral commission confident it can ensure free, fair elections

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said yesterday it was confident it could ensure free and fair elections in April, despite threats of disruption from boycotting parties.

The IEC was putting the final touches to a contingency plan which would rely on 9 000 trained South Africans to monitor the three-day poll from April 26 to 28, IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje said.

He confirmed the SA Police and SADF featured prominently in the plan, but would not divulge details except to say "we would obviously treat them as a source of

information. Our business is to hold free and fair elections, but obviously when this process is thwarted we must act".

He admitted the IEC faced a tough task, but argued its members were experienced at running elections. (20447)

"We're positive we can ensure free and fair elections."

Details of the "ground rules" — regulations for holding the election — would be announced this week.

Confirmation of the IEC contingency plan coincided with the AWP calling "on all loyal citizen force units" not to hand in

David Greybe 15/12/1994

DAVID GREYBE

weapons to the SADF if ordered to do so.

Defence and Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee announced at the weekend that commando and citizen force weapons being misused would be recalled.

AWP leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said:

"A boer without a weapon is a dead boer, and we must be completely prepared for the impending conflict."

The CP warned it would refuse to recognise an SA army which had been taken over by the IEC's defence subcouncil. Sol-

diers could not be expected to obey unconstitutional orders.

Cronje said the 9 000 monitors would be controlled by "special investigative teams" who would, in turn, be accountable to "several thousand" local and international observers. Local monitors would try to settle disputes when they occurred.

If this failed disputes would be taken to the more than 370 electoral tribunals, the IEC's legal arm, for resolution. The IEC's job was threefold: organising the election; monitoring the poll; and judging whether it was "substantially" free and fair.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports the IEC is considering using minibuses to ferry party leaders into so-called "no-go" areas so they can be given a chance to canvass voters.

DP leader Zach de Beer confirmed at the weekend he had been invited by IEC chairman Judge Johann Kriegler to discuss the plan, but declined to give details.

Kriegler is expected to soon meet the leaders of the 19 parties participating in the election, including those from groups not participating but which could have a bearing on the running of the poll.

Report by D Greybe and J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diegenal St, Jhb.

Volkfront

'no' to forum
GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE Afrikaner Volkfront has rejected the planned local negotiation forum for the West Rand.

A forum consisting of Rodepoort, Muldersdrift, Davidsonville, Fleurhof and Dobsonville is to be set up in the next few days.

Local authorities were given 60 days from January 31 to set up negotiating forums in accordance with the Local Government Transition Act. If they fail to do so forums will be appointed on their behalf by provincial administrators.

Earlier this week the TEC announced the appointment of nine provincial committees, which would advise administrators should they have to appoint negotiating forums.

The right-wing Transvaal Municipal Association has representatives on the provincial committees.

Report by G du Venage, T.M.L., 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

Church leaders back foreign help

DAVID GREYBE

INTERNATIONAL mediation was still the best chance for breaking the volksstaat talks deadlock, Afrikaans church leaders said yesterday.

Government, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volkfront were closer to a deal than the public realised, but outside mediation was now needed to resolve outstanding differences, said Dutch Reformed vice-moderator Prof Johan Heyns.

He was optimistic a deal could be struck if the three parties were prepared to give such mediation a chance.

Church leaders had already approached some of the "high-profile" international politicians short-listed, who had indicated a willingness to get involved at a moment's notice if needed.

Leaders from five Afrikaans churches have been conducting secret talks with the parties during the past week: the three reformed churches, the Apostolic Faith Mission, and the conservative Afrikaans Protestant Church.

A number of senior ANC members were prepared to consider international mediation, despite contrary indications in the media, Heyns said.

However, he noted that one of the problems the church leaders had encountered in their efforts was the absence of a common ANC position.

Talks were continuing with government and the ANC, though, to try to formulate a common bilateral position to present to Volkfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen

at talks tomorrow.

According to Heyns, Viljoen remained optimistic the volksstaat deadlock could be broken through negotiations, which could pave the way for Volkfront participation in the April election.

"He (Viljoen) is waiting for certain developments in the next day or two," Heyns said, saying he did not know what the Volkfront leader had meant.

International mediation was rejected yesterday by the AWB, Sapa reported.

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche said the AWB had "noted with surprise" statements in the media attributed to Volkfront officials that the AVF wanted international mediation to break the deadlock at the talks.

The AWB regarded the reports as "mischievous" by the media, and aimed at causing a split in Volkfront ranks.

"The AWB is totally opposed to any form of foreign intervention in SA," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's rejection at the weekend of participation in the election was accompanied by a call for international mediation.

Heyns said there was no reason why, if international mediation resolved the volksstaat deadlock, it could not be attempted with the outstanding constitutional issues as well.

Report by D Greybe, T.M.L., 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

Door to compromise not yet closed, says Cronje

BILLY PADDOCK

NEGOTIATIONS for accommodating the Freedom Alliance were not yet a thing of the past as there were many informal initiatives taking place, alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said yesterday.

The alliance was meeting today "to look at scenarios and work out our options. Maybe the best thing is to pursue talks with the ANC on its own and cut out government," he said.

He had heard nothing from Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer since the passing of Thursday's 6pm deadline for responding to government's last offer for the alliance to spell out its position.

"I told him I did not have time to get an alliance joint position together for the deadline. I assume it is over between us until he gets back to me."

But a government spokesman said it was still waiting for the alliance to come forward with clear proposals and a mandate from its principals.

A six-man Bophuthatswana delegation was meeting an ANC delegation on Friday to work out its position in the new constitution and normalise relations with the ANC. Moves were also afoot between members of the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksunie in continuing talks on accommodating the idea of a volksstaat, Cronje said.

He said the pact that IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthezi announced at the weekend was merely a proposal and would be considered by the alliance today. "But things have to move fast if we want to get anywhere," he said.

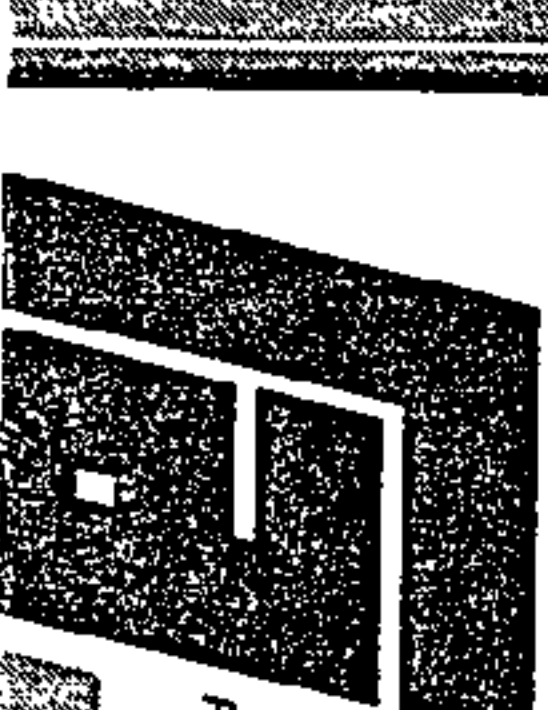
The Afrikaner Volkfront has meanwhile reacted strongly to a call by the NP for Volkfront members to vote for the NP, warning its supporters that participation in the election would deny them a moral base in a subsequent struggle for Afrikaner self-determination.

If the majority of Afrikaners did not participate in the election, the Afrikaner nation could not be morally bound by its outcome, Volkfront leader Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

Report by W Paddock, T.M.L., 11 Diagonal St., Jhb, and E van Wyk and G van Oudshoorn, 141 Commissioner St., Jhb.

Results

for the six months



**FRALEX
LIMITED**

Registration Number 05/06098/06

Interim Results

Broadcasting body shortlist at TEC

B/DAY 15/2/94

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — A shortlist of nominations for the Independent Broadcasting Authority is likely to be approved by the TEC today.

The public will have two weeks to comment on the shortlist before each of the nominees undergoes public hearings to determine their suitability and skills.

The broadcasting authority is charged with ensuring no political party is advantaged, or disadvantaged, in broadcasts ahead of the election. It is also required to draw up a code of conduct for radio stations, investigate cross-ownership and examine the financial implications for the SABC of deregulation.

The TEC is also expected to react today to a plea by Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte that the Independent Broadcasting Authority Act be amended to allow for the granting of temporary broadcast licences.

Applications for licences would be considered only by mid-year, making it essential that the body be given the authority to issue temporary licences, Schutte said. Without this, radio stations which had been given temporary licenses would be prevented from broadcasting for months.

Ciskei takes its place at the TEC for the first time at today's session and will be represented by Ciskei chief negotiator Mickey Webb.

TEC management committee co-chairman Pravin Gordhan said the TEC, its

management committee and subcouncils were beginning to get "on top of their responsibilities" and contributing to the holding of free and fair elections in April.

The TEC "is doing its job, is becoming effective", Gordhan said.

The appearance of KwaZulu police commissioner Lt-Gen Roy During at last week's meeting, in which he presented information on the operation of hit squads within his force, was seen as a "peak" in the TEC's activities.

The TEC had been trying to get During to appear before it since December last year. Its summonses were rejected by During who said the KwaZulu government did not recognise the TEC.

During agreed to give evidence to the TEC a few days before the Supreme Court in Natal was due to hear an urgent TEC application to force During to appear.

A smaller task group will conduct further investigations.

Other matters to be discussed by the TEC include, the election fund, the launching of a leaflet and brochure publicity campaign on the constitution and the desirability or otherwise for the retention of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

The TEC's subcouncil on law and order is also scheduled to give a briefing on the general situation in the country.



ANC president Nelson Mandela Bezuidenhout gulise, shares a Retreat, Cape Town on Sunday

Popcru seeks elections role

JOHANNES NGCOBO

THE Police and Prisons Civil Rights Union (Popcru) would seek a meeting with the commissioner of police to discuss policing during the April elections, Popcru president Enoch Nelani said yesterday.

Nelani, elected to the post at the Popcru congress in Johannesburg on Sunday, said that for the elections to be free and fair, Popcru should be given a chance to show its plan for elections policing.

Nelani said the organisation planned to consult with structures involved in monitoring the elections and discuss with them the possibility of Popcru supplying volunteers.

Nelani said that, during the elections, police should be drawn from violence-free areas to help police areas where trouble was expected, such as Natal and the PWV.

Report by J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Women may need wax to vote

ADRIAN HADLAND

PRETORIA — Thousands of rural women were having difficulty obtaining ID documents ahead of the April election as their fingerprints had become blurred or cracked, the TEC reported yesterday.

Speaking on behalf of the TEC's subcouncil on the status of women, Free State traditional leaders' representative Mina Moroke said manual labour and the handling of animal dung as a housing cement and cleaning chemicals had changed the fingerprints of many women in the rural areas.

Some had been trying for 10 or 15 years to acquire reference books but had been recalled time and again by Home Affairs officials who could not match

new and old fingerprints, Moroke said.

The same difficulties were being experienced when they attempted to obtain voting documents.

About 80% of women in SA lived in rural areas while, of these, up to 60% suffered from fading fingerprints, Moroke said.

The subcouncil, which was created to remove obstacles restricting women's participation in the election, has recommended rural women apply wax or vasoline to their fingertips for three or four days before applying for ID documents. This would give their fingerprints greater clarity.

Rural women also faced

voting difficulties through the inhibition of their political activities by traditional chiefs, intimidation by non-participating political parties and the incorrect issuing of IDs stating incorrect names or gender.

A lack of access to information, poverty, illiteracy and the burden of housework and childcare further threatened to impede many women's participation in the election, the subcouncil found.

The subcouncil will liaise with the TEC, the Independent Electoral Commission, governments, state departments and traditional authorities to ensure women, who represent 52% of the electorate, place ballots on April 27 and 28.

Star 16/2/94

Voter card machines to be deployed nationwide

304A

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission is deploying about 400 temporary voter card machines countrywide to expedite voter registration.

IEC commissioner Mr Justice Johann Kriegler, addressing a media conference yesterday, stressed that only eligible voters who had no other voter eligibility document should apply for temporary voter cards.

Valid voter eligibility documents include:

- An identity document (both the old dark blue as well as the new green-covered versions).
- Identity documents issued by the TBVC states (Transkei, Ciskei, Venda and Bophuthatswana).
- A reference book (all three versions).
- The old green Union of SA identity card (issued

until 1972).

■ A temporary identity certificate (issued when an identity document has been lost).

■ A temporary voter card.

To get a temporary voter card, the voter must bring his or her birth certificate — or, if this is not available, a baptismal certificate, clinic or hospital records of birth, school records, a house permit indicating a name, or a letter from a local or traditional authority.

Free

If none of these documents are available, a person with an identity document could also identify the applicant.

The temporary voter card will be free and issued on the spot to bona fide applicants. Applicants will also receive a

proper identity document ultimately.

The IEC has stated that eligible voters are anyone who is 18 years old or older who is:

■ A South African citizen (born or naturalised), including TBVC citizens.

■ A person with permanent residence permit (immigrants).

■ A person exempted from holding a permanent residence permit.

■ Former South African citizens living in South Africa.

■ The spouse or child of a South African citizen or former South African citizen who resides permanently in South Africa.

■ People who entered SA before December 31 1978, and who have been ordinarily resident in SA since and who have not been declared prohibited persons.

(47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)



Own nation, own country... since last year's invasion of the World Trade Centre, venue for constitutional negotiations, the Right's plans for a gathered momentum.
PICTURE: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

With the volkstaat envisaged by the white Right on the verge of being declared, some platteland areas appear to have already convinced themselves they are no longer part of the Republic of South Africa. Norman Chandler reports

For the volkstaat, go north and keep right

The large sign decorated with the flags of the old Boer republics at the entrance to a town called farble Hall, in the northern Transvaal, seems to be telling people they have just left South Africa... or so it would appear to those who didn't know better. It reads, as bold as brass, Marble Hall — Volkstaat.

asking the local black population whether they wished to live in a new country called "Volkstaat", or in the Transvaal, let alone South Africa. The whites of the district were also not consulted, but, according to some business-men in the town, that was not unexpected because Marble Hall is "the most right-wing town in the country."

Businessmen — black, white or Asian — are however bemused at the decision by the town fathers to suddenly "ex-ude" the town from the map of South Africa. They view it as foolhardy, unworkable or just plain crazy.

But Marble Hall is a symptom of what's afoot on the platteland as South Africa heads for an election. Throughout the region, there is absolute anger at what many Afrikaners see as capitulation and appeasement by the Government of President de Klerk to accommodate the aspirations of black people. The message is driven home time and again by the Afrikaner Volkfront, the Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging (AWB), fringe groups of the right wing, and, now, town councils.

Marble Hall exists because the black people of nominally-independent Lebowa — just up the road to Roedman — support its shops and provide the labour force for the homes and the lush farms of the district. Farmers support the town's small business area because Groblersdal or Potgietersrus are too far away.

But the town has nevertheless opted to become the Transvaal Municipal Association's shining example of how to enrage people — the TMA, dominated by members of the Conservative Party and, by implication, the Afrikaner Volkfront, decided recently it would not support transitional local government legislation which would bring multi-

racialism to city and town councils throughout the country. Marble Hall is one of only a few municipalities to have accepted the TMA's so-called "mandatory orders" to swear allegiance to a volkstaat and not to the province nor to South Africa. This followed a vote by the TMA to link up with the Afrikaner Volkfront's dream of self-determination.

It in turn enraged the Transvaal Provincial Administration, which described the decision as "not conducive to good order in the community." Whenever one travels through the platteland, the signs of what could be the start of a rebellion against the government of national unity are there to see. The volkstaat, although still to be formally proclaimed by Boer-president Dr Fanie Hanzenberg in the next few weeks (he was proclaimed "president" last month at a right-wing gathering in Pretoria), appears to be alive and well in Lydenburg, Warmbaths, Groblersdal, Water-spruit, Middelburg, Witbank and White River.

In some instances, the word has been painted in large white letters across tarred roads leading into towns and villages. Directional signage, farm signs, and walling have been defaced with blue-lettered posters proclaiming that the land belongs to the volkstaat. But it is not only the Afrikaners who are protesting. English-speakers are also showing their hand, with grim farmers plainly disturbed by the prospect of living under an African National Congress-dominated national or provincial government.

The mood among whites is also not helped by statements from the ANC's eastern Transvaal prime minister-elect, Martin Phosa, who told an election campaign meeting near Nelspruit a few days ago: "Holland is an ideal location for a volkstaat for the Boers."

Phosa said it annoyed him that the eastern Transvaal was viewed as a potential homeland for the Afrikaner people — "it will never happen here," he said. That may well be the case, but the real fear is that hot-heads among extremists, and there are many, as police and intelligence agencies are quick to point out, could make the run-up to the election and the days that follow extremely difficult in several areas on the platteland.

(216 Vermaak Street, Pretoria)

'ANC hijacked women's coalition' — Nats quit

(304A) Political Correspondent

THE National Party yesterday withdrew all its members from the Women's National Coalition (WNC), saying the multi-party body to promote gender equality had been hijacked by the ANC.

A member of the national steering committee of the WNC, Mrs Anne Routier, said the coalition had openly taken on the colours of the ANC.

She said NP members of the Pietersburg WNC were "gravely offended" by posters displayed at a recent meeting of President FW de Klerk captioned "Wanted ... Criminal for Political Offences".

CT 16/2/94

Most Afrikaners *star 16/2/94* want volkstaat,

claims Viljoen

Cape Town — Some 75 percent of Afrikaners would be in favour of a white homeland, Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday.

He told the Independent Press Institute's general assembly that the volkstaat would have to be "demarcated as close to where the majority of Afrikaners live at the moment" (304A)

ANC executive member Mohammed Valli Moosa said during the same panel discussion that the AVF did not have majority support anywhere in the country.

But he added that the ANC would do everything possible to accommodate reasonable demands by rightwingers.

"Even if the ANC wins a two-thirds majority in the coming election, we will do everything in our power not to rush the constitution as we want to make it as inclusive as possible," Moosa said. — Sapa-AFP.

Three parties want city as capital

Political Staff

CAPE TOWN should remain the parliamentary capital of South Africa, spokesmen for the NP, the IFP and the DP said yesterday.

But the PAC's Mrs Patricia de Lille said South Africa's

capitals were relics of the past and the country could not afford the "luxury" of two capitals.

The representatives of the political parties were asked by the editor of the Pretoria News, Mr Deon du Plessis, at

the International Press Institute congress, what their views were on the future capitals of South Africa.

The NP's Dr Dawie de Villiers, said it was imperative the status quo be retained.

The IFP's Dr Ben Ngubane said the IFP believed that the

facilities that existed were already in place and should be used. CT 16/2/94

The DP's Mr Colin Eglin said the new constitution provided that the legislative capital of South Africa should be Cape Town. (304A)

KISS of death is her wish for tax

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

LOWETAN 16/2/94 304A
■ SIMPLE SYSTEM One

A NEW Party called the Keep it Straight and Simple Party (KISS) is a one-woman show which seeks to restrict the power of Government to tax its citizens.

Her message would be limited Government with the power to impose only one tax — value added tax of 10 per cent on all consumer goods.

Heidelberg housewife Mrs Claire Emary, a mother of three, borrowed R25 000 from her husband, Edward, to pay the Independent Electoral Commission registration fee to fight the April election for the national assembly.

Emary (51), who clearly has a passion for politics, said she and her husband had enjoyed 35 years of political debate and had considered forming a free-market-based party on previous

woman hopes to point the way ahead for a future government:

occasions.

When she woke up on Saturday she decided to write a one-page constitution for the party after breakfast.

She named the party after the business principle: "Keep it simple, stupid."

However, she couldn't call the voters stupid, so she decided on: "Keep it Straight and Simple" Party.

Emary registered Kiss before the deadline at midnight on Saturday.

But Emary said the party would not be just a kiss in the wind, she intended to blaze the election trail.

She said while she realised that the R25 000 was meant to keep jokers out of the electoral race, she would be

campaigning against having to fork out the money to "another of the Government's agencies".

Kiss would wage "a new class struggle against the politicians' class".

Speaking on Valentine's Day, Emary said her government would create a police force sufficient to protect the rights of all citizens from aggression by others; an independent judiciary which would enforce the rights created by a voluntary contract; and a defence force sufficient to protect citizens from any invasion.

(Report by D Pressly, 161 Commando Rd. Industria West, Johannesburg.)

State electoral fund tripled

AP/S/DITC 304A CT16/2/94

Own Correspondent

PRETORIA — Political parties would be given R3 per supporter towards their election campaign finances, the TEC announced yesterday.

The state electoral fund, which was provisionally set at R22 million by the TEC last week, has been tripled to R69m at the request of the Interim Party Liaison Committee.

The committee, representing all parties intending to participate in the election, said the provisional amount of R22m was inadequate.

One rand per supporter was "not enough to enable political parties to campaign effectively", the committee said.

It said most of the parties lacked organisational and physical infrastructure and needed to train canvassers, organisers, administrators and party agents.

Funds were also required for booking venues and sound equipment, acquiring advertising media such as posters, stickers, badges and pamphlets and for the dissemination of policies and

Election rules outlined

JOHANNESBURG. — Parties who fail to win at least one seat in the election stand to lose their registration deposits, the Independent Electoral Commission said yesterday.

Parties could also lose their deposits for transgressions of the Electoral Act.

IEC spokesman Mr Pieter Cronje said that voting stations would be placed at hostels in black areas to enable residents to vote without leaving the premises. Fears had been expressed by hostel residents that they would be

intimidated and prevented from voting. Journalists covering the election can be subpoenaed by electoral tribunals for investigations or court proceedings arising from transgressions of the Electoral Act, including the Code of Conduct.

The media, individuals and groups will be protected by law against acts of intimidation.

The names of parties that applied to participate in the election were Gazetted yesterday. — Sapa

voter education information.

According to the Electoral Act, half the fund will be allocated to parties before the election dependent either on the results of recognised opinion polls or on the collection of up to 10 000 signatures.

The remainder will be distributed after the election based on the actual number of votes received by the parties.

The funds would come from the government as well as from international contributions.

It was essential to the legitimacy of the election result that all

parties competed fairly and were given enough funds, the committee said.

"If no significant funding is given to political parties, the perception among the majority of the voters might be that the election was not free and fair because their parties did not enjoy the same advantages as other parties."

The TEC also agreed yesterday on the launching of a constitution awareness campaign. The radio aspect of the campaign has already begun.

Day of decision

Ballot in the balance

CT16/2/94

(304A)

Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — The cabinet is expected to decide today whether to hold a special parliamentary session to amend the new constitution and introduce a double ballot system.

And the Freedom Alliance yesterday decided it would pursue "informal channels" to resurrect the failed negotiations to accommodate its demands, while the ANC offered to meet King Goodwill Zwelithini for talks on the future of KwaZulu/Natal.

A special session was one of the few options left after Monday's inconclusive talks between President F W de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill and the ANC/government deadlock with the Freedom Alliance, a government negotiator said.

"What is clear now is we must go to Parliament whether we have an (inclusive) deal or not," said the negotiator, who asked not to be named. "We must be seen to have made a real effort to accommodate the Alliance."

Yesterday, Mr De Klerk said a negotiated solution with the king and the far right was still possible before the election date, but would require them to be flexible on certain issues. He told a press conference in Pre-

toria parties had at most a week in which to reach agreements which would pave the way for their participation in the April elections.

king is articulating the views of the Freedom Alliance.

The youth wing of the IFP has threatened to defy all TEC decisions till their demands have been met.

The Alliance yesterday discussed several options open to them following the breakdown of talks last week but were only prepared to talk openly about attempts to restart talks.

BUDGET DEFICIT WILL CURB REGIONAL POWER

— PAGE 2

R69m ELECTION FUND

— PAGE 2

The ANC yesterday strongly criticised King Goodwill for intervening on behalf of the Freedom Alliance, but offered immediately to send an emissary to the monarch.

An ANC statement released yesterday criticised the king and generally showed a more aggressive tone.

It said the ANC remained perturbed that King Zwelithini was always seen to intervene on behalf of Freedom Alliance.

"While the ANC does not question the right of the king to act and try to ensure an amicable solution to the problems, it will be unfortunate if a perception were to develop that the

"We decided that we would pursue informal channels to see what could be done to negotiate a settlement but we are not prepared to just sit down and talk," said Mr Rowan Cronje, the Alliance chief negotiator.

A meeting of those who participated in the talks at the World Trade Centre would have to be called to agree to any proposed changes to the constitution, the government negotiator said.

The changes could include:

- A double ballot.
- The introduction of a constitutional principle on self-determination which would underpin a new constitution.
- Clarity on exclusive powers, including fiscal, for provinces.
- A name change for Natal to accommodate KwaZulu.

● Greater powers for provinces to write their own constitutions.

A special session would also allow for an extension to allow for late registration of parties for the election. — Own Correspondent, Sapa



Amendments to constitution likely

Plan to call

special session B/D Bay 16/2/94 of Parliament

THE ANC and government are discussing amending the constitution and the Electoral Act to reflect concessions made to the Freedom Alliance — even if agreement is not reached with the alliance.

The Cabinet is expected to decide today whether to hold a special session of Parliament at the end of this month to amend the interim constitution, as well as introduce a double ballot system (B/D Bay 16/2/94) SACP chairman and ANC negotiator Joe Slovo was yesterday not prepared to comment on the possibility of a special parliamentary session. "The ANC hasn't decided one way or the other," he said, confirming that behind-the-scenes discussions on the issue were continuing.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance said it would pursue "informal channels" to resurrect the failed negotiations to accommodate its constitutional demands, while the ANC again offered to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for talks on the future of KwaZulu/Natal.

A special parliamentary session was one of the few options left to government and the ANC following Monday's inconclusive talks between President F.W. de Klerk and Zwelithini, and the deadlock with the Freedom Alliance, a government negotiator said. "What is clear now is that we must go

DAVID GREYBE

to Parliament whether we have an (inclusive) deal or not. We must be seen to have made a real effort to accommodate the Freedom Alliance."

Sapa reports that De Klerk told a Pretoria news conference that parties had at most a week in which to reach agreements to pave the way for their participation in the April elections. Parliament would then have to be called together "rather soon".

The government negotiator said that if there was multiparty agreement, a special session could be held in about two weeks, giving negotiators a final chance to try to get the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksfront, including the CP, to contest the elections.

BILLY PADDOCK reports that the Freedom Alliance yesterday discussed several options open to it after the breakdown in negotiations, but would speak only of attempts to restart talks.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said: "We decided that we would pursue informal channels to see what could be done to negotiate a settlement, but we are not prepared to just sit down and talk." "If there is any hope that restarting talks could result in a constructive outcome then

□ To Page 2

Parliament B/D Bay 16/2/94 □ From Page 1

we will look positively at that." He hoped the results of the initiatives would become evident in the next day or two.

The government negotiator said a meeting of the parties that took part in the World Trade Centre multiparty talks would have to be called to agree to changes in the constitution (B/D Bay 16/2/94) These could include: introducing a double ballot; introducing a constitutional principle on self-determination to underpin a new constitution; clarifying exclusive powers, including fiscal powers, for regions; changing Natal's name to include KwaZulu; and greater powers for regions to write their own constitutions.

A special session could also allow late registration of parties for the elections. The government negotiator alleged that Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi had tried to scupper the De Klerk/Zwelithini talks because he had never intended participating in the elections. The only reason for Monday's talks not breaking down totally was "because the king has opted for a negotiated settlement."

"My impression certainly was that Buthelezi wanted confrontation. He wanted to declare a deadlock," the negotiator said. He said Buthelezi was backed by Zulu royalists such as KwaZulu Deputy Welfare

Minister Prince Gideon Zulu "who don't understand the situation".

After Monday's meeting De Klerk said he would consult the Cabinet and respond to the king's "new position" tomorrow.

The government negotiator said: "We could reason with the king if we were given the chance to negotiate directly with him."

Zwelithini claimed Natal/KwaZulu as a sovereign entity, but stopped short of secession.

Slovo said there was "no way" the ANC could agree to KwaZulu seceding from SA. However the ANC was "sensitive to any feelings of insecurity the king may have" and was prepared to address them.

The ANC said it had "taken note" of Zwelithini's demand, but remained perturbed that the king was always seen to be intervening on the Freedom Alliance's behalf in situations where there was an apparent deadlock in talks with the ANC.

It reiterated that the issue of the monarchy in Natal could best be addressed "within the framework of democratic provincial constitutions". The ANC was willing "immediately to send an emissary to King Zwelithini to discuss the matter".

Reports by D Greybe and W Paddock. TML, 11 Diagonal St., JHB; B Maderan, Sapa, Press Gallery, Parliament; and G Arde, Sapa, 330 West St., Dn.

● See Page 16

Numsa demands time off for whole week of elections

THE National Union of Metalworkers of SA (Numsa) yesterday called for car and tyre manufacturers to close for the whole election week, as well as the day the results were announced. **2/20/94**

Numsa national organiser Gavin Hartford said other sectors organised by Numsa were expected to follow suit and report to a union central executive committee meeting in mid-March. The committee was expected to authorise workers to implement their decision. **16/12/94**

Cosatu voter education co-ordinator Jesse Maluleke said other Cosatu affiliates would probably table the same demand to employers, although this was not a

ERICA JANKOWITZ

national Cosatu position. Cosatu would welcome employers' co-operation in allowing time off during the election week. Last year Cosatu and its affiliates began calling for "thousands" of shop stewards and workers to be released for election monitoring. The federation also urged employers in inaccessible and strife-torn regions to grant workers sufficient time off to get to the polls on both voting days. Cosatu was apparently involved in negotiations with Saccola on the issue of time off for workers to vote and monitor the elections, although it was unclear how

many days had been demanded. However, it appeared that the one-day public holiday was deemed insufficient for migrant workers to return home.

But Numsa has not distinguished between its migrant and urban workforce in its demand for a five-day break. Hartford said the demand stemmed from a perceived need for workers to be with their families during the elections and to mobilise support for the ANC. **(188-3047)**

A meeting of car manufacturers under the auspices of the national bargaining forum yesterday failed to reach agreement, as manufacturers offered only the three voting days as time off for workers.

Hartford said this proposal was rejected "on the grounds that it was unwarrantable in that employees would not tender full services on April 25 and 26, resulting in high absenteeism and consequent severe disruption of production".

However, negotiations were not closed. Earlier this month, Numsa shop stewards were authorised to negotiate the logistics of the shutdown at plant level, including whether production time could be made up and if the lost time would be wholly or partially paid or unpaid.

Employer body representatives could not be reached for comment last night.

Report by E. Jankowitz, TML, 11 DeGondal St., Jhb.

Temporary voter cards being issued to fill identity book gap

12/12/94
BISCAY
THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) yesterday began issuing temporary voters cards and said it hoped to set up 400 vending computers throughout the country by the end of the month.

IEC deputy chairman Dikgang Moseneke said yesterday it had become clear that the Home Affairs Department would be unable to issue enough identity documents in time for the election and it had been decided to resort to the constitutional backup of using temporary cards.

These were only available for people without eligibility documents, such as SA and TBVC identity documents, reference books, old identity cards issued until 1972, a temporary identity certificate and a valid SA passport in the case of foreign voting stations.

Potential voters are required to produce a baptism certificate, clinic or hospital records of birth, school records, a letter

1612/94
LLOYD COUTTS
from a local or traditional authority or a house permit indicating a name to qualify for the special cards. Applicants will be fingerprinted.

A person in possession of an identity document can also identify an applicant. The machines will not be available at polling booths.

Commission chairman Judge Johan Kriegler said yesterday the card enjoyed full IEC sanction and validity and would be marked with the IEC logo.

Moseneke said the holders of the cards would ultimately receive a full ID document in about three months.

Kriegler said the commission would deploy about 180 000 people during voting days.

Report by L. Coutts, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Parties' funding tripled by TEC

B1 Day 16/2/94

PRETORIA — Political parties would be given R3 and not R1 a supporter towards their election campaign finances, the TEC announced yesterday.

The state electoral fund, provisionally set at R22m by the TEC last week, has been tripled to R69m at the request of the interim party liaison committee. (BOHA)

The committee said most of the parties lacked organisational and physical infrastructure and needed to train canvassers, organisers, administrators and party agents.

Funds were also required for booking venues and sound equipment, acquiring advertising material and for the dissemination of policies and voter education information.

Most leaders were inexperienced campaigners and needed skills training, the committee added.

According to the Electoral Act, half the funding will be allocated to parties prior to the elections, dependent either on the results of recognised opinion polls or on the collection of up to 10 000 signatures.

The remainder will be distributed

ADRIAN HADLAND

following the elections, based on the actual number of votes received.

The committee said the funding would come from government and from international contributions.

It was essential to the legitimacy of the election result that all parties competed fairly and were given sufficient funds, the committee added.

"If no significant funding is given to political parties, the perception amongst the majority of the voters might be that the election was not free and fair because their parties did not enjoy the same advantages as other parties."

The TEC also agreed yesterday on the launching of a constitution awareness campaign. The campaign would commence within 10 days.

In addition, 80 000 T-shirts with a "message on the constitution" had been ordered, advertising space on minibus taxi music tapes had been acquired and 10 information kiosks would be set up in high-density commuter areas.

Report by A Hadland, TML, 216 Vermeulen St, Pta.

Cyril, Roelf called in on new flag issue

PRETORIA — ANC and government chief negotiators Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer have been asked by the TEC to make recommendations on SA's new anthem and flag.

The national symbol question was passed on to the TEC from the national negotiating council at Kempton Park (30/4/94).

The two-person subcommittee was asked to consider the issue and make recommendations in "the shortest time possible".

It was reported at the weekend that flag manufacturers were concerned that an inadequate period of time had been left before the elections to print the required number of flags.

Meanwhile, the SADF has explained why it only seconded black soldiers to

ADRIAN HADLAND

the national peacekeeping force. The SADF told the TEC's subcouncil on defence that without conscription, "there were no riflemen to draw upon".

The SADF also said its

new recruits had not completed basic training while it was unrealistic to expect Citizen Force members to give up their employment to join the peace force.

The TEC's management committee said the matter would be pursued further.

Viljoen claims 75% favour volkstaat

CAPE TOWN — Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen said yesterday that 75% of Afrikaners would be in favour of a volkstaat. *B/D*

Speaking during a panel discussion at the Independent Press Institute general assembly, Viljoen said the volkstaat would have to be "demarcated close to where the majority of Afrikaners live at the moment".

ANC executive member Mohammed Valli Moosa said the Volksfront did not have majority support anywhere in SA.

But he added that the ANC would do everything possible to accommodate reasonable demands by right-wingers.

"Even if the ANC wins a two-thirds majority in the coming elections, we will do everything in our power not to rush the constitution as we want to make it as inclusive as possible," Valli Moosa told the panel discussion. *16/2/94*

Although no further meetings were planned between the Freedom Alliance, the ANC and government, NP Cape leader Dawie de Villier said, his government would "continue to negotiate with the alliance". *(304A)*

"We regret that the constitution is not all-inclusive," he said during the discussion, "but it provides a solid base to carry us beyond April 28." — Sapa-AFP.

SA and regional partners

NP quits women's group over 'bias'

By
16/2/94

TIM COHEN

THE NP yesterday pulled out of the Women's National Coalition just two weeks before the organisation's national convention, saying it "appears to be acting as an ANC front". The coalition denied the allegation and called on the NP to attend the convention despite the resignation of its members.

The NP provided examples of what it considered to be instances of politicisation of the organisation, which had been working since its formation last year towards creating a women's charter.

The coalition said although it had constantly restated its commitment to a non party-political stance, "misunderstandings about the nature of the coalition have occurred at different times and from different perspectives".

NP member and coalition steering committee member Anne Rouzier said that among specific examples of bias were:

□ ANC T-shirts sold at the launch of the coalition's research report in Kempton Park;

□ The coalition's executive nominating four ANC members to talk to the media at the launch of the report;

□ A coalition meeting held in the ANC's Pietersburg office where posters of President F W de Klerk were displayed with slogan "Wanted ... criminal for political

offences"; and
□ Coalition voter education campaigns conducted by ANC members and slanted towards the ANC.

The creation of the TEC with its sub-council on the status of women made the activities of the coalition "largely redundant", Rouzier said.

Coalition convener Prence Glinwala said all organisations involved had at times accused the coalition of being biased towards one or other of its constituent parts.

The coalition expressed sadness over the NP's resignation. It regretted that the NP did not first take up its concerns with the coalition's steering committee.

DP women's rights spokesman Dene Smuts said that unlike the NP, the DP had from the inception of the coalition exerted influence and won elected positions.

Sapa reports that the Women's Rights Peace Party held its first news conference yesterday, at which one of its two candidates, artist Nina Romm, said the party was not solely for feminists.

Anyone who supported a nonracial and nonsexist society in which the needs and concerns of women were taken seriously was welcome to join.

Reports by T Cohen, TEL, 11 Diegenal St, Jhb, and M Oosterbroek, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.



Women's Rights Peace Party founders Constance Khaza and Nina Romm outlined their election strategy at a Johannesburg news conference yesterday.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

'Friendly' attorneys lodge case to court the public

LOYD COURTS

THE Association of Law Societies is holding a friendship week entitled "Your attorney, friend of the community" from February 21 to 26 to highlight the role of attorneys in society.

Association director-general André van Vuuren said activities in

which attorneys from all over SA would participate would promote the role and contribution of attorneys and the services they rendered.

"Attorneys render valuable contributions in many areas of society. For

example, they give freely of their time and services to the public by acting as presiding officers in the Small Claims Court," he said.

Several attorneys would also offer free legal advice. Participating attorneys could be identified by an emblem on their office windows.

Black NP candidates allege intimidation

Star 17/12/94
BY JOVIAL RANTAO

Two NP candidates in the Free State and the West Rand were paraded before the media in Pretoria yesterday and spoke of intimidation they alleged was perpetrated by ANC branch leaders. (304A)

The NP said it had reported to the Peace Secretariat and the Independent Electoral Commission intimidation involving two of its election candidates, Simone Gada from Kagiso and Petrus Tsiane from Bloemfontein.

"The ANC and the civic association started instructing me to resign," Tsiane said. "Stones were thrown at me and my family."

"I was dragged to kangaroo courts where I was accused of selling out. I

was also accused of bribing the council to buy my house."

On Saturday, during President de Klerk's roadshow, he said he was again threatened with death, and that Winkie Direko, an ANC provincial candidate, had called him a traitor who deserved a tyre.

Hours later, Tsiane was summoned to Rocklands, where he found his house burnt out.

Gada, a businessman and former Kagiso town councillor, said he had stopped for petrol in the township when he was approached by Uhuru Moiloa, whom he identified as chairman of the local ANC branch.

"He told me to resign, call a press conference and lie that the NP had forcefully listed my name," Gada said.

IEC at every voting station

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is expecting to deploy 9 000 trained election monitors — and have another 1 300 on standby — by the end of next month.

These monitors will augment the total election-monitoring force consisting of international community observers and foreign and domestic non-governmental organisation observers, totalling more than 5 500.

Addressing a press conference yesterday, IEC monitoring directorate head Peter Harris said



the commission would liaise closely with all monitoring and observer teams, but only the IEC's monitors would be accountable to the commission.

The IEC's 9 000 monitors pro-

vided for one monitor per polling station, but reserve monitors would be deployed in flashpoints when necessary. They were currently being trained in dispute resolution and would be expected to report any misconduct or breaches of the Electoral Act.

Harris described the duties of all observers as reporting all activities which threatened the freeness and fairness of the election process. They would refer problems to the IEC, but would not be involved in mediation or dispute resolution.

Reports of electoral code

transgressions would be referred to the monitoring directorate's investigations unit, made up of SAP members and lawyers from both the public and private sectors. The Goldstone Commission had been requested to assist in investigations.

Political parties and members of the public could also lodge complaints.

Harris said any foreign or domestic non-governmental organisation wishing to deploy official observers was required to get IEC accreditation before March 29.

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Move to implement new constitution

Sowetan 17/2/94

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Transitional Executive Council is to establish an eighth sub-council to ensure the implementation of the provisions of the new constitution.

According to TEC spokesman Mr Dries van Heerden, the sub-council will oversee such matters as the integration of the various homeland structures into the new central and nine regional bureaucracies.

Public Service Association general manager Mr Hans Olivier yesterday said there was "a state of confusion" among public servants over their future under a

new government.

He said no plans had been presented to existing public servants on how the integration process would be implemented, leading to confusion and anxiety.

Public servants were also worried about the implementation of an affirmative action policy after the April election.

(304A)
A TEC source said the sub-council's priority would be how to handle the implementation of provisions of Section 235 of the Republic of South Africa Constitution Act of 1993.

(D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

Boers 'would work with Zulus'

PRETORIA. — An independent Afrikaner Boer republic would recognise and enter into treaties with a sovereign Zulu monarchy to co-operate in areas of security and the economy, the right-wing "transitional assembly" said yesterday.

The Zulus' struggle for self-determination was virtually the same as that of the Afrikaners to create an independent Afrikaner Boer republic through "secession or otherwise", constitutional com-

mittee chairman of the transitional assembly Mr Fanie Jacobs said in a statement.

"Naturally we also want to co-operate with the rest of South Africa through treaties or otherwise, subject to the express (uitdruklike) precondition that the April 27 election will not be held in our territory and that it will hold no validity in this area."

● Strong criticism of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's hints of a Zulu seces-

sion was voiced at a Cape Town Chamber of Commerce voter education seminar yesterday.

The Director of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Witwatersrand University, Professor Denis Davis, said the king's suggestion was "really a desperate throw of the ethnic dice" and amounted to a "last grab for power" by Inkatha Freedom Party head Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi. — Sapa

(304A) CT 17/2/94

Aboult-tun

Double ballot in new

deal to end impasse

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC and the government have announced sweeping constitutional concessions designed to lure the Freedom Alliance into the elections and avert a civil war.

In a dramatic about-turn, Mr Nelson Mandela and President F.W. de Klerk decided last night to recall Parliament to accommodate key Alliance demands.

The proposals include two half-vote papers, consideration of a new constitution, new powers for provinces, and a name change for Natal to KwaZulu/Natal.

The Negotiating Council will amend the constitution in the next few days whether or not the Alliance accepts the package and decides to fight the election.

Mr De Klerk invited the Alliance parties to give the council their contributions on the amendments.

"Time has become of the fundamental essence — we cannot hold the parliamentary session before the first week of March and we also cannot hold it later than that," he said.

A special session of Parliament early next month will amend the Electoral Act to give parties who missed Saturday's deadline for registration another opportunity to take part.

The unilateral climbdown — free of the earlier insistence that the Alliance make an up-front commitment to participate in the poll and transitional structures — was seen in diplomatic and political circles as a bold attempt to call the bluff of Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront.

Mr Mandela told a press conference, shortly before departing for Holland, that the ANC climb-down from its earlier positions reflected "a mark of good faith" and his party's commitment "to

'A MARK OF GOOD FAITH'



— Nelson Mandela

bending over backwards to find solutions."

Initial reaction from Alliance parties last night was cautious. Chairman Mr Kovan Cronje described the latest initiative as "most interesting," but said it would be necessary to study the wording of the proposal before giving a response.

Conservative Party spokesman Dr Pieter Mulder also said the proposal would have to be studied before the party could express a definite view.

National spokesman for the Inkatha Freedom Party, Dr Ziba Jiyane, was guarded and said: "We cannot even say this is a step forward until we have ascertained in negotiations that there are no hidden agendas."

He said Inkatha was in any case more interested to see if the government would be prepared to accede to King Goodwill Zwe-

lethini's proposal to revive the Zulu kingdom.

The key concessions announced yesterday include:

- A double ballot for provincial and national elections — a central demand made by the IFP and several smaller parties, including the Democratic Party and the Pan-Africanist Congress.
- The principle of self-determination based on negotiations with the Afrikaner Volksfront and others.
- A greater say for provinces over their finances and legislative and executive structures.
- Provincial powers would not be diminished substantially when the constituent assembly drafted a new constitution.

Mr Mandela emphasised yesterday that the measures would be implemented only if they did lead to the postponement of the April 27 elections.

He said the measures could be adopted only if the integrity and sovereignty of South Africa as defined in the new constitution were not tampered with. This is clearly a move to rule out secession by KwaZulu.

History and future generations would judge South Africa's leadership harshly if it failed to take all the steps necessary to resolve the problems peacefully and through dialogue, Mr Mandela said.

If the ANC did not take the threats of civil war seriously "we wouldn't have made such far-reaching concessions".

Mr Mandela reiterated the ANC's readiness to meet King Goodwill "on issues of concern to the monarch and other traditional leaders".

Mr De Klerk said further talks with King Goodwill would take place today.

He said the government had tabled a proposal on February 2 this year which, in his opinion, could resolve the impasse. "The ANC has now dropped its opposition to important aspects of this proposal."

● Boers would work with Zulus — Page 2



BLISSFUL... Former Miss South Africa, Amy Kleinhans, has become engaged to Mr Leighton Cud of New Zealand.

5/5CCT17/2/94 (304A)

New bid to woo FA

Sowetan 17/12/94

By Donwald Pressly and
Mathatha Tsedu

THE CONSTITUTIONAL BREAKTHROUGH, which has been evading South Africa for months, seemed close to hand when African National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela announced sweeping concessions last night.

The concessions include the acceptance of greater regional powers, the principle of self-determination in the interim constitution and provision for a double ballot in the April election — all demands made by the Freedom Alliance.

Reacting to Mandela's concessions, President FW de Klerk said the door had now been opened for all parties, notably members of the FA, to participate in the April election. (304A)

Meanwhile, addressing an election meeting at Zoo Lake last night, Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer intimated that the resolution of the demand by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini would be found in the greater powers of the regions contained in the ANC concessions.

Meyer said regions would be given the power to draft their own constitutions in which they would also determine the shape and formations that would be contained therein.

"This makes room for the KwaZulu/Natal region to be able to make provisions that would guarantee the Kings's demand," Meyer said.

Parliament is expected to meet next week to

change the interim constitution and the Electoral Act to allow late registration of the FA parties.

Before leaving for the Netherlands from Jan Smuts Airport last night, Mandela said the ANC was "bending over backwards". He said the ANC would recommend that the multiparty negotiating forum be convened to discuss the amendments. They could then be passed on to Parliament.

Inkatha negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said he had not studied the ANC's proposals.

Felgate said it seemed apparent there was no agreement on provincial financing and powers.

Mandela backed the inclusion of self-determination as the 28th constitutional principle in the interim constitution providing the basis for the establishment of an Afrikaner *volkstaat*.

He described it as "an enabling clause" for all parties to hammer out a solution after the election.

An amendment mooted by the ANC would be that the powers of provinces should not be "substantially diminished".

In terms of the ANC plan, provincial governments would also be able to decide on the names for their regions — allowing Natal to be renamed KwaZulu/Natal.

The ANC leader warned, however, that the measures would be taken only if they did not affect the holding of the April election. He said the ANC was ready to confer with Zwelithini but that the integrity and sovereignty as defined in the interim constitution could not be tampered with.

(D Pressly and M Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

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On-off poll deal is on again but Buthelezi digs in

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

THE on-off negotiations with the Freedom Alliance appear to be on again, although Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi has shot down the latest moves to bring all parties into the April election.

After a stunning compromise to which the African National Congress agreed last night, the onus to respond is now on the Freedom Alliance — but Chief Buthelezi's initial response suggests that there may be little progress.

In Ulundi, he accused ANC leader Nelson Mandela of merely having placed before the public the same proposals which had led to deadlock in the past and of having dressed these up as a breakthrough.

He said Mr Mandela's statement had been "cheap politicking on life and death issues".

Another member of the alliance, the Conservative Party, said it was waiting for details.

The executive of the provisional rightwing volksraad is meeting in Pretoria today and CP deputy leader Willie Snyman said the matter would be raised there.

But regardless of the alliance's reaction, the government will go ahead with changes to the interim constitution in a special session of parliament next month.

Concessions the ANC has now agreed to include a double ballot — one for national government and one for regional

government — the principle of self-determination, a greater financial say for provincial governments and the right of regions to draw up their own constitutions.

Provincial powers will be protected so that they cannot be substantially changed by a future government. Provincial governments will be able to decide on their own names and Natal could be renamed Kwa-Zulu-Natal.

The principle of self-determination will be formally recognised and this opens the way for the concept of a "volksstaat" to be considered.

Mr Mandela and President De Klerk made separate announcements on the offer, which is essentially the same as one the government made to the alliance on February 2.

But ANC agreement — after consultations with the government — to the two-ballot system came as a surprise. On Monday Mr Mandela, in an interview with The Argus, firmly rejected the two-ballot plan as being too complicated.

Meanwhile, as one government spokesman in Pretoria put it today, the alliance is now in a "catch 22" situation. If its members now decided not to take part in the election it would lose credibility and sympathy, but if it did take part it was not likely to do well.

The date for party registrations to contest the election will be extended by a few days.

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

Call on business to support election

CT 17/2/94 (304A)

By AUDREY D'ANGELO
Business Editor

BUSINESS must help to achieve a high percentage poll in the election on April 27, SA Chamber of Business (Sacob) vice-president Philip Krawitz said yesterday.

He told members of Cape Town Chamber of Commerce in a wide-ranging debate on the role of business in the election, that once the new government was elected there would be a lower risk premium on foreign investment "and we shall have a much bigger economy".

Emphasising that "business will want to work with whichever government is in place", Krawitz said business was chameleon-like and able to adapt to change.

It was market-driven. "Business people will do what society wants them to do."

Cosatu general secretary Sam Shilowa commented: "We know some of you are supporting all political parties."

Emphasising the need for continuing dialogue between employers and the trade unions after the election, Shilowa said his primary concern was the reconstruction of society in a way that did not hinder progress.

But although all speakers agreed on the need for business to encourage the workforce to vote without attempting to influence them politically, disagreements emerged during the three-hour debate at the Mount Nelson.

Chamber of Commerce president Roland Hudson Bennett said the clause in the Electoral Act making it an offence to prevent the representative of any political party from canvassing or campaigning in a public or private place was "ill conceived and could lead to disruption in the workplace — or even violence".

Dennis Davis, head of the Centre for Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand — and one of those responsible for drafting the Act — said it had not been intended that there should

be uncontrolled campaigning in the workplace.

He explained that the clause had been included because some farm workers seldom left the farms.

Shilowa said that arrangements should be made with employers in advance for political campaigning in the workplace "in ways that don't disrupt production but don't hinder any political party from going in".

He also suggested that employees should have paid time off for electioneering.

Krawitz said there should be time off for electioneering — but it should be unpaid. And political campaigning should be outside working hours.

But companies should not be seen supporting any political party — or giving money to any campaign fund. They should not allow their premises to be used by any political party unless they made them available to all parties.

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

ADAM Small, prominent literary figure and head of social work at the University of the Western Cape, has come out in support of the Democratic Party in the coming election.

Announcing this today, he said his main reason was that the DP put the emphasis on the individual.

"This is where freedom and respect in all matters of life begin and end. Without respect for individuality there is no place of decency we can go in life."

He said he wanted to plead for the development of a culture of tolerance in South Africa. The DP had much to teach others about tolerance, and had the best record on respect for the individual.

"The level of intolerance in the country has the dimensions of a tragedy in the sense that the country can fall apart."

"For the reason of tolerance too I align myself — as far as the election is concerned — with the DP which, I believe, has much to teach others."

Professor Small had criticised the Democratic Party, which the leadership understood.

"Whichever way I look, however — and I have looked hard and agonisingly — the DP comes out with the most sober, most sane record in respect of the individual as far as South Africa is concerned."

The ANC, his only alternative, "falls flat" on the issue of individuality. The movement's ideological stance was one of collectivity, and he could not accept this.

He found the ANC's association with the South African Communist Party "utterly unacceptable".

There were many things about the ANC that already reminded him of the ways of the "apartheid regime".

There had been efforts to interfere with the SABC, cultural matters and even, of all things, a beauty competition.

"All of this sounds enormously, and quite sickeningly, familiar."

This was the major reason he could not vote for the ANC — and for the same reason he could not vote for the National Party.

"District Six historically mocks the National Party."

He had considered the decision for months.

Professor Small emphasised that he was not becoming a card-carrying member of the DP. "I am not going on a DP list for parliament."

"As a university person I feel embarrassed and indeed scandalised by the fact that academics — would-be intellectual people — act so much in cahoots with a political faction."

He said he had seriously considered the possibility of an entirely new political grouping for the Western Cape and felt this was an objective to be pursued in the longer term.

DP Western Cape leader Hennie Bester said Adam Small was "the prophet of his people, the conscience of the Cape. He makes his political commitment not in his own interests but in the interests of his people."

● Professor Small was awarded the State President's Gold Order for Meritorious Service late last year.

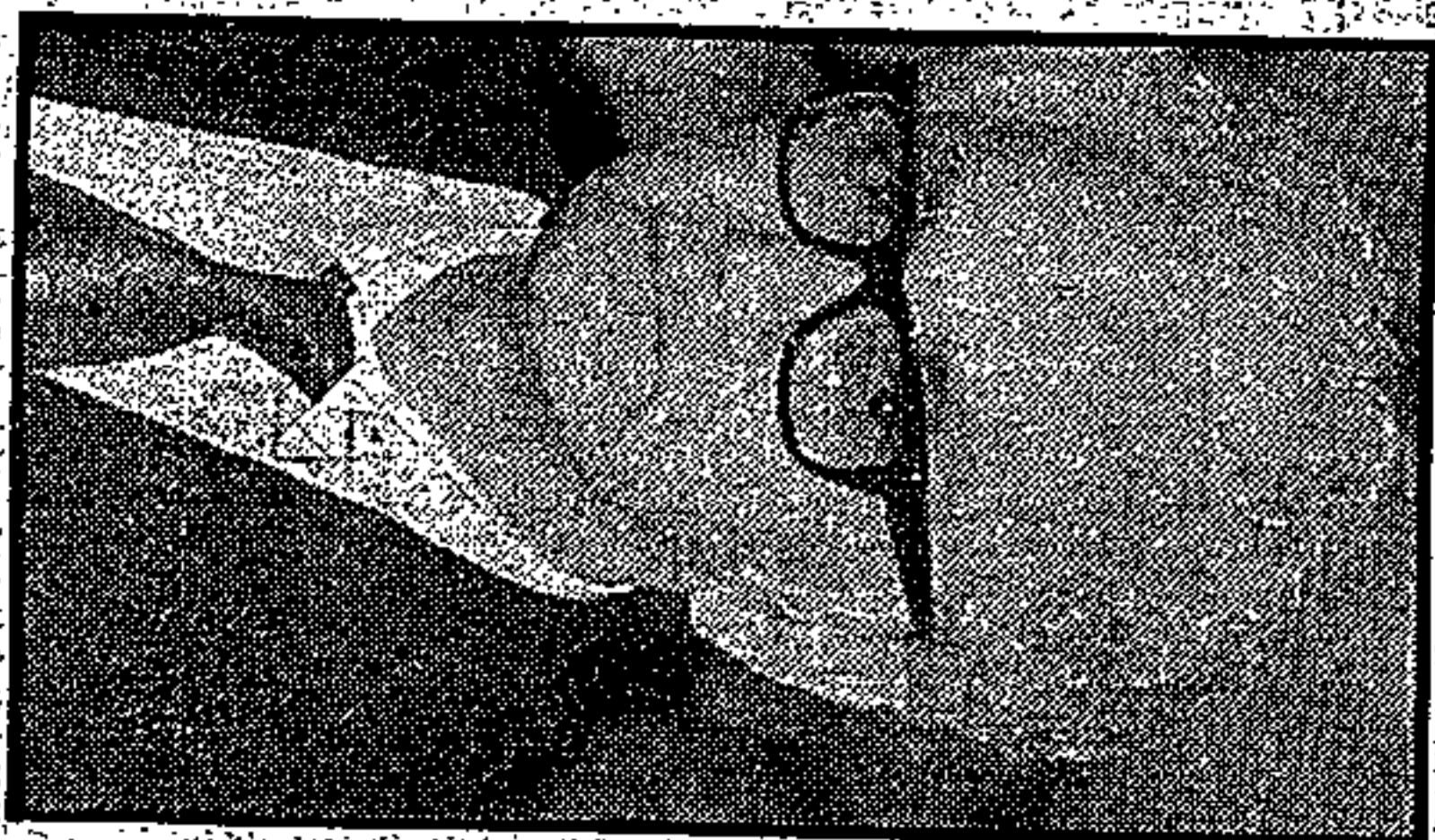
(News by T Wentzel, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

Small joins election fray

RCG 17/2/94

(304A)

ADAM SMALL: Supports
Democratic Party.



IEC on target with training of monitors

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said yesterday it had started training thousands of monitors to ensure that the April elections were free and fair.

"We are on course and on track in relation to recruitment of monitors and anticipate these monitors will be in place and trained by April 11," IEC chief monitor Peter Harris said.

There would be a minimum of 10 300 monitors employed by the commission, one for each of 9 000 polling stations, plus about 1 300 in reserve.

Harris expected about 2 000 foreign ob-

81 Day 17 12 1994
servers from non-governmental organisations would be in SA for the elections, plus other observers from the UN, the OAU, the Commonwealth and European Union.

Asked what the commission would do about organisations that refused to take part and had threatened to disrupt the elections, Harris said: "We would expect those persons not participating in the elections to respect the right of those who do want to participate." Voting disruption was a criminal offence (304A)

Lawyer Kgomotse Moroka, who heads the monitoring division investigating elec-

tion complaints, said a "robust election fight was expected", but all parties taking part had to accept a code of conduct spelled out in an Act of Parliament.

Sapa reports that Moroka said the Goldstone commission might be called on to assist in investigating complaints should the monitoring directorate lack sufficient manpower to investigate allegations.

Fifty complaints had already been lodged with the IEC. — Reuter.

Reports by I MacKenzie, Reuter, 73 Market St, Jhb; and M Schnehaage, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● Picture: Page 3

DP withdraws candidate 'threatened' by ANC

PRETORIA — The NP and the DP have expressed anger at the intimidation of their election candidates and the DP has withdrawn a candidate because of fears for his life.

DP Johannesburg city councillor Paul Asherson said yesterday the party had withdrawn Walter Mojapelo from its national assembly election list on Monday because it feared for his life.

Mojapelo, who has gone underground after allegedly being threatened by ANC members in Alexandra, had been 11th on the party's list.

The controversy surrounding Mojapelo's inclusion in the DP list started when the ANC claimed the Alexandra resident was their member, while the DP said he was a DP member and had confirmed he would stand as a party candidate in April.

Asherson said the DP removed Mojapelo's name on Monday after he wrote to say he had opted to go underground and work to mobilise support for the party.

The DP had removed Mojapelo's name because it respected human life, Asherson said.

"Mojapelo has gone underground not fearing that the DP might attack him, but fearing ANC members would attack him."

ADRIAN HADLAND and
JOHANNES NGCOBO

ANC PWV regional elections spokesman Murphy Morobe denied allegations that ANC members were "after Mojapelo's blood" because he was a DP member.

Morobe said Mojapelo had denied at a media conference that he was being intimidated or that his life had been threatened.

Meanwhile, NP information and media director Marthinus van Schalkwyk said yesterday NP members were becoming angry at the increasing number of incidents of intimidation and harassment suffered by its election candidates.

The recent intimidation of two NP candidates, allegedly by ANC supporters, would be reported this week to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), he said.

NP organiser Petrus Tsiane, who is fifth on the party's regional list for the Free State, said his house was burnt down — damage had been estimated at R60 000 — after the visit of President F W de Klerk to the region last weekend. (304A)

PWV region candidate for the NP Simon Gada said an ANC official had threatened to destroy his business if he failed to withdraw from the NP's

list of candidates.

NP executive director Olaus van Zyl said that while the NP was looking at providing security for some of its candidates, there was legislation in place that was supposed to protect parties and their candidates from intimidation. He said the electoral code of conduct, as set out in the Electoral Act, covered party administrators, officers, candidates and staff but failed to incorporate the actions of party supporters. This weakness needed to be addressed.

Van Zyl called on the ANC to discipline those of its members or supporters who engaged in acts of political intimidation.

Two ANC office bearers, including a Free State candidate and a PWV election co-ordinator, were named as either having witnessed or taken part in the threats made to the two NP candidates.

In an affidavit to be submitted to the IEC today, Tsiane said ANC supporters had threatened his life after an election address by De Klerk in Heidedal, near Bloemfontein.

"They also made it appear that they would do everything within their means to prohibit the NP from having any access to black suburbs in Bloemfontein," he said.

Reports by A Hadland, TML, 218 Vermeulen St, Pta, and J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Soweto rent payments start

THEO RAWANA

THE first 12 days of the end of the Greater Soweto rent and services charges boycott had seen an "encouraging start" with 25% payment by Soweto residents, Soweto city manager Howard Veale said yesterday.

The nine-year rent and service charges boycott in the Greater Soweto councils of Dobsonville, Soweto and Diepmeadow ended officially last December after agreement was reached by parties at the Witwatersrand Metropolitan Chamber, effectively writing off a R1,8bn debt incurred by residents.

Residents in Dobsonville and Soweto began trickling to municipal paypoints on February 1.

Diepmeadow had been plagued by a worker strike which prevented Diepkloof and Meadowlands residents from paying.

Payments in these two townships began only this week.

Presenting a report to a meeting of the Services Crisis Committee (SCC), Veale said by the end of March the Soweto City Council expected payments to have reached 50% of the six-month budget it had set.

Dobsonville residents had paid about 15% of the target amount. Veale did not say how much the council expected to receive in total.

He appealed for a "visible improvement" at council pay points for the comfort of the residents.

He also reported that the SAP had withdrawn from guarding council property, saying Greater Soweto councils would need more funds to build up their own security system.

The transfer of houses to residents was also a "massive project" and more staff would be needed to handle that, Veale said.

Hunt for killers of Natal leader

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — Police are searching for the killers of an ANC southern Natal leader after he was shot in his school office at Umzumbe yesterday.

George Mbele, 63, chairman of the ANC in Port Shepstone and principal of Inala Intermediate School at Fairview in Umzumbe, was in his office at noon yesterday when three men walked in and opened fire. He died instantly.

A large contingent of policemen, aided by a police helicopter, were sent to the area to search for the killers.

Meanwhile, the IFP said one of its members, Lindiwe Nkosi, 20, was doused with petrol and set alight at Steadville near Ladysmith.

Nkosi, from Ekuvukeni near Wasbank in northern Natal, was visiting friends in the township.

Transparent? Of course! But don't criticise the TEC

(304A)WM 18-24/2/94

The Transitional Executive Council is overworked and overwhelmed. And, despite its intention to be open, the TEC is shrouded in secrecy, reports **Chris Louw**

ON two separate occasions in the last month Transitional Executive Council co-chairman Zam Titus has appealed to journalists to withhold criticism and write "constructively" about the TEC.

The first appeal followed reports about near-chaotic conditions in the TEC headquarters in Pretoria: phones that were not answered, excessive secrecy, administrative inefficiencies and a jostling for power by politically appointed staff.

Titus asked journalists to approach the TEC administration when they have problems: "I do not want to read about it in the media."

Of course, it made little impression on journalists. The very next weekend newspapers abounded with renewed criticism. "Malfunctioning TEC sets out to reinvent itself," was *Business Day's* headline to an article outlining how the council is "pushed and pulled by a variety of forces that threaten to overwhelm it". The *Mail & Guardian* wrote about the growing list of failures of the TEC, highlighted by disparaging remarks by council members about their own sub-councils.

Titus was incensed. He was quoted confirming that there were problems in the TEC. He denied using the word "problems". "I never talk about problems — only challenges."

Two weeks later he did use the word "problems" — when referring to the National Peacekeeping Force. This time he urged journalists, "as South Africans", not to focus on the problems, but to write "constructively".

There is no doubt that Titus had reason to be worried about the media image of the TEC. From the beginning it was obvious the TEC would be faced by almost insurmountable problems. It has a limited lifespan, the staff feel insecure, it is overloaded with work, there is bureaucratic resistance to its decisions, tension is building up between parties expecting to work together while facing each other in a fierce election campaign.

And administrative blunders abound. At a recent meeting some TEC members complained that they were forced to take "uninformed decisions" because they were not provided with relevant information. And

although a news blackout ensures that the media only witness the Tuesday TEC meetings, the amount of mistakes in the sub-council reports could hardly be missed.

The TEC is trying its best to get its act together. Management committee meetings have now been moved from Mondays to Fridays to allow the administration more time to prepare documents for the Tuesday meetings.

It still does not prevent administrative problems. One recent mistake almost led to bitter confrontation between the ANC and the National Party, and ended in a public refutation by the ANC's Tito Mboweni of an official TEC document.

The problems began when a proposal attributed to the finance sub-council was distributed to the media at a TEC meeting. The proposal stated the sub-council was satisfied that there was nothing wrong with salary increases for senior civil servants.

Mboweni, the ANC's representative on the sub-council, claimed the document was "mistakenly released".

"Personally, I would not want to be associated with that document and the views contained in it before the issue has been finalised by the sub-council," he said.

A management meeting report this week explained that the document was a draft resolution by the government's Dr Theo Alant.

The management committee expressed its "grave concern at the way in which this document was projected as a sub-council view". The full sitting of the TEC endorsed the management committee's concern — without discussing the issue and without disclosing at whom the criticism was aimed.

The problems are understandable. The TEC has taken on board a load

There is the almost complete imposition of a news blackout on work undertaken by the sub-councils. And TV screens go blank during TEC sittings when the council decides a topic is confidential

that is, given the time limit and all other constraints, impossible to handle. In trying to be seen to be politically effective, the TEC has bitten off more than it can chew.

The council is involved in the hospital crisis, control of the National Peacekeeping Force, hit squads, Development Bank loans, the ANC's self-defence units ... And every week more issues are added to the list.

To add to its problems, the TEC has executive powers but almost no administrative capabilities.

Trying to project an image of efficiency has now become almost more important than acting efficiently.

That is when the blame gets shifted.

At a recent meeting the issue of Section 29 of the Internal Security Act — allowing for detention without trial — elicited a long debate in the TEC. Newspapers were accused of incorrectly reporting that a decision was taken to retain Section 29.

One of the TEC's joint executive secretaries, Mac Maharaj, then publicly accused an unnamed official for the problem, saying it "would appear that the interpretation that the TEC has agreed to keeping Section 29 possibly came from a comment within the TEC administration".

Accusing staff in public is not something one would expect from a politician. But even more worrying is the knee-jerk tendency to secrecy.

There is the almost complete imposition of a news blackout on the work undertaken by the seven sub-councils. And television screens — the only source of information for journalists — go blank during public TEC sittings as soon as the council decides that a topic is "confidential". When there is political point-scoring to be achieved — like the public grilling last week of kwaZulu police commissioner Roy During — the televisions go on.

It is during these "open times" that one notices the beginning of a new dynamic developing in the TEC.

Recently, Titus was seen passing a handwritten message to Maharaj who, after reading it, shared the joke with the government's Roelf Meyer. The two men chuckled together like colleagues rather than political opponents.

The ANC has put a strong emphasis on "transparency". It was Joe Slovo who first insisted that negotiations should take place in public.

At the first taste of power this noble principle seems to have bitten the dust.

Everything but the Monster Raving Loony Party

Many parties rushed to register at the election cut-off date at the weekend. **Paul Stober** looks at some of the smaller contenders

WM 18-24/2/94
THE ballot paper for the election for a constitutional assembly is going to be very long, with many an ideological turn.

Despite opinion polls showing the ANC and National Party are going to clean up at the ballot boxes, many others have decided to throw down the gauntlet and have registered to take part in the election.

There are those parties that were formed at the last minute by people who decided existing political organisations could not be trusted with the future of South Africa.

The Realists believe the major parties have not seen some obvious truths about South African politics. "I am a *volkstater* at heart, but it just does not make economic sense," said party founder Dante Bosman.

Bosman waited until the last moment to register his party, in the hope that the Freedom Alliance would enter the election fray. "There are many conservatives who accept change but do not want to see it come so quickly. I will try and entice them into the system," he explained.

The party will push for a government made up of community representatives (Afrikaners, Zulus, Indian, etc) who will be kept on a short leash by their constituencies.

The party, which will be campaigning in the PWV, will finalise its constitution and election strategy once it is able to get together a meeting of community representatives.

The Keep it Straight and Simple Party "I am busy with a revolution against the political class who will make us poor," said party founder Claire Emary. Kiss is campaigning to limit the power of government by cutting its ability to tax. The party proposes a single VAT of 10 percent on all consumption and limits government's role to policing, defence and the creation of an independent judiciary.

Emary believes the R25,000 she

paid to register her party was worth it as other politicians could not be trusted with her ideas. A Heidelberg housewife, she describes the party as "a one-man show" and at the moment is counting on the vote of her husband and "my son, who will have to vote for me".

The Northwest Democrats was formed last Friday by businessmen and professionals in the western Transvaal, who felt the future of the region was being threatened by a looming clash between the rightwing — who want their *volkstaat* in the area — and the government.

"The only way to bring them together was to put something right in the middle," said a member of the party's action committee, Sample Styger.

The party, which will only fight the election in the north-west, aims to win the support of conservatives who want to vote despite the Freedom Alliance's decision to boycott the election, as well as that of Tswana people who live in the region.

Fighting for the economic development of the region, Styger is convinced the party can build a base which can go for power. "Already people from 19 towns have given us support. Time is against us, but we have a lot of support from business, mines and people who are supporting the idea of a regional party."

The party plans to meet on Saturday to finalise its constitution and start working on its campaign plans.

The far left, which has stayed out of negotiations for fear of compromising their political principles, have at last signed up for the election race — "to show the workers that there is an alternative party and to expose the system from the inside".

The Workers List Party (WLP): A collection of far-left unionists, youth movements and political activists, the WLP includes the Workers Organisation for Socialist Action.

Representing the principled left, this party has loosened its dogmatic rejection of the election for the assembly — "which is tied down by undemocratic constitutional principles and deals" — because it believes workers should have an independent workers' party.



Nina Romm: Women's rights

The WLP has a classic socialist manifesto and its demands include the right to work, free education and health care, widespread nationalisation without compensation and an end to the repayment of international loans, among others.

The WLP manifesto and election strategy will be discussed further at a conference on "the movement of a mass workers' party" towards the end of January. WLP liaison officer Patrick Chan put the party's support base at about 5 000.

The Workers International for the Fourth International (SA)(WI) has registered for the election in case they decide not to join forces with the WLP. "We will see what is accepted at the mass workers party conference before we decide," said publicity secretary Shaheed Mohammed.

There is virtually no difference between the manifesto of SA (WI) and the WLP and the deciding factor for SA (WI) will be whether the conference decides to commit itself to a worldwide workers' party which will fight capitalism internationally.

The Islamic Party: "Last year, the entire country supported the first principle of Islam — peace," said national secretary general Aly Khan. "So I thought if we could introduce



Amichand Rajbansi: Minority Front

some of the other principles of Islam, we would have a better society." The party plans to introduce Islamic ideology, laws and values, which would operate alongside secular law, into South Africa.

But Khan insisted the party was not fundamentalist and was open to anybody who "could find it in themselves to live by Islamic principles. I don't think there is a church in the country which would not be able to support us on some of the issues we plan to take up," he said, mentioning abortion and gambling.

Khan, who launched the party three months ago, put its membership at 2 000 — recruited by word of mouth through the mosques — and growing. The party, which hope to pull leaders of the Islamic community behind it, will be fielding a list of 40 candidates.

There will be heavy campaigning for the women's vote — not only by male-dominated parties.

The South African Women's Party (SAWP) has a very simple agenda — to take political power out of the hands of men. But, said liaison officer Susan Millard, "we are not anti-men, this is the only way we can unite people across race and political lines. Our constitution does not exclude men."

Millard was convinced of the need for a women's party: "Women make up over 50 percent of the population. Why should we have to ask for a little from the big parties which have women's desks?"

The party will be contesting the election in the western Cape where it has a membership of around 600 women, drawn mainly from feminist organisations. The party has not yet finalised a list of candidates or an election strategy as it is still getting its infrastructure together.

The Woman's Rights for Peace Party (WRPP): Perhaps it is because it believes its strongest regions lie in the "geography of the soul" that the WRPP appears very up in the air.

WRPP was formed at the last minute by artist Nina Romm, who withdrew from the Democratic Party list of candidates to start the party. The party mission is to "place 'women's rights' in the mainstream of political thought, action and decision making, so that everybody's rights are ensured".

Romm formed the party because "the country is in a state of gigantic discourse ... and establishing a woman's rights party should ensure that gender issues are given more serious attention by other parties".

The party has not yet compiled a list of candidates and has called on anybody who feels they can represent the party to step forward.

Another newcomer on the list is the Merit Party, which is calling for a meritocracy and will be campaigning in the western Cape.

The rest of the ballot paper is taken up by parties we have all come to know so well: the ANC; the Democratic Party; the Pan Africanist Party; QwaQwa's ruling Dikwankwetla Party; kwaNdebele's Intando Yesizwe Party; kwaNgwane's Inyandze National Movement; Amichand Rajbansi, who will be campaigning as the Minority Front; Venda's Xinoko Progressive People's Party; Ciskei's African Democratic Party; Lebowa's United People's Front and the African Christian Democratic Party.

Report by Paul Stober, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

Loophole lets criminals in to parliament

Several political parties have included convicted criminals on their election list, and a loophole in the law will allow them to sit in parliament, writes **Chris Louw**

A LOOPHOLE in South Africa's new constitution will allow criminals to take their seats in the country's first democratically elected parliament.

Already a large number of people with either criminal records or implicated in improper activities appear on the candidates' lists of the major parties. The new national assembly and the provincial legislatures will house a convicted abductor, a fraud, "wildoek" warlords, homeland leaders implicated in financial corruption and people involved in abuses in ANC detention camps.

Politicians who negotiated the transitional constitution at the World Trade Centre ignored strong recommendations from the South African Law Commission and the previous auditor-general that a provision in the old constitution, allowing for people with criminal records to enter parliament, be changed. The substance of the previous clause was retained, with just a slight change in the wording.

Section 42(1)(b) of the transitional constitution stipulates that only people imprisoned for more than 12 months without the option of a fine will be barred from government.

This means that people found guilty of serious crimes and sentenced to long periods in jail will be allowed to take their seats, as long as their sentences included the option of a fine,

whatever the amount and no matter the crime.

Scrutiny of the various parties' election lists show that a number of people with criminal records are included.

Some of these crimes — including the killing of innocent people by Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride — were politically motivated. (McBride appears third on the ANC's PWV provincial list.)

Others, like the fraud which Minority Party leader Amiechand Rajbansi was found guilty of in 1990, were clearly of a criminal nature, as was the kidnapping conviction of ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela.

Many of South Africa's future parliamentarians have not been found guilty by any court, but have been clearly implicated in unsavoury activities. These include top ANC people like Joe Modise (24th on the national list) and Jacob Zuma (candidate for Natal premier), both of whom were reprimanded in the report of the Mosiswenyane commission of inquiry into torture in ANC detention camps in Angola. However, neither was found guilty of serious misdeeds.

Modise was found to have arrested Dumisani Khosa "without cause" in Lusaka in 1981, and of failure to give notice of the finding of a tribunal at Guadro camp.

Zuma was found to have failed adequately to supervise an investigation



Implicated ... Nelson Ramodike

into the wrongful arrest of David Mbatsha in 1988. Mbatsha was arrested without explanation in Lusaka on suspicion of being an "enemy agent".

Mzwayi Piliso (139th on the ANC's national list) was also found to have violated human rights in ANC camps.

Other candidates — mainly homeland leaders — have been implicated in serious financial irregularities.

These include General Gabriel Ramuswana of Venda, who owes his homeland's pension fund R580 000, as well as Lebowa chief minister Nelson Ramodike, whose government exceeded its budget by more than R300-million in what was labelled "blind spending". Ramuswana, who now heads the National Peacekeeping Force, is 71st on the ANC's national list, and Ramodike 78th.

The auditor-general's latest report, which will be out shortly, is expected to reveal more corruption in the self-governing territories.

South Africa's auditor-general is not



Implicated ... Joe Modise

responsible for the auditing of TBVC states' expenditure. Corruption in these "independent" countries is known to be rife. Many of their leaders are on the ANC's lists.

Rajbansi, a member of the tricameral parliament, will enter a democratic South Africa as someone who was fined R10 000 for fraud in 1990. Rajbansi, who sits on the Transitional Executive Council as leader of the National Peoples' Party but will enter the election under the banner of the Minority Party, was convicted on two counts of fraud.

One of the leaders of the newly-created African Christian Democratic Party, Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, was a former Military Intelligence front man involved in the training of Inkatha Freedom Party members in the Caprivi during the 1980s.

The Mail & Guardian recently revealed that two "wildoek" leaders, whose followers were responsible for the mass destruction of squatter

camp on the Cape flats which left an estimated 30 000 people homeless, are on the NP's candidates' lists for the Western Cape legislature. They are Johnson Ngxobongwana and Mali Hoza. Although the police had to pay an amount of R2-million in an out-of-court settlement, neither Ngxobongwana nor Hoza was found guilty of complicity.

Businessman Kevin de Villiers, who appears as candidate on the NP's PWV list, is currently involved in a court case in which he is charged with fraud and perjury. He was this week advertised on NP posters as one of three speakers at a meeting at Zoo Lake in Johannesburg. De Villiers, formerly an executive at Allied Bank, denies the charges against him.

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Report by Chris Louw, 139 Smi St, Johannesburg

Loophole lets criminals in to parliament

Several political parties have included convicted criminals on their election list, and a loophole in the law will allow them to sit in parliament, writes **Chris Louw**

A LOOPHOLE in South Africa's new constitution will allow criminals to take their seats in the country's first democratically elected parliament.

Already a large number of people with either criminal records or implicated in improper activities appear on the candidates' lists of the major parties. The new national assembly and the provincial legislatures will house a convicted abductor, a fraud, "wildoek" warlords, homeland leaders implicated in financial corruption and people involved in abuses in ANC detention camps.

Politicians who negotiated the transitional constitution at the World Trade Centre ignored strong recommendations from the South African Law Commission and the previous auditor-general that a provision in the old constitution, allowing for people with criminal records to enter parliament, be changed. The substance of the previous clause was retained, with just a slight change in the wording.

Section 42(1)(b) of the transitional constitution stipulates that only people imprisoned for more than 12 months without the option of a fine will be barred from government.

This means that people found guilty of serious crimes and sentenced to long periods in jail will be allowed to take their seats, as long as their sentences included the option of a fine.

whatever the amount and no matter the crime.

Scrutiny of the various parties' election lists show that a number of people with criminal records are included.

Some of these crimes — including the killing of innocent people by Magoos Bar bomber Robert McBride — were politically motivated. (McBride appears third on the ANC's PWV provincial list.)

Others, like the fraud which Minority Party leader Amichand Rajbansi was found guilty of in 1990, were clearly of a criminal nature, as was the kidnapping conviction of ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela.

Many of South Africa's future parliamentarians have not been found guilty by any court, but have been clearly implicated in unsavoury activities. These include top ANC people like Joe Modise (24th on the national list) and Jacob Zuma (candidate for Natal premier), both of whom were reprimanded in the report of the Molsuetyane commission of inquiry into torture in ANC detention camps in Angola. However, neither was found guilty of serious misdeeds.

Modise was found to have arrested Dumisani Khosa "without cause" in Lusaka in 1981, and of failure to give notice of the finding of a tribunal at Guadro camp.

Zuma was found to have failed adequately to supervise an investigation



Implicated ... Nelson Ramodike

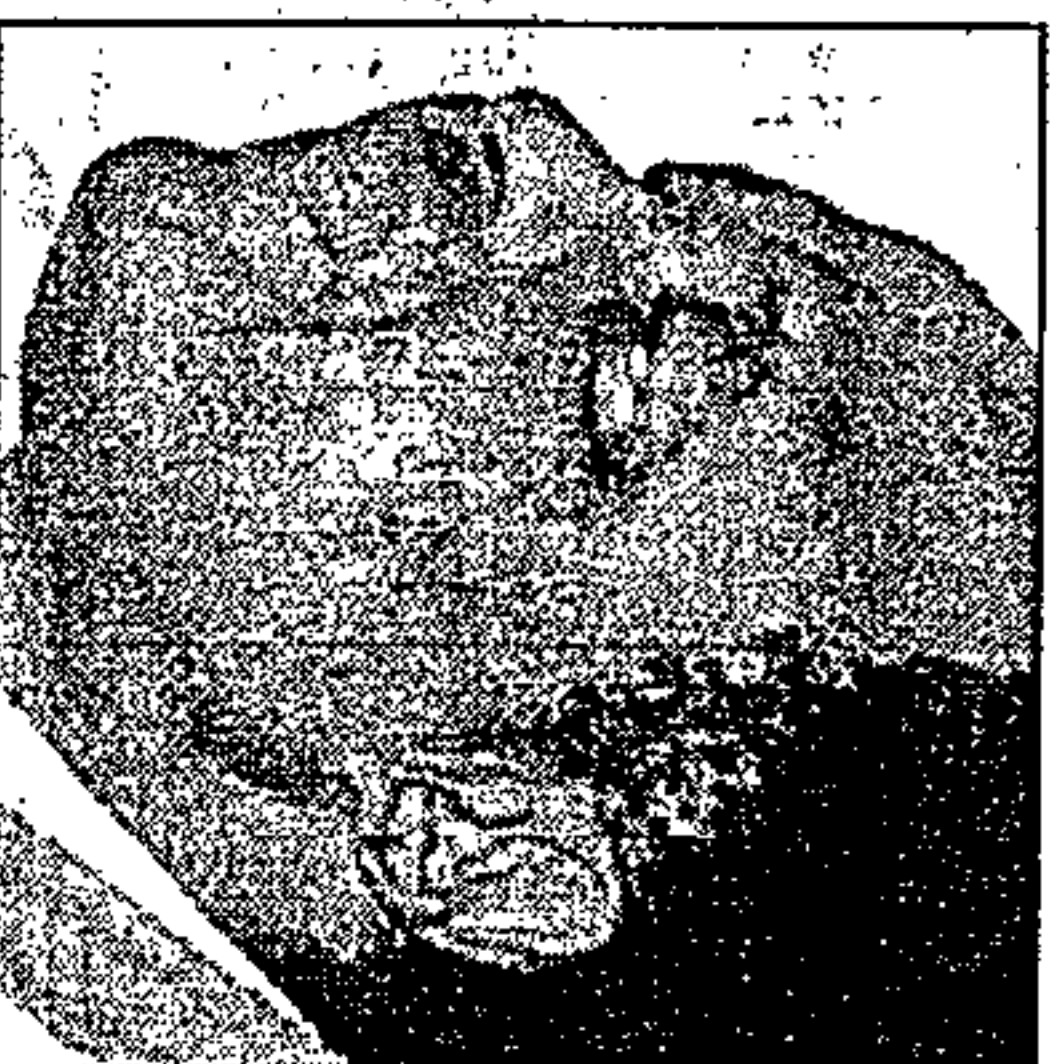
into the wrongful arrest of David Mbatsha in 1988. Mbatsha was arrested without explanation in Lusaka on suspicion of being an "enemy agent".

Mzwane Piliiso (139th on the ANC's national list) was also found to have violated human rights in ANC camps. Other candidates — mainly homeland leaders — have been implicated in serious financial irregularities.

These include General Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda, who owes his homeland's pension fund R580 000, as well as Lebowa chief minister Nelson Ramodike, whose government exceeded its budget by more than R300-million in what was labelled "blind spending". Ramushwana, who now heads the National Peacekeeping Force, is 71st on the ANC's national list, and Ramodike 78th.

The auditor-general's latest report, which will be out shortly, is expected to reveal more corruption in the self-governing territories.

South Africa's auditor-general is not



Implicated ... Joe Modise

responsible for the auditing of TBVC states' expenditure. Corruption in these "independent" countries is known to be rife. Many of their leaders are on the ANC's lists.

Rajbansi, a member of the tricameral parliament, will enter a democratic South Africa as someone who was fined R10 000 for fraud in 1990. Rajbansi, who sits on the Transitional Executive Council as leader of the National Peoples' Party but will enter the election under the banner of the Minority Party, was convicted on two counts of fraud.

One of the leaders of the newly-created African Christian Democratic Party, Dr Johan van der Westhuizen, was a former Military Intelligence front man involved in the training of Inkatha Freedom Party members in the Caprivi during the 1980s.

The *Mail & Guardian* recently revealed that two "wildoek" leaders, whose followers were responsible for the mass destruction of squatter

camps on the Cape flats which left an estimated 30 000 people homeless, are on the NP's candidates' lists for the Western Cape legislature. They are Johnson Ngxobongwana and Mail Hoza. Although the police had to pay an amount of R2-million in an out-of-court settlement, neither Ngxobongwana nor Hoza was found guilty of complicity.

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Report by Chris Louw, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

FA bamboozled by ANC compromises

WM 18-24/2/94 (304A)

The Freedom Alliance has been surprised by dramatic concessions offered by the ANC, writes **Chris Louw**

SWEEPING compromises offered to the Freedom Alliance by African National Congress president Nelson Mandela have completely wrong-footed the Freedom Alliance.

The dramatic proposals, while emanating from the ANC, were in fact carefully constructed by government negotiators to meet the substantive demands of the FA's member parties. These "bottom lines" crystallised during last month's closed-door negotiations, when every effort was made to draw the FA back into the constitutional process.

"It is only the NP's proposals clad in ANC colours," an FA insider commented yesterday.

The FA now has two weeks to accept or reject the proposals. The FA executive is expected to meet next week, while a meeting of FA leaders may take place either late next week or early the following week. FA media spokesman David Jackson said yesterday the proposals had not yet been delivered to member parties. "They would need time to study them."

By taking the initiative, the ANC has regained the moral high ground after a last-ditch effort by the KwaZulu government, specifically, to force the hands of both the ANC and the NP.

Whatever the FA decides to do, the compromises will have to be included in the transitional constitution when parliament reconvenes in March to ratify the amendments. This does not leave the FA much room for manoeuvre.

It also finally closes the door on further negotiations about possible concessions: almost all the FA's demands were met. These include:

- A double ballot — one for provincial legislatures and one for the national assembly.
- The inclusion of the principle of self-determination and a mechanism for further consideration of a *volkstaat*.
- Permission for provinces to choose their names, enabling Natal to become kwaZulu/Natal.
- Provision for provincial legislatures to decide their own executive and legislative structures.
- An assurance that powers afforded to provincial assemblies will not be substantially reduced by the constituent assembly.

FA member parties reacted with ambivalence. Bophuthatswana's Rowan Cronje, chairman of the FA executive, said: "It is an important principle that has been conceded by the ANC, but we still don't know what it means in practice. We have seen the press release, but it is like looking at the index of a book — it tells you what it is about without giving any substantive details."

What was not clear, however, was what regional powers would be protected and whether or not this was negotiable.

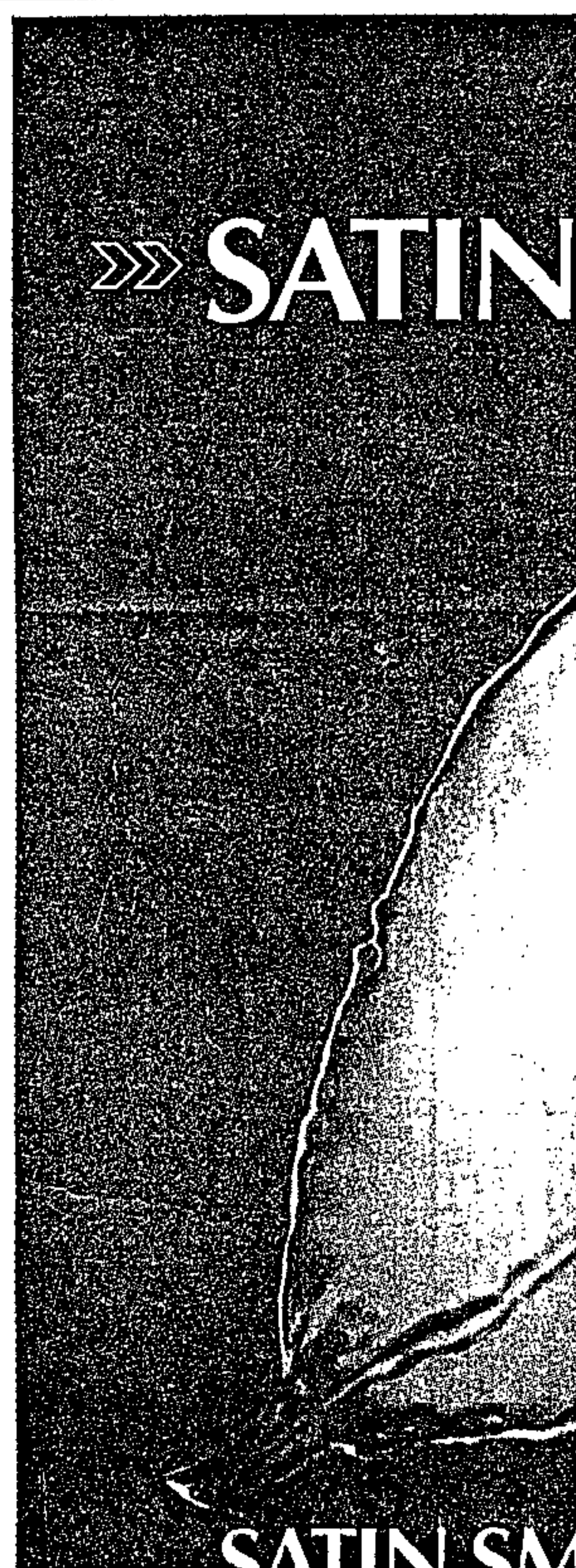
The IFP's Walter Felgate, also a member of the FA executive, said the IFP was not prepared to see the concessions as constructive. He criti-

cised the ANC for not consulting the FA before making them public.

When the FA executive meets, the bottom line is expected to be its demand for absolute assurance that the powers and functions of the regions will not be re-written by the constituent assembly after the April elections.

The ANC's announcement came in the wake of a secret deal struck between Nelson Mandela and Bophuthatswana president Lucas Mangope last Monday to allow a 12-member committee — six from the ANC, six from the homeland — to investigate normalising relations between them.

■ Report by Chris Louw, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg



Socialists, women and Muslims gear up for election

By Quentin Wilson

IF THOSE on the left feel cheated by the shifts made by the liberation movement over the past couple of years — hope is on its way.

Two parties committed to pure socialism have registered to contest the coming election. While the Workers' List Party offers a chance for workers nationwide to stake their claim, the Workers' International will only contest the Western Cape regional election. (3044)

"We are wanting to give the working class an alternative," says Mr. Shahied Mohamed, spokesperson for the Workers' International.

"While we reject the negotiated settlement, and the election, we will use parliament, and this campaign, to expose this capitalistic farce."

The Workers' List Party manifesto calls for free education up to matric; nationalisation of monopolies, banks, mines and land without compensation; Nuremburg-type trials for apartheid's criminals; and a 35-hour working week.

Supported by the Workers for Socialist Action (Wosa), the party was also formed by individuals from trade unions and civic organisations.

Women too, are represented exclusively by two parties.

The Johannesburg-based Women's Rights Peace Party will push for representation in the national assembly while the South African Women's Party (SAWP), based in Observatory, will contest the Western Cape's provincial legislature.

While both parties are open to everybody, their aims are to bring women's rights into the mainstream of political thought.

Meanwhile, the Islamic Party, headed by Cape Town advocate Sherif Mohamed, is offering a political home to all Muslims in the Cape. Mohamed told SOUTH he is keeping the party's aims "a secret" until later this week.

News by Quentin Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town.

Don't blame Metro

SOUTHEASTER asked Metro train services what the company planned to do about the overcrowding, broken windows, delays and violence on the trains.

Their assistant communications manager, Mrs Riana Jacobs, provided us with a few 'clever' answers.

On overcrowding: "Some trains are more popular than others and are therefore overcrowded. It is our experience that some coaches are more popular than others due to their proximity to station exits."

SOUTHEASTER thinks it's highly unlikely that people would risk their lives by hanging out of doors and windows to be closer to the subway.

On why they couldn't add more carriages to the 'more



LATE AGAIN: Daniel Vergotane is worried how his boss would feel

popular' trains: Jacobs didn't respond to that question.

On broken windows exposing passengers to the cold and rain: "We are behind schedule to replace broken windows. Some 160 windows are being replaced monthly at a cost of approximately R70 000."

On why trains were often late: "Metro has an average on-time record of 96 percent."

SOUTHEASTER can't help wondering how they manage to keep this excellent record with Stop Search Programmes which delay passengers for 'no more than seven minutes'.

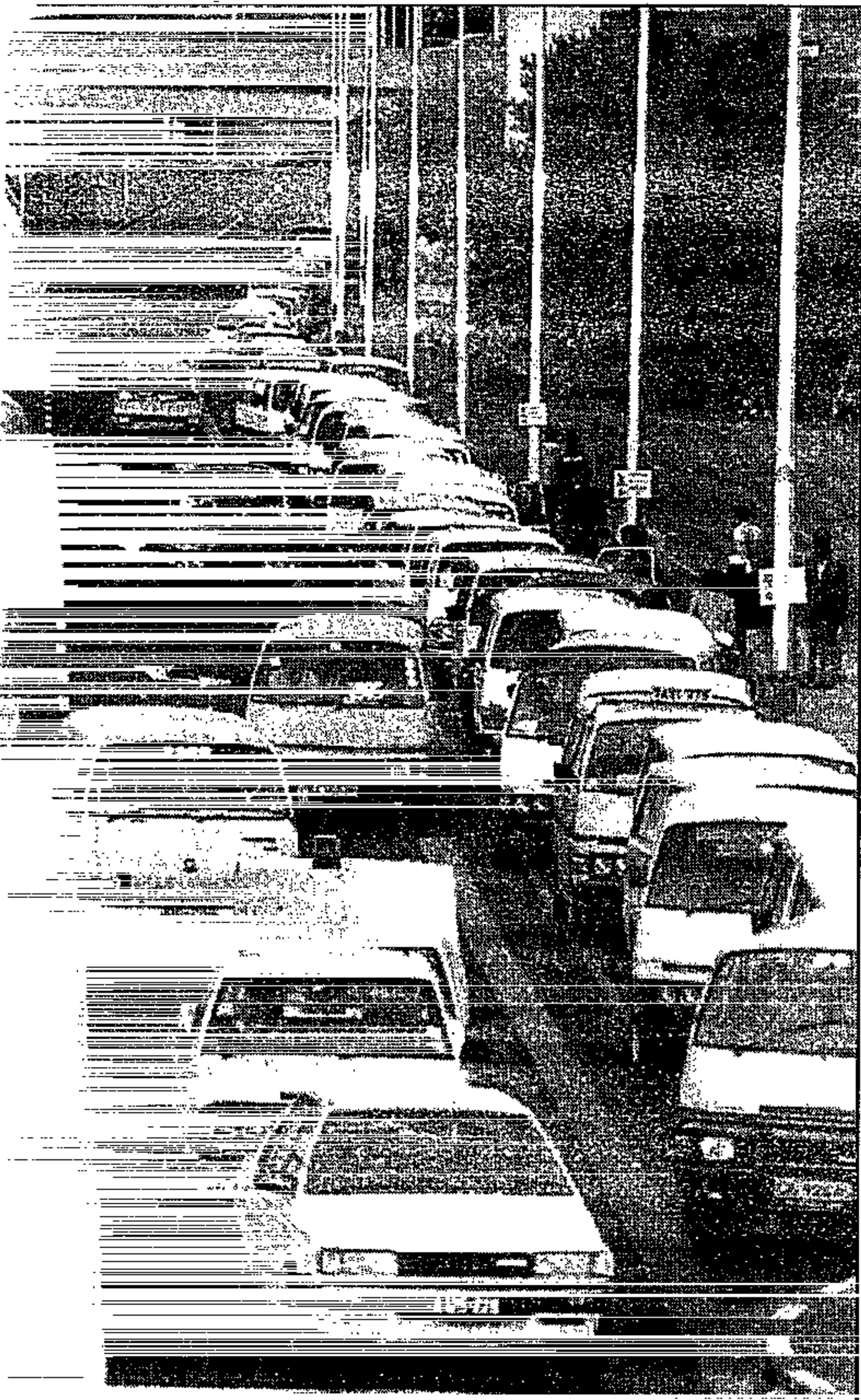
On why trains are so dirty: "Normally all trains are cleaned on a daily basis. Coaches are swept, seats are wiped with a wet cloth and toilets are cleaned."

This doesn't explain why carriages are littered with chips of glass, and rotten banana peels. It

does explain why the few windows trains have are too filthy to see through.

And does anyone out there know someone who dares to use a train's toilet?

Regarding the violence, Jacobs referred SOUTHEASTER to the South African Police.



BEST BET: Most commuters say taxis are the cheapest and fastest way to travel in Cape Town

BETTER TRANSPORT — if we get the Games

Help is on the way! If Cape Town wins the bid to host the Olympic Games in 2004, millions of rands will be spent on improving the city's public transport system.

There are plans to meet the needs of the 4,5 million people who will be living in Cape Town by the year 2004.

The city also has to make sure that the 200 000 athletes, officials and tourists can travel easily from one Olympic venue to another.

People living in Blue Downs, Blackheath and along the West Coast will be connected to a railway line which will make travelling to other areas easier.

The good news for bus and taxi passengers is that a special lane for public vehicles will be constructed on all major roads.

Traffic control signals improving the flow of traffic will also be installed throughout the Cape Town metropolitan area.

A final plan for the road and rail improvements will be drawn up by

the Cape Town City Council by the end of this year.

Work on the project will commence in 1997, when the International Olympic Committee selects the host city.

Treasurer of the Mitchells Plain Taxi Association, Mr Hassan Osman, said that the group was very pleased that Cape Town won the national bid.

"It made me proud to be a Capetonian," he said.

"The Mitchells Plain Taxi Association will try to cater for the tourists if we do win the international bid. We are already upgrading the standard of our taxis.

"The Olympics will mean more

business for many people in the informal business sector."

So look out for international athletes and tourists jiving to Kenny C or whatever is on the hit parade and hanging on for dear life in a taxi for 10 years' time.

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10 Voter education

Transition is *not* immediate

Sacks 18/2-22/2/94 (304A)



BE PATIENT: Voting in April does not mean we will get houses and jobs the next day. It will take time

IT IS CRITICAL for people to have realistic expectations of the results of the elections. Although South Africa's first democratic elections this April will provide many historic opportunities for the people of South Africa, they will not solve all the problems of the nation.

The election allows the people to directly participate in choosing the government of South Africa.

Unity

People will elect a government of national unity which will govern and produce a constitution, the ultimate law of the land.

The parliament and the new state president will represent the will of the people in governing South Africa.

This new government will signify a major change. The undemocratic apartheid regime saw no need to respond to the people of South Africa.

Power

The new government will be different. In adopting policies, it will answer to the people who elected it to power.

This means that it will be sensitive to their problems and concerns.

The new government might implement a jobs programme for people without work and a housing programme for people without a proper place to live.

These people are voters who elected the new government in the hope that it will react to their problems.

Historic

There is a danger in the historic election of a new and democratic government in South

Africa.

People might expect too many immediate results.

On the day after an election, an unemployed woman will not suddenly receive a job, and a homeless man will not instantly acquire a house.

The government will begin to address problems of unemployment and homelessness, but solutions will not immediately materialise.

Unreasonable

It is unreasonable to expect the new government to quickly solve the problems of a new South Africa.

It will take years to properly correct the devastation which apartheid imposed on South Africa.

The first democratic elections in April mark a significant beginning to this process in allowing people to have a voice in the policies of the government which respects them.

Why vote?

Voting is not a privilege, it's your right. It's your responsibility.

Many before us fought and died for freedom and the right to vote.

The fought for Democracy.

They fought for a better life, education, jobs, decent housing, sanitation, water, electricity.

BUT REMEMBER:

A new government will not be able to change everything overnight.

Apartheid was established over a long period of time. It will take a long time to break it down.

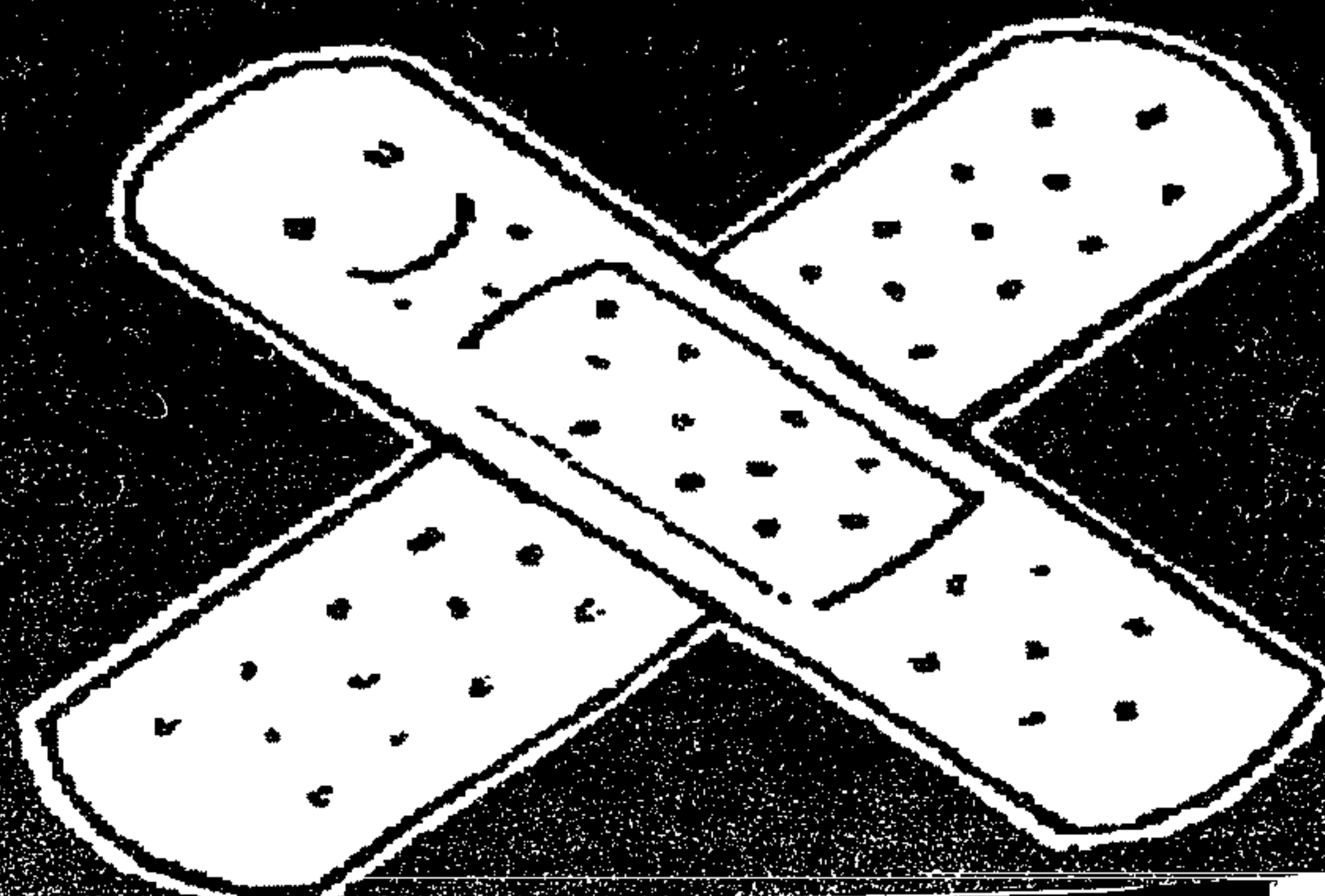
If you want to do something to improve the quality of your life and that of your children, make sure you cast your vote.

If not for yourself, for those who can't vote yet . . . your children who are under 18.

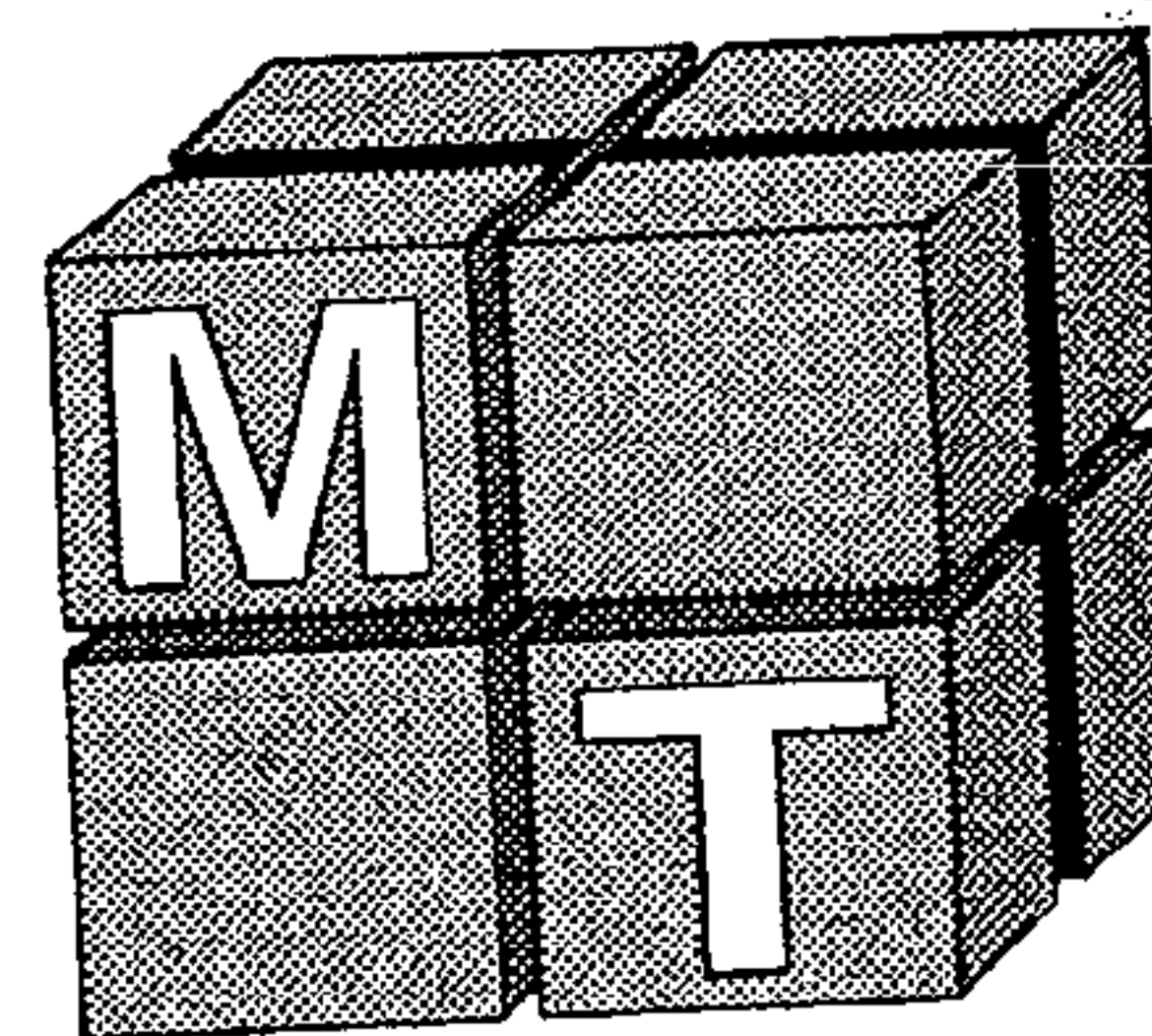
We cannot give up the right to vote. On April 27, 1994, we are challenged to rise above cynicism, surrender and despair.

GET OUT AND VOTE

HEAL OUR LAND



This page is a project of Matla Trust on behalf of the Independent Forum for Electoral Education



Article by Jonathan Sacks of the SACC, an IFEE member organisation.

ELECTION Fm 18/2/94 Parties in contention

The official list of parties that will contest the April elections will be made known by the Independent Electoral Commission on March 4. (304A)

Nineteen parties, including the weird and wonderful, applied for registration by last Saturday's deadline, which was pointedly ignored by Freedom Alliance members Inkatha, the CP, Afrikaner Volksfront and Bophuthatswana.

There is a week left for objections to be lodged with the commission, which could see some of the more frivolous ruled out of contention.

Already the Ximoko Progressive Party, whose leader, Gazankulu Chief Minister Samuel Nxumalo, is on the ANC's list of parliamentary candidates, has described Ximoko's registration as invalid. He says his party is contesting the election under the ANC banner and in the northern Transvaal and the PWV only. Ximoko's national secretary, who registered the party, has been suspended.

There is similar confusion over the application by the United People's Front (UPF) of Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramo-

di, who also appears on the ANC list. The matter is expected to be resolved this week. Evidently, there are long-held differences within Ximoko and the UPF which have come to a head.

Only six of the 19 parties intend to contest the national assembly and all nine regions. They include the main parties — the ANC, NP, DP and PAC — as well as the African Democratic Movement led by Ciskei military dictator Oupa Gqozo, which has broken with the Freedom Alliance and this week takes up its seat on the Transitional Executive Council; and the African Christian Democratic Party, formed in December and led by Kenneth Meshoe, a 40-year-old pastor who runs the Hope and Glory Tabernacle in Vosloorus.

"The Bible is the basis of our constitution," explains a spokesman.

Kiss Party

Aiming to fight for national assembly seats only are:

- ☐ The Keep It Straight and Simple Party (Kiss) under Heidelberg housewife Claire Emary, who is driven by a desire for honesty and integrity and the need to limit the taxing powers of government;
- ☐ Women's Rights Peace Party led by Nina Romm; and
- ☐ Workers' List Party, led by former Unity Movement veteran Neville Alexander.

No less than four parties have registered for the western Cape only:

- ☐ The Merit Party — formed a few weeks ago and led by Port Elizabeth attorney and author Solomon Schkolne;
- ☐ The Islamic Party under Sheriff Mohammed;
- ☐ Workers' International to Rebuild the Fourth International (SA), run by a collective, is anti-Stalinist but dedicated to the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism, a workers' State and land nationalisation; and
- ☐ The SA Women's Party led by Susan Millard.

Whether they will split the vote enough to jeopardise the NP's chances of emerging as the biggest party in the western Cape, as opinion surveys suggest, remains to be seen.

Other purely provincial parties are the North West Democrats, formed in Klerksdorp a day before registration under provisional leader and businessman Sampie Styger, and the Realists Party led by Daniel Bosman of Akasia, which aims to contest the PWV only.

The QwaQwa-based Dikwankwetla Party of Chief Minister Kenneth Mopeli is down for the national assembly and two provincial legislatures of the Free State and PWV.

Amichand Rajbansi, who won't be kept down, rejected the PAC's offer and appears as leader of the Minority Front, which intends to contest the national assembly and Natal province.

The commission says there'll be 1 200 voting stations, each manned by 18 officials to make it easier for first-time voters. Each party will be allowed one agent in a station.

Accredited foreign observers and monitors will also be present.

A total of 31 000 ballot boxes will be ready by April 26 for the estimated 23m voter population. There will also be mobile stations to reach far-flung places, though nobody should be more than 10 km away from a voting station, around which there is to be a 600 m controlled area and a 1 000 m perimeter in which no political activity may take place.

Meanwhile, it seems that the chance of a double ballot being used in the election has been quashed by ANC leader Nelson Mandela, who this week rejected the idea because it would not be technically possible. ■

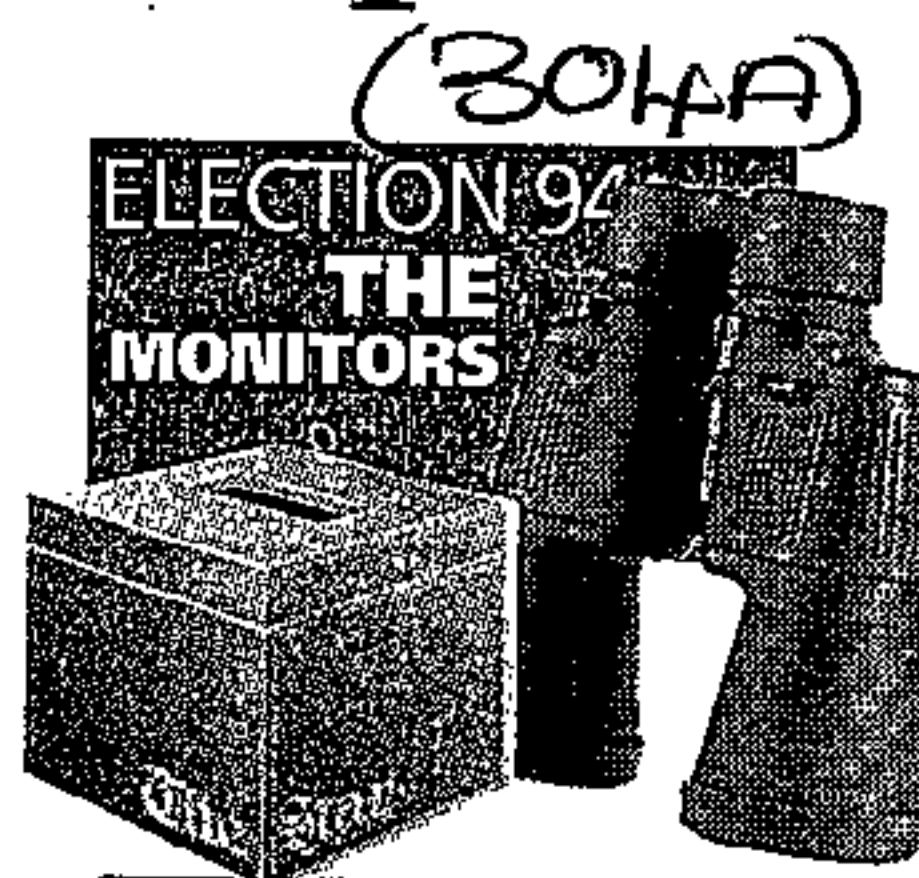
Star 18/12/94

Electoral complaints probed

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

The Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) is investigating about 20 complaints of breaches of the electoral code, including a disputed claim by the ANC in Eldorado Park that the NP local office is discriminating against blacks.

ANC Eldorado Park branch chairman Hamilton Weizmann claimed this week that "coloured" NP office-bearers turned away a group of blacks who wanted to submit their completed identity book application forms on Monday.



Eldorado Park NP MP Tony Reeves replied yesterday this was "rubbish" and a plot by the ANC to discredit the NP.

An IEC monitoring director-

ate source confirmed the complaint was being investigated and recommendations would be made in terms of the electoral regulations yet to be promulgated.

Many of the complaints were unrelated to the Independent Electoral Commission Act and were referred to the SAP.

Although the relevant complaints were under investigation, there had not been any finding of a breach of the electoral code as yet, he added.

► **Electoral machine**
- Page 13

Star 18/12/94 Huge electoral machine gathers shape

South Africa's first multiparty election is proving a mammoth task for the election managers and a complicated affair for the voters.

You have only to know a little about the Independent Electoral Commission's work (IEC) to realise the massive financial and human resources needed to set up the infrastructure and create the environment for a free and fair election.

The IEC, which will ultimately employ 180 000 people country-wide, has its enormous skeleton already in place at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park and is currently establishing its regional limbs.

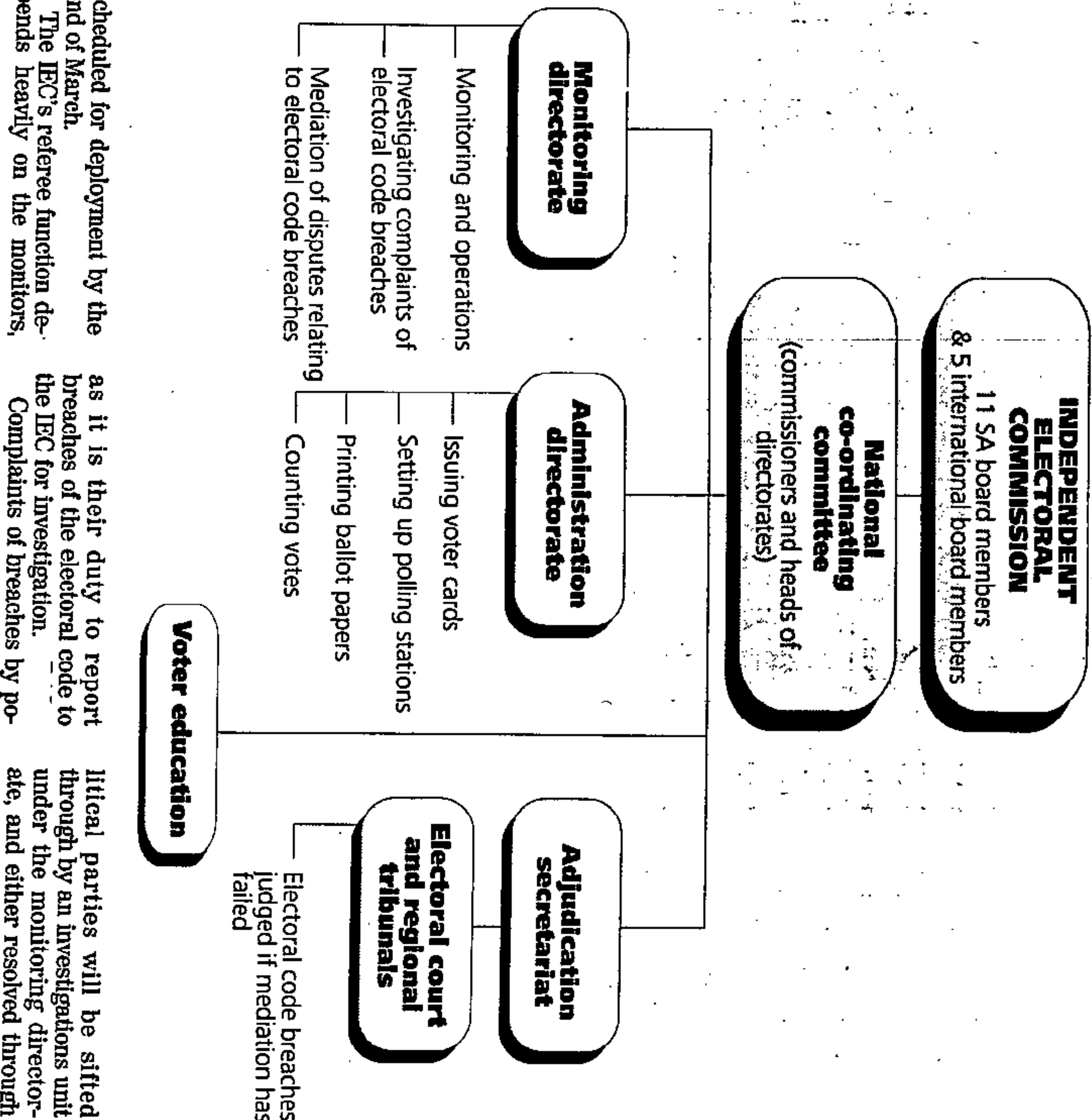
The commission's joints are creaking less and less as shape and direction become more defined. But it is also struggling with all the frustrating slowness and nipping found in any huge bureaucracy.

There have been reports, for instance, of in-house tension between black and white employees, frustration over appointment and salary delays, and bickering over position-related perks. Unconfirmed reports of equipment theft have been made, another handicap.

IEC employees hasten to add, however, that teething problems have to be expected and that, in the main, there is enough goodwill and expertise to fulfil all the IEC's obligations satisfactorily and on time.

The largest single unit of IEC employees will consist of the 9 000 monitors currently being trained in dispute resolution and

THE Independent Electoral Commission is set to play a critical role in South Africa's first non-racial election. Helen Grange reports on how, away from the public eye, the commission is readying itself for its task



mediation or referred to the Electoral Court or its offshoots, the regional electoral tribunals.

The process of investigation and adjudication looks set to be the trickiest of the IEC's tasks. For instance, how does the IEC determine whether an act of violence is related to the election, and what rules should apply to many autonomous institutions opposed to campaigning on their premises?

These policy details are not covered by the Independent Electoral Commission Act, and are therefore being thrashed out in brainstorming sessions at the World Trade Centre.

To maximise its effectiveness as adjudicator, the IEC has created a comprehensive communications network similar to a government intelligence department, in which reports from monitors, observers and any other source are analysed.

At the same time, the IEC's electoral administration directorate is assisting in setting up the voting infrastructure, having just begun issuing temporary voter cards.

It is expected that all the cogs in the IEC giant will be in place and working by the end of March, leaving it with just three weeks to operate as a full functional enterprise.

Yet, if the IEC succeeds in enabling every voter to get unhindered to a polling station and to cast a secret vote, then it must be up to the voter educationists — and by extension the voter — to understand the implications of the vote.

FA ponders response

Star 18/2/94

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Afrikaner Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen last night poured cold water on the ANC compromise proposals designed to draw dissenting parties into the election, describing them as a possible publicity stunt.

And earlier yesterday, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed any possibility that the proposals would bring the IFP into the election.

Viljoen said the proposals would need to be looked at closely to establish whether they were not simply an effort by the ANC to capture the high moral ground. By late last night the IFP was the only Freedom Alliance member to have rejected outright the proposed changes to the Interim Constitution.

The Government and the ANC have agreed on the proposals and will present them to Parliament for inclusion in the Interim Constitution.

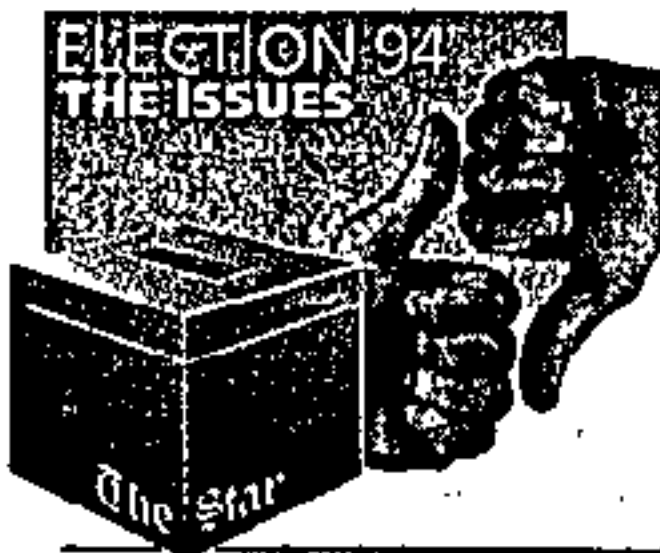
The Bophuthatswana government, the Conservative Party and the AVF said they were giving careful consideration to the proposals, released by ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Wednesday night.

The ANC and Government believe the proposals remove all obstacles to the FA's participation in the April election.

But Buthelezi dismissed the proposals as "cheap politicking on life-and-death issues".

AVF spokesman Stephen Maninger said the right-wing front would be discussing the surprise offer with its FA allies. It was expected that the AVF would formally respond today when it meets the ANC and the Government for talks.

CP negotiator Dr Pieter Mulder said the question was



GOVERNMENT invites alliance members to sitting of the Negotiating Council as they consider proposals

whether the ANC wanted to negotiate through the media by forcing it to answer publicly to the proposals.

Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said the compromise proposals merited careful consideration. A delegation from the homeland is scheduled to meet the ANC today.

It has been widely speculated lately that Bophuthatswana might abandon the FA.

Democratic Party chairman Colin Eglin described the proposals as "very close indeed" to amendments put to Parliament by the IFP in December.

In terms of the ANC proposals, it would be recommended to the Transitional Executive Council that the multiparty Negotiating Forum should convene "in a matter of days" to discuss the amendments, and that Parliament would sit to adopt them. At the same sitting, the date for party registration to contest the election would be extended.

The proposals are not linked to the FA's acceptance.

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)



Splashing out ... the game between Australia and the President's XI was rained out yesterday. ▶ See Back

BY JOHN MILLER

Clouds hang over tomorrow's first appearance of the Australian national cricket team at the Wanderers stadium in more than two decades.

Yet more rain is forecast for today, and showers threaten tomorrow's sell-out showdown. Apart from the weather

Strict rules for one-day fans

issue, cricket officials yesterday issued some warnings.

Spectators who take to the field during or after the Wanderers one-day international, and Sunday's clash at Centurion Park in Pretoria, risk being

arrested for trespassing.

Liquor, firearms, fireworks and glass containers will not be allowed into the grounds and all bags will be searched.

People who arrive drunk will be refused entry and those

who get drunk and disorderly during the match will be removed from the grounds.

A theft charge could await souvenir hunters who sneak off with the balls, stumps or ball, officials said.

The offers and responses

Just before 6 pm on Wednesday, ANC president Nelson Mandela announced compromises to bring the Freedom Alliance into a political settlement. At about 3.30 am yesterday IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's response was faxed to newspapers. Here are the key points.

■ Mandela proposes:

"Inclusion in the Interim Constitution of a proposal on self-determination, based on the negotiations conducted with the AVF."

■ Buthelezi responds:

"Until we have a wording of the principle which is different to that agreed to by the ANC but rejected by the AVF and FA, there is no way forward on this issue."

■ Mandela: "Provision for voters to cast two votes: one each for national and provincial representatives."

■ Buthelezi: No reaction.

■ Mandela: "A constitutional provision for provincial finances based on agreements reached in negotiations with the FA."

■ Buthelezi: "No such agreement exists. It was one of the issues on which there were repeated deadlocks."

■ Mandela: "A constitutional provision allowing provinces, in drafting provincial constitutions, to determine their own legislative and executive structures."

■ Buthelezi: "Mr Mandela ... fails to tell the world that the new constitutional text adopted by a constitutional assembly could scrap the best that a region could produce in making these decisions."

■ Mandela: "In order to grant greater security to the newly elected democratic provincial governments, amend provisions of the Interim Constitution to ensure that powers presently granted are not substantially diminished when the constitutional assembly drafts the new constitution."

■ Buthelezi: "What earthly use is it to be guaranteed less than the powers you have, when what is proposed is ridiculously inadequate."

■ Mandela: "Provincial legislatures will decide on names for their provinces, and, in the Interim Constitution, the province of Natal can be renamed KwaZulu/Natal."

■ Buthelezi: No reaction.

Ire over 'ANC handover' poll

BY GIEN ELSAS
WEST RAND BUREAU

Randfontein residents are angry over a survey asking if they are "prepared to hand over everything in the town to the ANC/communists".

The form, distributed under the auspices of the town council, requires "yes" respondents to return the form with their name, address and identity number. A non-return of the form is considered a "no".

If the sheet is returned without a name and address, it is regarded as a spoilt vote.

The Randfontein Town Council held a special meeting on Monday to discuss a demand from a November public meeting for a referendum concerning the amalgamation of the Randfontein, Mookeng and Toekomsrus councils.

All but one of the councillors voted for the survey.

Yesterday a councillor, who spoke on condition of anonymity, said they had been forced to vote for the poll as they had

been threatened by aggressive ratepayers hinting at reprisals.

The Afrikaner Volksfront, which played a key role in initiating the survey, drew up the form in Afrikaans. Some 9 000 copies were distributed.

The accompanying notes explain that, according to transitional laws on local government, the white council of Randfontein must be disbanded and a multiracial council established.

Half the appointed councillors will be from the present white, black and coloured council and other political bodies. The rest will come from informal political groups.

Residents are asked: "Are you prepared to give everything in the town to the ANC/communists using the above recipe?"

One Afrikaans-speaking man, who asked not to be named, said angrily: "I suppose they will come and burn down my house if I were brazen enough to vote 'yes'".

(47 Sauer St. Johannesburg)

HERE'S A SA
SUGGESTION!
SAVE ON
ALL GOLD
ALL WEEKEND.



'Political role conflicts with neutrality'

DP candidates fall foul of SABC

Star 18/2/94

■ BY JOHN SODERLUND

Three SABC employees, who are also Democratic Party election candidates, have fallen foul of a longstanding policy which prohibits any of the corporation's employees from running for political office.

SABC-TV news archivist Sibongile Mahlangu, the DP's number three regional assembly candidate, was informed last week that her candidacy "presented a dilemma and that she should choose one way or the other", said her manager Rob Stevenson.

In terms of current policy, her political role conflicted with the neutrality the SABC required her to maintain in her job, Stevenson said. He

SABC employees have clashed with policy prohibiting them from running for political office

would not say what would happen if she refused to "make the choice".

Mahlangu's lawyer and fellow DP candidate, Peter Leon, is threatening to take the SABC to the Industrial Court and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) if it forces her to resign.

The IEC, he said, made provision for civil servants to stand as candidates and allows them leave for the purpose. Although the SABC

is not a public body, the spirit of this legislation should apply to it, argues Leon.

TV presenter Michelle Bruce, number 40 on the DP PWV regional assembly list, was also informed of the SABC's "rule" and was requested to resign shortly after publication of the list.

Following legal representation to SABC management, the matter had now been resolved, she said.

"We have come to a mutually amicable agreement and I have been reinstated pending a further board decision."

TV presenter Melanie Walker, formerly number 21 on the DP national assembly list, is said to have withdrawn as a candidate because of similar pressure.

Dire warning on concessions to IFP

By Mzimazi Ngudle and
Donwald Pressly

THE African National Congress' concessions to the Freedom Alliance would lead to a hamstrung Government of National Unity, the Azanian People's Organisation said yesterday.

But the Democratic Party says it was shocked that Inkatha president Mr Mangosuthu Buthelezi had blithely rejected the proposals "without conceding in any way that they were a step in the right direction".

DP MP for Durban North, Mr Mike Ellis, said the steps appeared to cover most of the demands made by the Freedom Alliance.

"If they now stay out, it would be for ulterior motives, suggesting the country is seriously under threat."

No way forward

The acceptance of the self-determination principle "was a significant shift by the ANC".

But Buthelezi said until there was different wording on the constitutional principle of self-determination agreed to by the ANC but rejected by the alliance, "there's no way forward on this issue".

He also said no agreement had been reached in talks on provincial finances, as suggested by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He also poured scorn on Mandela's mooted constitutional provision which allowed provinces to adopt their own legislative and executive structures.

Mandela had failed to tell the world that the new constitutional text adopted by the constitutional assembly could scrap the best that a region could produce, said Buthelezi.

The protection of provincial government powers was meaningless if they were "ridiculously inadequate".

But Azapo spokesman Mr Don Nkadameng said too much had been conceded even before the latest concessions were announced. (3044A)

"Their (ANC) hands will be tied by these agreements," Nkadameng said.

"This is the last straw. The concessions would effectively restore the old homeland system," he said.

"It's no use giving away political power because there will be no power to exercise when you get into government."

"Constitutional recognition of the concessions will give the right wing and Inkatha a legitimate right to revolt against the Government of National Unity."

Nkadameng said the concessions were likely to spark similar demands from other political groupings throughout the country.

Both the DP and PAC welcomed the double ballot concession, but the PAC

said the ANC had no mandate to make the other concessions.

PAC spokesman Jaki Seroke said it had no right to Balkanise the country.

"Self-determination can only be given to people who are colonised. The Afrikaners have never been colonised," Seroke said.

Johannesburg's Centre for Policy Studies senior researcher Mr Richard Humphreys said the concessions might have come too late to break the deadlock in talks with the Freedom Alliance.

It appeared that Inkatha's position had shifted from federalism to nationalism. (112) (112)

However, Humphreys said there would be tremendous international pressure on FA members to take part in elections, particularly Inkatha.

Had the proposals been made before Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's demands for secession, they would have been much more powerful, he said.

The ANC's "substantial shift" on self-determination, if accepted by the Afrikaner Volksfront, would mean negotiations on a *volkstaat* could begin after the election.

It was a recognition that a distinctive arrangement for rightwing Afrikaners had to be made. However, this could only be done after the support for a *volkstaat* had been established, he said.

(M Ngudle and D Pressly, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg.)

Star 18/12/94

'I'll vote DP because of its policy on individuality'

■ POLITICAL STAFF (304A)

Cape Town — Professor Adam Small, literary figure and head of social work at the University of the Western Cape, has come out in support of the Democratic Party in the coming election.

The main reason for his decision was that the DP put emphasis on the individual, he said yesterday.

The DP had much to teach others about tolerance, and had the best record on respect for the individual.

The ANC, his alternative, "falls flat" on the issue of individuality. Its ideological stance was one of collectivity.

He also found the ANC's association with the SACP "utterly unacceptable".

He could not support the NP: "District Six historically mocks the National Party."

Small stressed that he was not becoming a card-carrying member of the DP.

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



Small... pleads for development of culture of tolerance in South Africa.

Sowetan 18/2/94

NP complains to IEC

THE National Party has made a formal complaint to the Independent Electoral Commission against an election campaign official of the ANC on the West Rand.

The complaint, the first to the IEC in terms of the Electoral Code of Conduct, will be a test case for the monitoring body, NP information director Mr Marthinus van Schalkwyk said at a Press conference in Pretoria on Wednesday.

The ANC official, Mr Uhuru Moilola, allegedly threatened an NP candidate for the PWV regional parliament. Moilola, according to the NP, is the ANC's election co-ordinator for the West Rand.

The NP claims Moilola approached Kagiso businessman Mr Simon Gada, number 68 on the NP's list of candidates, and allegedly told Gada they would destroy him and his business unless he withdrew from the list of candidates. (30/4A)

Another NP candidate, Mr Petrus Tsiane, said his house in Heidehof, near Bloemfontein, had been burned down on Sunday following President de Klerk's visit to the township.

ANC spokesmen could not be reached for comment.

304A
CT 18 | 2 | 94

The IEC said in a statement that leaders of the NP, the DP, the PAC, the ANC, the CP and the Action Christian Democratic Party had all committed themselves and their parties to free electioneering.

IEC chairman Mr Justice Johann Kriegler said all major participants had unanimously welcomed an IEC scheme which would afford all parties a political platform to enable them to reach potential voters.

The parties had signed a binding commitment to an electoral code of conduct, he said.

Chief Buthelezi said any voter education programme should relay the right to vote juxtaposed by the right not to vote.

[illegible]

ANC willing to offer more

CT 18/2/94 (304A)

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Although the latest package of constitutional concessions was dismissed out of hand by Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday, the ANC and government remained hopeful that they would be able to persuade Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksfront to take part in the elections.

In The Hague, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said the ANC had not ruled out further concessions. "Where you are trying to build a new country there can be no last concessions," he said. He still saw ways of avoiding an election boycott and believed that Chief Buthelezi had left the door open to participation.

"I think it is premature for us to decide that he has rejected the offer."

President F W de Klerk also said the proposals were not a final offer and he hoped the Alliance would respond positively. He appealed to the Alliance to consider the package seriously and not take any hasty decisions. "My impression is that the initial negative reaction may still change."

He hinted that government had met an Inkatha delegation yesterday.

A TEC-convened multi-party meeting is being planned for next week to discuss the new package.

Inkatha's senior negotiator Mr Walter Felgate said his party would not attend. Mr Felgate said the Alliance was still waiting for details of the latest proposals.

The ANC is to meet a Bophuthatswana delegation and the government and the ANC will meet the Volksfront today. "We're in there to find a solution," Bophuthatswana negotiator and alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said. The ANC and the government met

To page 2

From page 1

last night. Negotiators from both sides said they were not confident of securing the participation in the elections of Inkatha, the CP and the AWB.

A government source said Mr De Klerk had responded to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini's demands yesterday. He said the essence of the king's demands were contained in the latest proposals.

But a KwaZulu source said the king would not find this acceptable.

CP leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg said he had not yet received details of the proposals.

Government negotiator Fanus Schoeman said volkstaat supporters' participation "will depend on whether Volksfront leader General Constand Viljoen realises there are elements within the right-wing alliance who are not interested in a negotiated settlement, and he then takes the initiative and accepts the proposal and participates in the election".

Chief Buthelezi, criticising the ANC proposals for being the same as those that had led to the deadlock in negotiations, accused Mr Mandela of "utter hypocrisy" and "cheap politicking on life and death issues". Inkatha and KwaZulu would oppose the changed constitution and elections "with every democratic means at our disposal".

Call to top up election fund turned down

Political Staff

(3041)

JOHANNESBURG. — The Transitional Executive Council has agreed provisionally that the R22 million State Election Fund — from which all parties contesting the election are to receive money — should not be topped up to R69 million.

Natal Indian Congress representative Pravin Gordhan said the TEC had formulated the R22 million on the basis that there were 22 million voters and that R1 would be spent on each.

But the Interim Party Liaison Committee recommended to the TEC that the fund be topped up to R69 million as there were 23 million voters and that R3 be spent on each.

The TEC decided that the Independent Electoral Commission should ask for additional funds for the State Electoral Fund from foreign governments and non-governmental agencies.

The lack of free political activity in Bophuthatswana was still being discussed, Mr Gordhan said.

(News by E. Waugh, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

achieved. I will consider getting a younger man for the position."

But Mr Mandela who is 75, insisted that he was "full of energy" at the moment.

He was cautious when asked about the likelihood that the ANC would emerge as the big winner in April.

"The opinion polls suggest it, but we don't win an election through popularity. We win an election through hard work."

Mr Mandela also appealed to Dutch voters to ensure that on election day we can take every potential voter from his or her home or work to the voting station.

By 10pm the programme had received pledges of 2.5 million guilders (R5.5 million) to help finance an information campaign aimed at the five-million black voters who have never been allowed to go to the polls.

Appearing with Mr Mandela on the programme were the Dutch finance, interior and co-operation ministers, Wim Kok, Ed Van Thijn and Jan Pronk, as well as football star Ruud Gullit.

Gullit gave Mr Mandela his European Footballer of the Year trophy during the TV programme, as a mark of esteem.

The dreadlocked Gullit, who is part Surinamese, has been a vocal supporter of the anti-racism lobby in the Netherlands.

When he was named Europe's Footballer of the Year in 1987 Gullit dedicated the prize to Mr Mandela, who was then still in jail.

In presenting his trophy, Gullit, a former captain of the Dutch national soccer side, said: "This is an emotional occasion for me, I am very happy to finally have this chance."

Mr Mandela, who was moved by the gesture, saluted a cheering television studio crowd by waving the trophy above his head like a victorious captain.

Today Mr Mandela and Palestine Liberation Organisation leader Yasser Arafat had talks for an hour at the official residence of Prime Minister Ruud Lubbers.

The talks centred on a proposed visit by Mr Mandela to Israel, according to a Dutch committee for the support of the democratic process in South Africa.

Such a visit, however, would take place only once a peace accord was concluded between Israel and the PLO.

Mr Arafat was to hold talks with Mr Lubbers and deputy economic minister responsible for foreign trade Yvonne van Rooy on aid to the future autonomous Palestinian territories.

Mr Mandela was to meet the premier of the German state of North Rhine-Westphalia, Johannes Rau, to discuss German aid. He was also scheduled to meet Dutch MPs and businessmen. — Sapa-AFP



Picture: ROY WIGLEY, The Argus

CAMPAIGN CRUSH: President De Klerk meets supporters — and opponents — at Atlantis in a stop-over during an election roadshow up the West Coast today. An enthusiastic crowd converged on the president and his entourage, but the protesters were not far behind.

Rousing cheers greet De Klerk

TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

DARLING. — An enthusiastic and wildly cheering crowd of 1 000 people greeted President De Klerk in Atlantis today at the start of his election "roadshow" on the West Coast.

A small but vociferous group of about 50 African National Congress supporters shouted slogans outside the crowded Avondale Hall in Atlantis.

Posters said "F W we love you" and "F W we pray for you".

The crowd sang the Nat campaign song *Klim op die NP-se wa* (Climb aboard the NP's wagon). At nearby Mamre a crowd of 3 300 cheered and there was a guard-of-honour of 10 young horsemen carrying NP flags.

At Atlantis Mr De Klerk said short-term plans to solve the area's problems had been passed by the cabinet and would be announced soon. There were also long-term plans.

He said the National Party was sorry about the mistakes of the past but it had also been the party which had killed off apartheid. Now it had opened its home to all.

It was the peacemaker in South Africa, which did not intimidate or shout down others.

The party stood for "one man, one job". It could ensure economic development and foreign investor confidence.

The ANC made promises it could not pay for and a too-strong ANC would scare off foreign investment, he said.

Mr De Klerk will visit Darling, St Helena Bay, Graafwater, Vredenburg, Clanwilliam and Vredendal.

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

ARG

8/2/94

304A

Mandela may quit after boot

THE HAGUE. — African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela says that if he is elected president he may hand over to a younger man once there is racial stability.

Mr Mandela was speaking on a television programme here about the election.

"If we emerge with an outright majority, it will be my intention to remain in office until the new government is properly established," he said.

"One of the most important tasks of the democratic movement is to build mutual confidence in the country, in a society which has been split from top to bottom by apartheid."

As soon as that has been



(3044)

RRJ/8/2/94

Hope of drawing Bophuthatswana and Volksfront into election

ALTHOUGH the latest package of constitutional concessions was dismissed out of hand by Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday, the ANC and government remained hopeful that they would be able to persuade Bophuthatswana and the Afrikaner Volksfront to take part in the elections.

In the Netherlands, ANC president Nelson Mandela hinted that there was still a possibility of further ANC concessions.

A TEC-convened multiparty meeting is being planned for Monday or Tuesday to discuss the proposals for changes to the constitution.

Inkatha's senior negotiator Walker Fel-

gate said his party would definitely not attend. But it was unclear what the other Freedom Alliance parties' plans were. Felgate said the alliance was still waiting for details of the latest proposals. "There isn't nothing to tell you," he said.

He denied reports that the Inkatha central committee had met in Umtata to discuss the proposals yesterday.

No arrangements have yet been made for a trilateral meeting, but government and the ANC plan to meet individual alliance members today.

The ANC is to meet a Bophuthatswana delegation, and government and the ANC will meet the Volksfront.

Billy Paddock and David Grebe

"We're in there to find a solution," Bophuthatswana negotiator and alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said.

The ANC and government met last night. Negotiators from both sides said they were not confident of securing the participation in the elections of Inkatha, the CP and the AWB.

A government source said President F W de Klerk's response to Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demands had been conveyed to the king yesterday. He said that the essence of the king's demands

were contained in the latest proposals. "Along with the changes that allow for self-determination, government believes this satisfies the king's concerns and shows him that he can be accommodated adequately within the bounds of the constitution," he said.

But a KwaZulu source said the king would not find this acceptable. "The king wants his kingdom inviolate."

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said he was not yet in a position to determine whether the proposals could provide adequately for Afrikaner self-determination as he did not yet have any details.

Government negotiator Fanus Schoe-

Election

Schoeman said. However, any party that still wanted to enter the election race would be able to do so after the registration date had been extended.

Buthelezi, criticising the ANC proposals for being the same as those that had led to the deadlock in negotiations, accused Mandela of "utter hypocrisy" and "cheap politics on life and death issues".

He vowed that he, Inkatha and the KwaZulu government would oppose the changed constitution and elections. Mandela had failed to state that the national assembly could "scrap the best structures that a region proposed", desp-

Granting greater regional powers.

Buthelezi rejected out of hand that there had been any agreement on regional taxation and revenue powers.

A government source said Mr Buthelezi had wanted a face-saving mechanism, the ANC's latest offer would have been it, "but he obviously never wanted to participate in the elections".

DP negotiator Colin Eglin said the latest proposals "are very close indeed to the amendments which Inkatha itself put on the order paper when Parliament was debating the Interim Constitution Bill".

Report by W. Paddock and D. Grebe, TML, 11 Daagonal St., Jhb.

man said volksfront supporters' participation "will depend on whether (Volksfront leader) Gen Constand Viljoen realises there are elements within the right wing alliance who are not interested in a negotiated settlement, and he then takes the initiative and accepts the proposal and participates in the election".

There was no other way for the Volksfront to test Viljoen's claims that 75% of Afrikaners favoured a volksfront, he said. The "beauty of the situation" now was a special parliamentary session would be held and the constitution amended in spite of further negotiations with the alliance.

To Page 2

THE ANC and its lady-in-waiting on this issue, the NP government, have executed a masterful strategy of winning the moral high ground by deciding to change the constitution regardless of the Freedom Alliance's participation.

At the same time this could be the key thrust that opens up the defence of the opponent and prepares the ground for a split in the alliance's ranks.

Credit has to be given to the ANC. Its "concessions" are the first sign from any of the parties demonstrating a real political will in this phase of talks. Reaping the benefits, however, will depend on the detail of the concessions, not yet released — and the willingness and ability of ANC negotiators to convince their national executive colleagues to grant regions greater autonomy and have this entrenched in the constitution. ANC president Nelson Mandela, in announcing the package, indicated that there was room for negotiating broader regional powers for the interim constitution that the Constitutional Assembly would not "substantially diminish" in the final one.

Senior negotiator Joe Slovo gives an insight into the ANC's overriding desire to avoid federalism. He says he is happy to grant regions further powers and have these entrenched "for a period". It could indicate another sunset clause, like that establishing the government of national unity. But Slovo is not saying how long this period will be.

Concerning a volkstaat, the ANC wants to win time by fudging the issue.

The ANC concessions are fundamentally the same as those it got government to flight two weeks ago. The alliance rejected the package but its negotiators were divided on it. It has become evident that Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer's "balance sheet" of the state of play when talks broke down was very accurate.

Substantial agreement had been reached on greater powers of taxation and revenue for regions; a

ANC seeks to win high ground and divide the Alliance

BANCY 18/12/94

(3044)

BILLY PADDOCK

double ballot, the inclusion of the name KwaZulu with the Natal region, and self-determination with the concept of a territorial area being a possibility. Problem areas were still the powers and functions allocated to regions and the "integrity" of regional constitutions, although there was room for compromise agreements here.

DP negotiator Colin Eglin says an examination of the ANC's concessions shows they are extremely close to the amendments Inkatha put on the Parliamentary Order Paper for debate last December. He believes the changes to the constitution promise a "reasonable basis for the interim government and for drawing up the federal constitution".

Depending on the detail, the package does get very close to the agreements reached between government and the Freedom Alliance negotiators and contained in the "yellow paper" of December 19, which the ANC subsequently rejected.

But Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday rejected it out of hand as "an ANC bluff of trying to pull the wool over my eyes". He said it was clear the package was no different from that rejected by his negotiators two weeks ago.

There are sharp divisions within the ANC and in the Cabinet over



□ MANDELA

strategy for dealing with Buthelezi. One powerful group in the ANC argues that "we have gone far enough". Another says "we have got to go a little further".

The Cabinet is similarly split, particularly following the meeting be-

tween President F W de Klerk and King Goodwill Zwelithini which nearly collapsed several times in the three hours. "The king was definitely demanding independence and secession, despite Buthelezi's and De Klerk's statements to the contrary," one top source says. He argues that De Klerk was merely trying to avert a breakdown.

Because of the internal conflict in the two parties, and the predominance of the "so far and no further" lobby, both government and ANC sources say in private that, apart from a few details that can be renegotiated, this is it.

Buthelezi and the king, having stated in December 1992 when the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly passed the KwaZulu/Natal federal constitution that they wanted a referendum to legitimise it, now reject this notion, saying a referendum will cause division in the Zulu nation.

They are correct. ANC Zulu supporters would reject it and recent opinion polls suggest that if such a referendum were conducted today Buthelezi would lose.

ANC and NP strategy is now focused on dividing the Freedom Alliance — portraying Inkatha and the CP/AWB faction of the Afrikaner Volksfront as the fringe right wing. Discussions between the ANC and

Bophuthatswana are progressing well, ANC sources say, and Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje agrees. Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope has had two meetings with Mandela in as many weeks and today a six-a-side meeting takes place in Bophuthatswana where the ANC's package will be discussed.

Sources say that Cronje has consistently distanced himself from Inkatha in negotiations and that he has "really been trying to find a settlement". One source says the package was acceptable to Cronje but he could not break ranks. Cronje has responded positively to the ANC's announcement and there are grounds for believing that this nominally independent homeland will soon be joining the mainstream and will contest the election.

It is understood that Mangope is looking at "a best case scenario for himself and guarantees for his major constituency, the public service" in talks with Mandela.

Sections of the public service have been getting very restless about their future after the elections, with many on strike demanding that their pensions be paid out before elections. The Bophuthatswana government refuses to do this, quoting former Cosatu boss Jay Naidoo as saying that workers must not cash in their pensions.

The Gen Constand Viljoen faction in the Volksfront, regarded as more moderate, is also apparently on side with the agreement on self-determination, which was negotiated and agreed to by him.

A government source says the problem is that Viljoen is not a politician and is being outmanoeuvred by CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg. "But there is a good chance that Viljoen will walk away from the alliance taking his moderate supporters with him into a deal," he says.

SA's politicians can pull the country from the brink even at this late stage. The latest package provides a good basis for doing so as long as the ANC is not too rigid in working out the details and sections of the alliance demonstrate a desire to settle in return.

Military Intelligence front companies 'might aid NP'

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

PRETORIA — Concerns were raised within the TEC this week that Military Intelligence was engaged in activities that could favour the NP in the elections.

The TEC's subcouncil on intelligence this week could not decide whether there was merit in the claim.

A subcouncil member was concerned that "reports on investigations by front companies of MI that are being submitted to government would find their way to the NP and therefore provide them with an advantage".

After much debate, the subcouncil left the matter without resolution.

The question of whether MI still operates "front companies", even after President F W de Klerk's 1990 post-Inkathagate order that such organisations be disbanded, remains unanswered.

Last June, Judge Richard Goldstone said front companies continued to operate but did not conduct the same kind of covert, and on occasion unlawful, activities that had characterised them prior to 1990.

"After 1990 a programme of privatisation was commenced and the companies were used by the SADF solely for educational programmes

ADRIAN HADLAND

directed at its own members," Goldstone concluded.

SADF spokesman Col John Rolt said this week, however, that the front companies had all been "closed, on instructions from government".

At the launch yesterday of a book entitled *The Hidden Hand — Covert Operations in SA*, the subject was aired once again. (304A)

Published by Idasa, the HSRC and the Friedrich-Naumann Foundation, the front company question is revisited within the book by Lourens du Plessis, a former senior MI officer responsible for the establishment of front companies in the eastern Cape.

"During 1986, I received instructions from army headquarters to establish front organisations to combat the violence in the eastern Cape psychologically," Du Plessis wrote.

This involved the organisation of "youth camps, leadership camps and various other activities but the underlying motive was to discredit organisations like the PAC and SACP", he said.

What concerned Du Plessis most was that the millions of rands and equipment which had been pumped into these companies between 1986

and 1990 had never been recovered.

"All that equipment, and I am talking about R10m — it includes fully equipped gymnasiums, sedan cars, bakkies, cameras, office equipment, caravans — is still in the possession of the people that are managing these organisations."

Book co-editor Anthony Minnaar said yesterday evidence was still being uncovered suggesting the front companies remained operational.

"I heard of a new one I had never heard of before just a few days ago," he said.

According to a subcouncil source, the proposed investigation of MI front companies was abandoned due to a section of the TEC Act which states that reasonable grounds must be provided before such an investigation can be initiated.

The proposer, lacking sufficiently authoritative information, agreed to let the matter be "put on ice".

Idasa executive director Alex Boraime said the publication of the *Hidden Hand*, and the revelations and information contained within it, was part of a healing process for SA.

"The whole question of dealing with the past is critical to future peace and reconciliation."

Report by A Hadland, TML, 216 Vermeulen St, Pta.

'Much' for SA in German vocational training

KATHRYN STRASHAN

SA HAD much to gain from Germany's unique vocational education system, the SA German Chamber of Commerce said yesterday, adding that the system was the key to Germany's sustained economic growth.

At a briefing for senior ANC officials and the private sector, the chamber, together with the German embassy, said the concept held much promise for redressing SA's staggering unemployment rate, but needed the support of government and the private sector.

Legislative changes would be needed to establish the system and to compel companies to take on a certain quota of trainees. German com-

panies are penalised by law if they do not contribute to training.

Known as the commercial advancement training scheme, the German system makes both company and vocational school responsible for training.

From the age of 14, an apprentice's training at a vocational school is sponsored by a company, which also provides training in the workplace.

Companies benefit too, from trainees' work and from having a properly trained workforce. (144)

Trainees are also given a fully rounded education which gives them

the choice of returning to the mainstream schooling system after vocational training.

The chamber stressed that the system did not limit its apprentices to being workers, and noted that in Germany many bank managers, engineers and company directors had gone this route.

ANC spokesman Sheila Sisulu said the German concept fitted in with the recently released ANC education document which recommended that the state provide free education to the age of 14.

The German model provided a solution to the training of young people after this age, she said.

Elections: ANC may offer more

Star 19/2/94

KAIZER NYATSUMBA, AP
and Reuter

SOUTH Africa holds its collective breath today as the ANC, which this week announced major concessions to the Freedom Alliance, further intensifies its efforts to woo FA members into the transitional process and the election.

And ANC leader Nelson Mandela has again ruled out any postponement of the April poll.

Speaking to Dutch businessmen yesterday, he said: "April 27 is sacrosanct. We cannot and will not move that date. The risk of violence is far greater if the elections are postponed."

Meanwhile, US President Bill Clinton has pledged to keep pushing dissenting groups to participate in the election after Mandela telephoned him from The Hague.

Moral high ground

White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said in a 10-minute conversation Clinton had told Mandela the US would continue its efforts to persuade all groups in South Africa that participation in the elections was the best way for them to influence the future.

Yesterday the ANC, which recaptured the moral high ground when it agreed to most of the FA's constitutional demands — including self-determination and the protection of regional governments' powers in the constitution — held talks with the Bophuthatswana government and the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF).

The meetings, at which some progress was reported, came only three days before another session of the multiparty Negotiating Council — to which FA members have been invited — takes place at the World Trade Centre to formally adopt the proposals made by the ANC and the Government.

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Technical committees from the FA, AVF, ANC and Government were scheduled to continue their discussions today. A week from Monday, a short parliamentary session will be held to formally amend the Interim Constitution and the Electoral Act to incorporate the latest concessions and extend the registration deadline for the election, according to ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

Ramaphosa yesterday revealed that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, who this week called for the restoration of a pre-1834 KwaZulu state, had agreed to talks between his delegation and the



NET PRACTICE: Aussie fast bowler Craig McDermott at the Wanderers yesterday, where bitter war when Transvaal manager Eddie Barlow would not allow the teams to run on the field. ● Photog

Teams turfed off on eve of riches

ON THE eve of the richest cricket match in South African history — with gate takings standing at more than R2 million — the Wanderers stadium was the scene of a bitter battle of words yesterday.

For once, team coaches Mike Procter of South Africa and Bobby Simpson of Australia found themselves on the same side. Their adversary was former South African allrounder Eddie Barlow who, in his capacity as Transvaal cricket manager, had refused permission for the

RODNEY HARTMAN
Deputy Sports Editor

two teams to have a run on the stadium. Barlow believed this would damage the playing surface of the test ground after the heavy rains.

With turnstile receipts in excess of R2 million, today's sellout match is the richest in SA cricket history. The first Benson and Hedges one-day international will be watched

by a capacity crowd of 30 000 — many of them paying R130 a seat — and a record television audience of 2 million. The eight-match series is expected to gross R6 000 000, of which 20 percent will go to SA cricket's development fund.

Yesterday, however, the action centred on a verbal clash between Simpson and Barlow, after which Australian team manager Dr Cameron Battersby paid an official call on South African cricket chief

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Mugabe warns on racism

Star 19/2/94

ROBIN DREW, Africa News Service

HARARE — A row between farming neighbours, one black and the rest white, has led to a scathing attack by President Mugabe on whites in Zimbabwe, whom he accused of still practising racism.

Mugabe, who went to the Marondera area to tour the black-owned commercial farm, reminded whites "whose hands were still bloody" that they must accept the reality of defeat or else the government would take "appropriate measures". These are taken to mean appropriation of their land.

Mugabe, noting that some white farmers had provided



FIFA to probe SA

SOUTH Africa's future in international soccer could be in jeopardy following the failure of the game's local administrators to settle the foreign-player controversy that has racked the game since November.

World soccer's controlling body, FIFA, has asked its attorneys in Switzerland to look into the scandal, which erupted

THOMAS KWENANI

fontein Celtic and Fa way Stars — had registered foreign players under false names.

This emerged yesterday when lawyers acted on behalf of Jomo Cosmos, Dynamos, Santos and Welkom Eagles consulted FIFA regarding their grievances.

Meanwhile, US President Bill Clinton has pledged to keep pushing dissenting groups to participate in the election after Mandela telephoned him from The Hague.

Moral high ground

White House Press Secretary Dee Dee Myers said in a 10-minute conversation Clinton had told Mandela the US would continue its efforts to persuade all groups in South Africa that participation in the elections was the best way for them to influence the future.

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Rejection

ANC deputy secretary-general and nominee for the Natal/KwaZulu premiership Jacob Zuma will lead the ANC delegation.

Of the FA members, only Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi has so

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Star 19/2/94 Alliance

● FROM PAGE 1.

far rejected the ANC's concessions outright, saying his party will not take part in the election.

Bophuthatswana and the AVF have yet to respond to the proposals, but hopes that Chief Lucas Mangope's Christian Democratic Party (CDP) might break ranks with the FA and follow Ciskei's example by announcing its participation in the election soared yesterday when the Bophuthatswana government's meeting with the ANC went well.

Bophuthatswana chief negotiator and FA chairman Rowan Cronje told Saturday Star that the meeting — which he described as "constructive" — had gone "fairly well".

However, when asked if Bophuthatswana might soon agree to re-incorporation into South Africa and fight the election, Cronje said it was only after there was clarity on the ANC-Government proposals that his government might take a concrete decision.

He said although the ANC had given his delegation a document containing the organisation's proposals, these

were not much different from the proposals put before the FA at the previous ANC-Government-FA trilateral talks.

Cronje was happy, however, that the ANC delegation, led by the organisation's nominee for the North-West premiership, Popo Molefe, had agreed to consider proposals made by the Bophuthatswana government at yesterday's meeting. (BOKA)

Molefe said making Bophuthatswana ungovernable was no longer on the ANC's agenda. Further talks were scheduled to take place "as soon as possible".

The CDP will hold a special congress in Mmabatho today, where the homeland's future is expected to come up for discussion, ahead of Monday's FA meeting.

On his election trail in the Cape yesterday, President de Klerk said that if the FA was serious about reaching a settlement it had to accept the concessions made to it. The proposals, he said, were now being shaped "in proper legal wording, almost ready for Parliament and in Bill form".

That, he said, was the form in which the FA would receive them.

First the pen, then the cross

Star 19/2/94

204A

THE concentration on the faces of young and old women gathered under the shade of a tree in the bushveld was evident as they tried to draw a cross in the box next to the small black and white picture of their leader, Nelson Mandela. For some it was the first time they had ever held a pen in their hands.

This week it was the turn of the women of Moutse, near Groblersdal, to find out about "the vote".

Because of the high illiteracy rate, voter education in the rural areas often begins with a cross in the sand. But teaching the illiterate how to make their mark is a lot more complicated when women — who will make up 54 percent of the electorate — are bound by tribal laws and considered minors whose decisions are made for them.

Women are the forgotten electorate, according to "Mam" Lydia Kampe, founder of the Rural Women's Movement, members of which visited Moutse this week. "About 65 percent of rural women cannot read or write."

In Moutse the women are fairly vocal, having been part of a highly politicised region which fought the Government against reincorporation into KwaNdebele all the way to the Appeal Court — and won. But they have sisters and friends who will not vote unless their chief or husbands allow them to. Problems with the lobola system, tribal laws which see women as minors, polygamy, and the fact that they are not allowed to own or inherit property are points largely ignored by the new constitution and which are

LOUISE MARSLAND reports on the apprehension with which rural women approach the election.

being tackled urgently by women's groups.

"The women are angry. A woman is seen as a commodity, a slave, that her husband buys. In the new South Africa, such laws have to be put right and women are hoping that the vote will give them liberation," Kampe said.

Chanting

As the women of Moutse — some resplendent in traditional Pedi dress, others with babies on their backs — talked and sang about democracy and urged women to be strong, the old men quietly gathered to listen, followed by the young men. One sported a Nelson Mandela election badge, another had one of Yvonne Chaka Chaka.

They may have wished they had stayed well away as Kampe led the women in a chant of "One Man, One Woman; One Man, One Wife".

To begin, makeshift cardboard ballot boxes and voting booths were arranged on desks borrowed from the nearby primary school. Kindergarten chairs were brought out and nearby goats and wide-eyed children were shooed away.

Kampe corrected rumours that voters would be given food on voting day and said locals were not allowed to display

large photographs of Mandela or ANC flags inside the polling station on election day to help the illiterate choose who to vote for.

Then it was time to listen to people's grievances.

One woman wanted Mandela to come and talk to them. Another wanted to know whether women would be allowed to sjambok their husbands after the election. "Now, when you are found guilty of doing wrong, a husband beats you. A woman should also be allowed to sjambok her husband when he does wrong," she said.

Most were sceptical of promises that their living standards would improve after the election. "If it's true that votes are going to bring about true liberation, then we want more land," one elderly man said. "Now, we don't even have the space to keep a chicken. The white farmers' fences must move. We want our land back."

Fears were also expressed that they would become a target of white rightwingers at the polling stations on election day.

Voter trainer Mitta Mokoana explained that educating her neighbours in the election process was hard as many did not believe that things would get better. "Some women are scared to vote, they are scared of trouble."

Then it was time to practise "the vote". Women who had already been trained in the process of voting took their places as "security", "voting officials" and "election monitors".

Although a carnival atmosphere prevailed, everyone was very serious about learning how to do it right. Election day will measure the success of such training programmes.

Nats 'on a roll'

De Klerk

304471
DT 19/2/94

Staff Reporter

WISBOSSKERM. — President F W de Klerk yesterday said he had "no doubt" that the National Party was headed for a good win in the Western Cape in April.

In an interview during his whirlwind campaign in nine West Coast towns, he said the "tremendously warm reception" he had received — particularly among the coloured people — had convinced him the ANC was "in for a hiding" in the region.

"It's not a question of whether the NP can win the Western Cape, but by how much it will win," said Mr De Klerk.

He added he was confident his party could also take the northern Cape region, and deliver a dramatic result in the overall national poll.

"We are on a roll," he said. "The NP's efforts to make a breakthrough in the coloured community have not been very successful."

However, Mr De Klerk and his entourage encountered spirited — and some instances fierce — ANC opposition during his 14-hour tour, which took him from Atlantis in the south to Reddenal in the north, and Clanwillam in the east.

Mr De Klerk blamed much of the opposition he encountered on his tour on ANC activists who, he said, had been bussed in to disrupt his campaign.

During yesterday's headlong rush through towns and remote villages along the West Coast, Mr De Klerk and his entourage, posed for pictures on



the beach and even cuddled a kreet at St Helena Bay in a bid to convince voters that the new National Party had turned its back on the past.

During several stops, Mr De Klerk apologised to predominantly coloured audiences for the heartache caused by apartheid and said the NP had taken the initiative in "throttling" racial discrimination in South Africa.

With sports minister Mr Abie Williams acting as cheerleader, Mr De Klerk received repeated applause for saying that it was the ANC and not the NP which was organising boycotts, hostel strikes and disruptive activities which were destroying the economy.

Satan

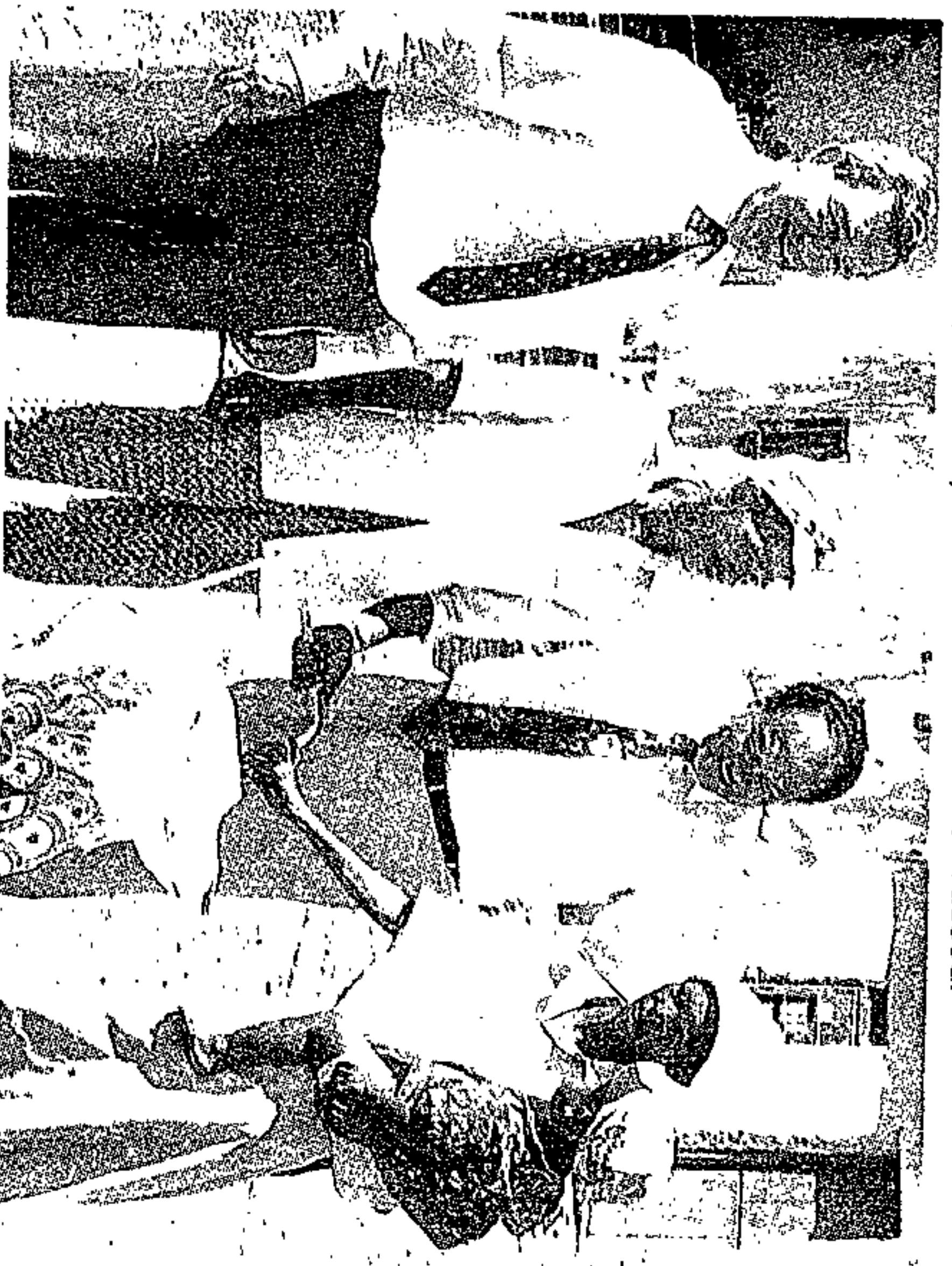
"The National Party are the builders, the ANC are the breakers," he said repeatedly.

Strongest opposition encountered by Mr De Klerk was in Vredenburg and in Lambert's Bay, where toyi-toying ANC supporters, carrying posters calling him everything from Satan to a fool, tried to drown out his speeches with their chants.

● National Party Cape leader Dr Dawie de Villiers said the NP had been surprised by the levels of support it had encountered in the deep rural and largely conservative parts of the Western Cape.



POWER STRUGGLE ... A tussle breaks out between ANC supporters and National Party marshals in Atlantis yesterday during President F W de Klerk's West Coast "roadshow" election campaign to drum up support from primarily coloured residents who previously had never been canvassed.



MEETING THE PEOPLE ... Democratic Party leader Dr Zach de Beer and MP for Outeniqua Mr Chris April talk to Zoar residents Mr John Pretorius and his wife Magnieta and their son Judia during a two-day tour of the Little Karoo.

Picture: RONALD MORRIS

Little Karoo — great delight

Staff Reporter

DEMOCRATIC PARTY leader Dr Zach de Beer yesterday said he was "delighted" with his visit to several Little Karoo towns because it was important to meet ordinary people.

"Thanks to the support of our coloured supporters, we can break out of the cities and with proportional representation we can come and fetch votes," he said.

At Zoar, the historic former mission station, about 30 primary schoolpupils greeted Dr De Beer, his wife Mona and his entourage, which included MP Mr Chris April, with a chant: "DP, Zach de Beer. Welcome Zach de Beer."

Mr D J Kleynhans, a retired schoolteacher, said he was 100% behind the DP because it was open and honest. But local resident Mr John Pretorius said he did not know why people were voting.

Dr De Beer's nine-town tour was fairly low-key, with about 100 people attending a meeting in the Oudstroom town hall while people elsewhere were clearly ignorant about the pending election.

Picture: BENNY GOOL

Alliance urged to accept poll

DAVID BREIER

Weekend Argus Political Staff

ARG 19/2/94
for an Afrikaner Volkstaat.

HIGH-LEVEL meetings are being held around the country to persuade the Freedom Alliance to take part in the election as alliance sources indicated a breakthrough was still possible.

The key to a breakthrough will be the alliance's reaction to the details of the government/ANC offer announced by ANC leader Nelson Mandela.

The measures to increase provincial autonomy and make provision for self-determination and a volkstaat are due to be published this weekend, a government spokesman said.

President De Klerk said he was confident the alliance would accept the concessions once it had studied them.

Alliance sources told Weekend Argus that a breakthrough was still possible if details of the offer satisfied alliance demands for entrenched regional powers and made provision

A government delegation under Natal Nationalist leader George Bartlett meets a delegation from Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini in Durban today to discuss the government's response to the king's demand for a sovereign state in KwaZulu/Natal.

The ANC discussed comprehensive details of the compromise deal with members of the Bophuthatswana government yesterday at Kwamartana near Sun City.

The Bophuthatswana delegation under Minister of Economic Affairs Ephraim Keikelame undertook to consider the proposals and the two sides are due to meet again soon. Bophuthatswana also undertook to make detailed proposals this weekend on how to move the transition process forward.

ANC negotiator Popo Molefe reflected the growing thaw in relations with Bophuthatswana, saying it was not on the ANC agenda to render the homeland ungovernable.

Government negotiators met the Afrikaner Volksfront in Pretoria late this week to consider the latest proposals.

The multiparty Negotiating Council which drew up the interim constitution will meet at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park on Monday to consider the proposed amendments to the Constitution and Electoral Act.

However, the Freedom Alliance is almost certain to boycott the Negotiating Council meeting.

The special sitting of parliament announced earlier by Mr De Klerk is due begin on February 28 and last almost a week.

A government spokesman said parliament would amend the constitution to increase and guarantee provincial powers as well as amend the Electoral Act to extend the deadline for alliance parties to register.

He said these amendments would be pushed through whether or not the alliance agreed with them.



RIGHT ON, SISTERS! Constance Koza, left, and Nina Romm, co-leaders of the Women's Rights Peace Party.

Women's Party makes its stand in Western Cape

LIBBY PEACOCK

Weekend Argus Reporter

(304A)

ARG 19/2/94

THE fledgling South African Women's Party has registered for the April elections despite a very tight budget.

And election co-ordinator Michel Muller is confident the double ballot will help the party.

"We are going for the Western Cape region only, so voters will be able to vote for someone else in the national ballot. We feel we can make a real difference in the Western Cape," Ms Muller said.

Almost all the funds used to pay the R5 000 registration fee came from members.

"New members are signing up all the time."

The party's approach to policy and government was a "new concept in politics where the integration and application of the principles of community, ecology and women's rights form the basis."

And as the party was not "sexist or separatist" and has a principle that one gender should not dominate the other, men were welcome to join.

Ms Muller said there seemed to be a lot of agreement among women that transcended party differences.

She said women's groups could make all the recommendations they liked and undertake laborious research, but until they had "a vehicle for political expression", their contribution would remain marginalised.

The South African Women's Party can be reached at 47-0655.

(News by E L Peacock, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

Tough new steps allow parties to canvass

JEAN LE MAY

Weekend Argus Reporter

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has taken strong steps to enable political parties to canvass and hold meetings more freely than in the past.

Tough new regulations were published yesterday to the effect that visits by political parties may not be refused unless there are reasonable grounds for believing they will lead to violent confrontation or loss to property owners.

The final say in resolving disputes about visits is given to the chief director (monitoring) of the IEC, Peter Harris.

The implication is clear — the IEC will not allow any person or organisation to prevent visits by political parties without very good reason. The new regulations will di-

rectly affect existing disputes including the row between the Democratic Party Youth and the University of the Western Cape.

DP Youth last week laid a formal complaint with the IEC after the university administration and the Students' Representative Council forced it to move an information table.

"We intend to test the IEC's commitment by holding a meeting at UWC at lunchtime on Wednesday," DP Youth chairman Colin Douglas told Weekend Argus yesterday.

"We feel the clause about 'violent confrontation' is a mistake because it will allow a power of veto to intimidators.

"We hope the IEC will have the sound judgment to prevent that. However, we'll see what happens on Wednesday. "If the IEC fails to meet the

test, we intend short-circuiting it by applying for a court interdict."

Referring to a code of conduct drawn up by UWC and laying down procedures for political activity on campus, Mr Douglas said that "this does not have the legal competence to supersede IEC regulations".

He added that DP Youth intended giving notice immediately of meetings at the Cape Technikon and the Peninsula Technikon, where up to now political parties have been refused permission to canvass or hold meetings.

The new regulations, released yesterday by the IEC to Weekend Argus, provide for conditions under which meetings are to be arranged and for arbitration by the chief director (monitoring) if agreement cannot be reached.

They also apply to any member or representative of the IEC and to any other person or organisation engaged in voter education.

The regulations specify that anyone wishing to visit any private or public property for a political purpose must give five days' written notice to the person in charge or to the owner or occupier.

The visit must take place at a time and place specified in the application and under conditions agreed upon.

If the parties fail to reach an agreement, the matter must be referred to the chief director (monitoring) who will mediate and determine the hours, condition and place of such a visit.

If mediation fails, the chief director "will resolve the issue as he or she deems fit". (News by Jean Le May, 422 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

mands were met — because there was insufficient time for it to campaign for votes.

He later claimed he had been misquoted.

Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose, however, was not prepared to reject the possibility of an agreement. He said on Friday ANC president Nelson Mandela's concessions had given him some hope.

"However, I must see it on paper and see the big print and the small print. Right now, I am not prepared to say that it is wonderful or rubbish."

Talks with the Afrikaner Volksfront continued yesterday over a constitutional principle dealing with self-determination and an Afrikaner volkstaat.

The ANC has offered a principle which would allow all parties that sup-

Mr Gumede was considered one of Mr Buthelezi's right-hand men and frequently accompanied him on overseas trips. In addition to his IFP portfolio, he was also a Kwazulu cabinet minister and head of the Federated Council of Indigenous Rulers of South Africa.

An Inkatha central committee member said this week Mr Gumede resigned because he felt Inkatha should contest the April elections.

But Mr Gumede, who remains a member of Inkatha, would not confirm this.

He was vague about his relationship with Mr Buthelezi. "If I was still in a cabinet, I would say it's good, but I'm out now. I'm very far away," he said.

Mr Buthelezi was reported to have said at Jan Smuts airport in Johannesburg, after meeting Swedish Foreign Minister Margaretha af Ugglas, that Inkatha would not participate in the poll — even if every single one of its de-

FREEDOM ALLIANCE leaders yesterday poured fresh scorn on the latest government and ANC offer for a constitutional settlement, despite growing signs that their supporters are wavering.

Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi dismissed the latest government concessions as "nothing new" adding that they were vague and embarrassing. And, in a hard-hitting speech yesterday, Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope vowed he would fight attempts to topple his government to the bitter end. (104) (113) (3044)

But, even as the leaders were speaking, there were indications that their supporters did not share their enthusiasm for battle.

● In Bophuthatswana, the cabinet has split and the public service has been hit by a series of strikes by civil servants worried about their future.

● In Kwazulu, the IFP has been rocked by the resignation of one of Mr Buthelezi's most senior ministers and Inkatha deputy secretary general Simon Gumede. "If they think they can carry on with the (Kwazulu) legislative assembly, that's their business," he said.

Mr Mangope was warned by Ambassador Tjaart van der Walt this week that a new government might not be as willing to subsidise Bophuthatswana's R5-billion budget. At present, 26 percent is generated by Bophuthatswana, 29 percent comes in the form of development aid and 45 percent is made up of transfer payments.

Sources at the meeting said Mr Mangope was adamant he would prefer to be "a lean and hungry dog than a fat dog on a leash".

In the south-eastern Odi region of Bophuthatswana this week, workers from the telephone exchange, the Odi Hospital and 19 clinics embarked on strikes and sit-in action, demanding their pension money before the homeland is reincorporated into South Africa. There were similar rumblings of discontent in the security forces.

Bophuthatswana teachers this week dissolved their homeland-based teachers' union in preparation for joining South African structures.

More than 19 000 workers at the Babeli industrial site also joined the action this week, disrupting the homeland's bus service.

Talks between the ANC and a Bophuthatswana delegation on Friday ended without agreement after the homeland demanded its independence be retained.

"There was no real advance. They are demanding the retention of old apartheid structures, their independence in a confederation, and they will not take part in the elections. Their proposals are totally unacceptable to us," said ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa.

The ranks of the other major Freedom Alliance partner, the IFP, also felt ripples of dissent.

Mr Gumede's resignation from active politics followed that of IFP central committee member and MP Mike Tarr, who had repeatedly argued against the IFP boycotting the elections.

POLITICAL STAFF

to waver S/Times 20/2/94 S/Times

Alliance boeing

S/Times - 20/2/94

port a volkstaat to form a volkstaatsraad and argue for a homeland in the Constitutional Assembly. While the clause gives no guarantees, it puts the question of a volkstaat on the agenda for the future. It also means right-wing parties would have to fight the elections.

This principle was accepted by AVF leader General Constand Viljoen three weeks ago, but was rejected at a mass meeting at the Pretoria Showgrounds. (113) (114)

The tensions within the AVF over participation in the elections were reflected at last week's meeting of its general council.

Five CP members — Corne and Pieter Mulder, Joseph Chiole, Frank le Roux and Tom Langley — argued with General Viljoen that the AVF should participate in the elections. This was rejected.

Mr Pieter Mulder said yesterday that, if they could secure better guarantees for a volkstaat, it would be easier to persuade the AVF to participate in the elections.

Other sources said that, should talks fail to produce this, it would mean General Viljoen would have to decide whether to lead a faction into the elections or stick with a war-hungry right wing. (3044)

Meanwhile, the government and the ANC yesterday finalised amendments to the constitution which will be put to the negotiating council at Kempton Park tomorrow.

Mr Ramaphosa said Parliament would implement the concessions announced by Mr Mandela despite their rejection by the Freedom Alliance parties, of whom he said: "If they maintain their positions, it deepens the crisis for them."

In an interview with the Sunday Times, President F W de Klerk said an IFP election boycott, even if it was supported by King Goodwill Zwelithini, "would not invalidate the elections and would not stop the present Kwazulu legislative assembly set-up from being replaced by a newly-elected democratic second-tier structure with its own premier".

(News by Edyth Bulbring, Claire Robertson, Ray Hartley, Mpho Kobue, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg, and Norman West, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Page 2

Election battle hots up for the coloured vote

By NORMAN WEST, Political Reporter

SALVOES in the battle for votes in the Western Cape were fired off in all directions this week.

And the politicians were trying to woo the all-important coloured vote — which political analysts say will decide the outcome of the election in this region. *SI Times (Cape)*

All major parties hit the campaign trail with President de Klerk leading the NP charge with an exhausting seven-town whistle-stop blitz up the west coast. *(30/11) (11/11)*

Nine-stop

Equally hectic was the nine-stop Little Karoo campaign by DP leader Dr Zac de Beer, who raced through small settlements like Zoar, and bigger centres like Oudtshoorn. *20/12/94*

The Democratic Party — lumped with the PAC as "insignificant" by Mr De Klerk — had a morale

booster when poet and philosopher, Professor Adam Small of UWC, endorsed DP policy.

Former UWC rector Dr Richard van der Ross is a DP candidate for the Provincial Legislature.

Present rector of UWC Professor Jakes Gerwel, on the other hand, is an ANC member.

In the Peninsula, members of the ANC's Western Cape executive went out into the field in suburbs from Observatory to Mitchells Plain, in an attempt to win votes. At the same time WP chairman and premier-designate Dr Allan Boesak toured the south Cape, including Oudtshoorn, George, Mossel Bay and Knysna.

Earnest

The PAC entered the fray in earnest this week when its leader Mr Clarence Makwetu received a hero's welcome on arriving at DF Malan Airport on Friday on his way to address a crowd of more than 2 000 in Langa Civic Hall.

Later today he will unveil the PAC's election manifesto at the Khayelitsha Stadium.

Mr de Klerk said of his "warm response" from a 10 000-strong audience: "I have no doubt no other party stands a chance in the Western Cape."

(News by Norman West, Newspaper House, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town).



REACHING OUT ... NP leader Mr F W De Klerk was welcomed with open arms by thousands of coloured fans during his campaign blitz on the West Coast this week
Picture: TERRY SHEAN

Universities might veto electioneering

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

UNIVERSITIES will be asked to decide for themselves whether they will allow electioneering on their campuses in terms of regulations to be promulgated under the Electoral Act. *St. Times 20/2/94*

Independent Electoral Commission investigations head Nicholas Tee said the regulations would insist that any decision on campaigning be applied equally to all political parties.

The regulations were scheduled to be promulgated on Friday, just weeks after the University of the Western Cape Students' Representative Council slapped a controversial ban on the Democratic Party.

Twenty-one organisations on the campus, including the SRC and the DP, agreed on Thursday to a code of conduct allowing free political activity on campus.

Mr Tee said the ban was one of 20 cases that had been earmarked for investigation. To date, five cases had been completed and not one violation of the Electoral Act had been discovered, he said. *(SP) (304A)*

No details could be given on any of the other cases under investigation, as political parties had not made them known to the public, he said.

The commission's media and public relations head, Pieter Cronje, said its 9 000 monitors would try to resolve disputes on the ground. Disputes that remained unresolved would be referred to increasingly powerful review bodies.

The commission's 374 electoral tribunals, six electoral appeal tribunals and, ultimately, its special electoral court for adjudication, would be used if necessary, he said.

(News by Ray Hartley, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

TEC debate on detention drags on

S/Times 2012/94

By RAY HARTLEY: Political Reporter

THE Transitional Executive Council has not decided whether to scrap the Internal Security Act's notorious Section 29, which was the subject of a heated debate in a closed session of the council on Tuesday.

The debate on the section, which allows for detention without trial, took place after a verbal "security briefing" to the council by the SAP's General Krappies Engelbrecht — which was blacked-out to the media.

The debate split the TEC down the middle, according to one council representative.

Law and Order Sub-Council chairman Peter Gastrow said a decision on Section 29 would be made tomorrow and on Tuesday.

He said some parties had proposed

"other alternatives" during Tuesday's debate.

These are thought to include the amendment of the section to bring it into line with the human rights stipulations of the interim constitution's Bill of Rights.

Such an amendment could be made during the March parliamentary session or by presidential decree. (229)

The TEC member said that on Tuesday, General Engelbrecht had described political violence as having bottomed-out, although he added there was no sign of a positive trend yet. (30/94)

No large-scale war was likely from right-wing quarters, but the 30 smaller incidents of sabotage proved the Right had the ability to disrupt services, he apparently told the council.

(News by Ray Hartley, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)



JAKES GERWEL ... more support among under-50s



ADAM SMALL ... sharp political differences

Small marks divide in Cape vote

By NAZEEM HOWA

PROFESSOR Adam Small's decision to endorse the Democratic Party has once again brought to the fore sharp political differences within the coloured intelligentsia in the Western Cape.

With the ANC unlikely to draw more than 50 percent of the coloured vote in the Western Cape, the DP hopes that Professor Small and Professor Richard van der Ross, another member of the academic old guard, will help the party pull in significant support from undecided coloured voters.

The two will serve as a counterweight to other

prominent coloured intellectuals who have clearly placed their support with the ANC. Most notable among these are University of the Western Cape rector Professor Jakes Gerwel, and Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn. (304A) (113)

Both Professor Gerwel and Mr Sonn enjoy significantly more support and credibility among the under-50s in the coloured community than either Professor van der Ross or Professor Small.

Neither Professor van der Ross nor Professor Small has played a signifi-

cant political role over the past few years, and this will count against them.

Former UWC rector Professor van der Ross's role during the turbulent 80s, when he often stepped in to settle confrontations on campus between police and UWC protesters, may have won him limited support among the under-50s.

While Professor Small's personal following is probably insignificant, Professor van der Ross — placed second in the DP's regional election list — is likely to draw in significant support among the over-50s.

Changing the character of the regional leadership by the inclusion of former UDF and ANC stalwart Joe Marks and Professor van der Ross is likely to see the party draw significant support away from the National Party.

(News by N Howa, 123 St Georges Street, Cape Town)

The head of Kiss tells it straight

By LEW ELIAS

HEIDELBERG housewife Claire Emary, leader and sole member of the Keep It Straight and Simple party (Kiss), has had to put her housework on hold after being thrown into the media limelight this week.

Since she registered her party for the National Assembly elections, Mrs Emary has been interviewed on Radio 702, SABC radio's *Microphone In*, and on SATV's *Agenda* and *Good Morning South Africa* programmes. **S. Times**

Fast becoming a seasoned campaigner — long before she intended to get her political machine rolling — she has delighted audiences with her straightforward approach to the problems facing SA.

The Kiss constitution and manifesto were drawn up after breakfast last Saturday, hours before Mrs Emary registered her party as a contender in the April elections. **(304A)**

She has called for a single, consumer-oriented tax base, an independent judiciary and a mechanism to recall MPs. **2012194**

A former teacher, Mrs Emary says she gets on well with young people and intends to kick off her formal campaign with a series of talks at universities.

"I get along well with guys. They might shout at me and call me an old bag, but it's okay — we still get along," she says.

Most of her policy will be formulated as she goes along, but the emphasis will be on simple solutions.

On economic policy, Mrs Emary echoes former Sanlam chairman Dr Andries Wassenaar.

"All freedom is economic freedom," she says, quoting Dr Wassenaar.

Mrs Emary says the prime solution to South Africa's chronic housing shortage is the involvement of the private sector.

"If you want anything delivered, get a busy man to do it. Bureaucrats can't see beyond their heads."

Of all the media attention, she says: "I hope this all blows over, and then I can get down to dealing with issues."

(News by Lew Elias, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

ANC devious, violent — Pik

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE ANC and its supporters were guilty of devious and violent intimidation, Foreign Affairs Minister Pik Botha said on Friday (30/4).

In a scathing attack after his visit to the Northern Transvaal on Friday, Mr Botha said government in ANC-supporting homelands had all but come to a standstill, while homeland ministers who did not support the ANC were fired.

It was clear, he said, that former Venda Military Council chairman Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana was continuing to exert influence in Venda to the ANC's advantage.

"If this is how ANC supporters behave now, heaven help us if they come to power," he said.

"I hope voters see before April how the ANC uses intimidation and violent threats to attain power."

Mr Botha said this intimidation also extended to the SABC. He repeated President F W de Klerk's attack on the SABC board for allowing journalists to be intimidated, and called for an inquiry in which witnesses would be protected from further victimisation.

He said he found it strange that SABC executive Wynand Harmse could say he was not aware of such intimidation, while the rest of the country could clearly see it.

"It seems to me like the ANC had achieved what the NP could never do — to take over the SABC."

(News by D van Eeden, 218 Vermeulen Street, Pretoria).

St. James Zach tops DP national list

THE DP's PWV leader Tony Leon took second place after leader Zach de Beer for the party's national list for the National Assembly, to be chosen in the April elections. *2012/13*

The top nine candidates were chosen at a meeting of the party's Federal Electoral College in Cape Town yesterday. *(2012/13)*

The other seven candidates announced are, in order, Dene Smuts, Colin Eglin, Kobus Jordaan, William Mnisi, Errol Moorcroft, Ken Andrew and Douglas Gibson.

Mr Leon is No 1 on the party's PWV regional list for Parliament, while Mr Andrew tops the Western Cape's regional list to Parliament.

(News by Edyth Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Police probe claim

CIP 20/2/94

THE National Party claims the abduction of one of its officials this week was politically motivated.

However National Party MP and Border-Kei spokesman Ray Radue has declined to point a finger at any political organisation.

Earlier this week NP organiser and regional election candidate Mikhail Antonov-Oveseyenko was abducted from Stutterheim before he escaped near Umtata.

Radue says the incident took place after Antonov-Oveseyenko was offered a lift in a car driven by two black men.

South African and Transkei police are investigating. (304A)

Report by Andrew Trench, 109 High Street, Grahamstown.

Witdoek chief to stand for NP

City Press 20/2/94

By **THEMBA KHUMALO**
Political Reporter

WESTERN Cape National Party candidate in the forthcoming election and Witdoeke vigilante warlord, Johnson Ngxobongwane, is now a changed man.

Ten years ago his 9mm firearm used to bulge from his holster in anticipation of any trouble. Today he lets it lie negligently in his car's cabbyhole, satisfied that the war is over.

"I'm out of the wars now and I want peace. I don't want to have anything to do with violence. Let's sit around the table and sort out our differences amicably," said Ngxobongwane.

The NP have put Ngxobongwane's name 15th and that of former Khayelitsha mayor Mali Hoza 20th on the list for the western Cape legislature.

Ngxobongwane was once the most feared warlord in the western Cape. His notorious Witdoeke vigilantes caused mayhem at the Old Crossroads squatter camp when they clashed with supporters of the now defunct United Democratic Front between 1984 and 1986.

Now, at 69, he is tired of fighting. Officially, 25 people died and several

hundreds were injured and left homeless when his *impis* clashed with squatters who were opposed to his "autocratic" rule as the "mayor" of SA's largest informal settlement.

Speaking to City Press in his make-shift office in Sandsdrift last week, Ngxobongwane denied that he was personally involved in any of the internecine factional wars in the '80s.

"When the conflict started I was at home in Ciskei and I only came back here three weeks later," he said.

"But I knew that the UDF people didn't like me for being outspoken on the use of children in the struggle. They were 'necklacing' people. After tolerating these actions for some time, I stood up and spoke vociferously against them. I told them that this was not the right way to fight the white man (BOYA)"

"I've never killed or injured anyone in my life. Not even during our clashes with UDF supporters."

In spite of his troubled past, Ngxobongwane - who claimed he was an ANC member between 1950 and 1975 - is prepared to work towards the building of a new SA.

(Report by T Khumalo of 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg.)

the African National Congress and the De Klerk administration.

The first step towards the unilateral establishment of an Afrikaner *volkstaat* has already been taken with the formation in Pretoria of a Volks Verteenwoordigende Raad or People's Representative Council.

Headed by Ferdi Hartzenberg, the leader of the Conservative Party, the VVR has been proclaimed as the Afrikaner nationalist answer to the multiparty Transitional Executive Authority and as the embryonic parliament of the *volkstaat*.

Political leadership

The bearded Zulu King, Goodwill Zwelithini, is poised to take the Zulus — or, more accurately, those who accept his political leadership — down the same path. He has given notice to President FW de Klerk of his intention to proclaim the restoration of the pre-colonial Zulu kingdom.

"I, as the king of the Zulu nation, claim exclusive and independent sovereignty over our atavistic territory as per 1834 boundaries," he has told De Klerk.

"The white nations of Afrikaners and British are now relinquishing their sovereignty over the land of South Africa. Under (these) circumstances, I take the position that the sovereignty of the Zulu nation is revived."

The Bophuthatswana Government, the third member of the dissenting Freedom Alliance, takes a similar though not, of course, identical position. It sees Bophuthatswana's independence — granted under the discarded apartheid system — as the restoration to Tswana people of the sovereignty which they lost when Bechuanaland was annexed to the Cape in 1895.

Preferred option

Lucas Mangope's Bophuthatswana is loathe to surrender its independence by agreeing to reincorporation into South Africa. Its preferred option is to retain the status quo by winning acquiescence to its quasi-independence from the popular claimants to political power, the African National Congress and its allies.

Bophuthatswana seeks, to put it differently, to secure recognition of its secession from South Africa in 1977 from the prospective ANC-led government of national unity.

But the chances of secession by consent, whether by Afrikaners, Zulus or Tswanas, are negligible. The ANC is too firmly committed to a united South Africa, to reuniting what apartheid put asunder in the 1970s and 1980s, for it to sanction secession in any form.

Its willingness to recognise the right to self-determination as one the guiding constitutional principles in the interim constitution should not be re-

*I as the King
of the Zulu nation
claim exclusive and
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per 1834
boundaries*

*Demography
is pertinent to
the quest for
an Afrikaner
volkstaat.
There is no
region of any
size in South
Africa where
Afrikaners are
in a majority*

garded as more than a nod in the direction of regional autonomy within a united South Africa.

The first and major obstacle to secession is thus the ANC, buttressed by its deep commitment to the unification of South Africa and its people after decades of enforced ethnic and racial segregation.

Nelson Mandela's words when he announced the ANC's acceptance of a package of proposals aimed at persuading the Freedom Alliance to participate in the April election for a government of national unity are worth recalling.

He condemns political leaders who are "steeped in the politics of racism, ethnic chauvinism and violence", urges South Africans to unite to resist them and says: "We cannot allow the birth of our society as a united, non-racial and democratic nation to be held to ransom by the captives of the apartheid past."

But there are additional — and equally insuperable impediments — to secession. One is demography. Another is political diversity even

within the heartland of territories flirting with the idea of seceding before the birth of the new South Africa.

There is no region of any size in South Africa where Afrikaners — as distinct from Afrikaans-speaking people — are in a majority. Wherever the lines demarcating the *volkstaat* are drawn, Afrikaners will be a minority.

Anyone who doubts that *volkstaat* will encounter resistance from within should look at Standerton: There the decision by the conservative white town councillors to declare Standerton to be part of the *volkstaat* provoked black resistance, in the form of a consumer boycott and a protest march, and led to bloodshed.

It requires no great perspicacity to predict that the scenes at Standerton will be replicated in all towns which opt for the *volkstaat*. The rolls of razor wire and the piles of sandbags erected outside the Akasia Town Council offer a glimpse into that future.

In KwaZulu-Natal there is no doubt that Zulus are in the overwhelming majority. Opposition to the restoration of the Zulu kingdom is likely to be fierce, however, if it even hints of secession. Opinion polls show that ANC supporters outnumber their Inkatha Freedom Party counterparts by more than two-to-one in the province.

Popular jubilation

The Bophuthatswana Government believes or purports to believe that it represents the majority of the people within Bophuthatswana's borders. The belief, however, looks flimsy when one recalls the popular jubilation which greeted Mangope's temporary overthrow five years ago and his dependence on South African troops, rather than his own, to put down the coup and rescue him.

South Africa's secessionists are sustained by their belief that secession is justified in international law as an expression of the right to self-determination.

But as the SA Law Commission notes: "So long as there is a representative democratic government which represents the whole nation without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or descent, the right of self-determination in the form of impairment of the territorial integrity of the state is not recognised."

Where oppressed blacks may have been justified in seceding from the old apartheid state, the pending election of a democratic and representative government by all adult citizens deprives secessionists of all hues of legal justification for their intended actions.

(Patrick Lawrence, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

SoeEIM
21/2/94
3040

NEWS FEATURE *SA lacks numbers to make their threat a reality anywhere in SA*

Secession — the chances are negligible

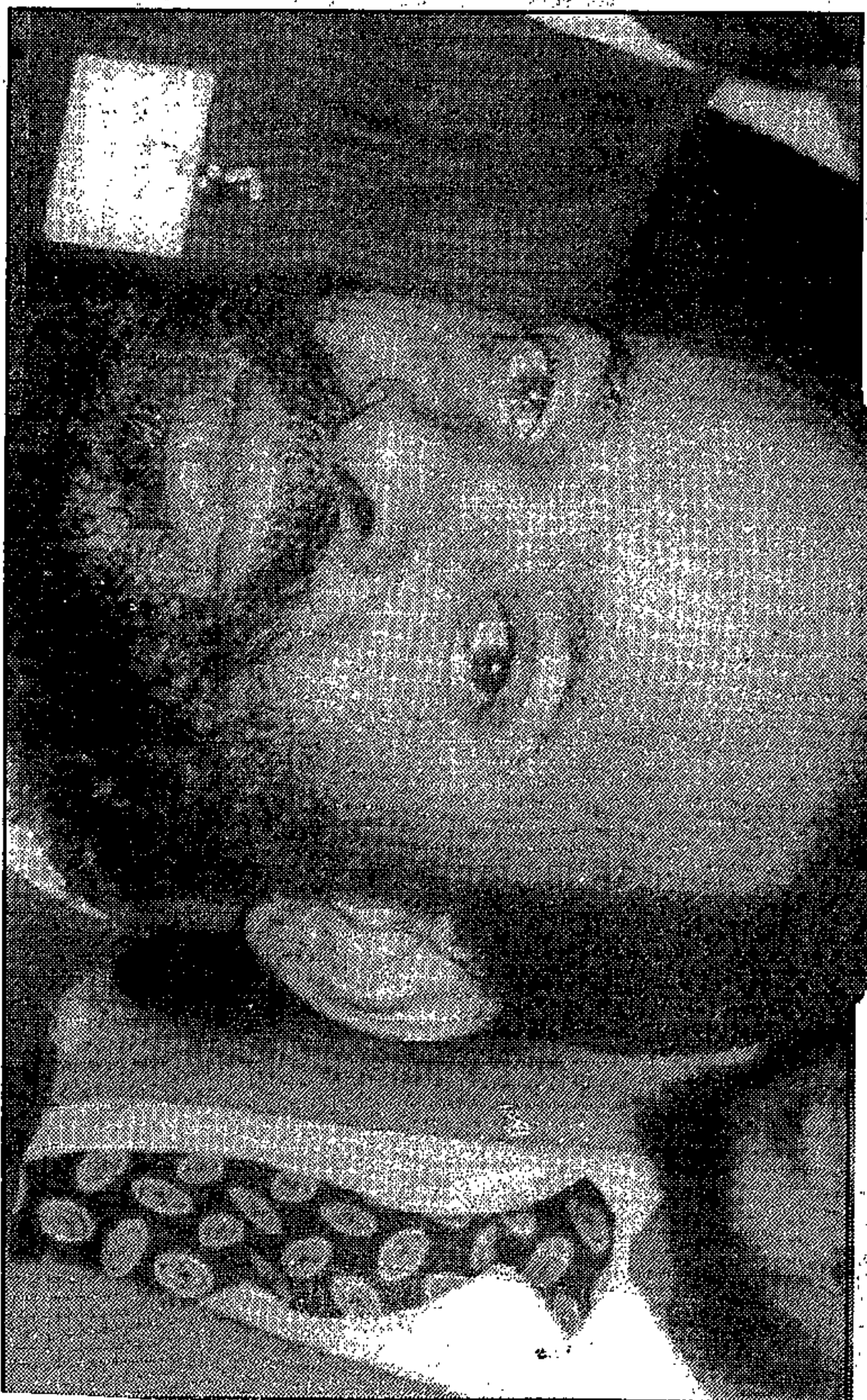
Sevelam 21/2/94

By Patrick Laurence

A NEW AND potentially explosive word has entered South Africa's political vocabulary: secession — a word often associated with civil war.

The Afrikaner Volksfront has helped to popularise the word, by threatening to unilaterally establish a separate Afrikaner state if it fails to win

talking points



King Goodwill Zwelithini ... going down the secession path.

Respect everybody's ideas

Tolerance is part of democracy

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

The apartheid regime did not practice 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.

'People have the right to freely demonstrate or speak in favour of a particular party or viewpoint'

Political tolerance applies not just to the behaviour of the government, but also to people. It applies to everybody.

'A democracy will flourish in a society where unjust ideas are confronted in an open forum of debate'

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 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, 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

Intolerance
Certain people or parties may promote unfair or undemocratic views.

Expressing an opposing view does not mean taunting and belittling other people's views.

Try and understand why someone feels so strongly about a certain view.

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.

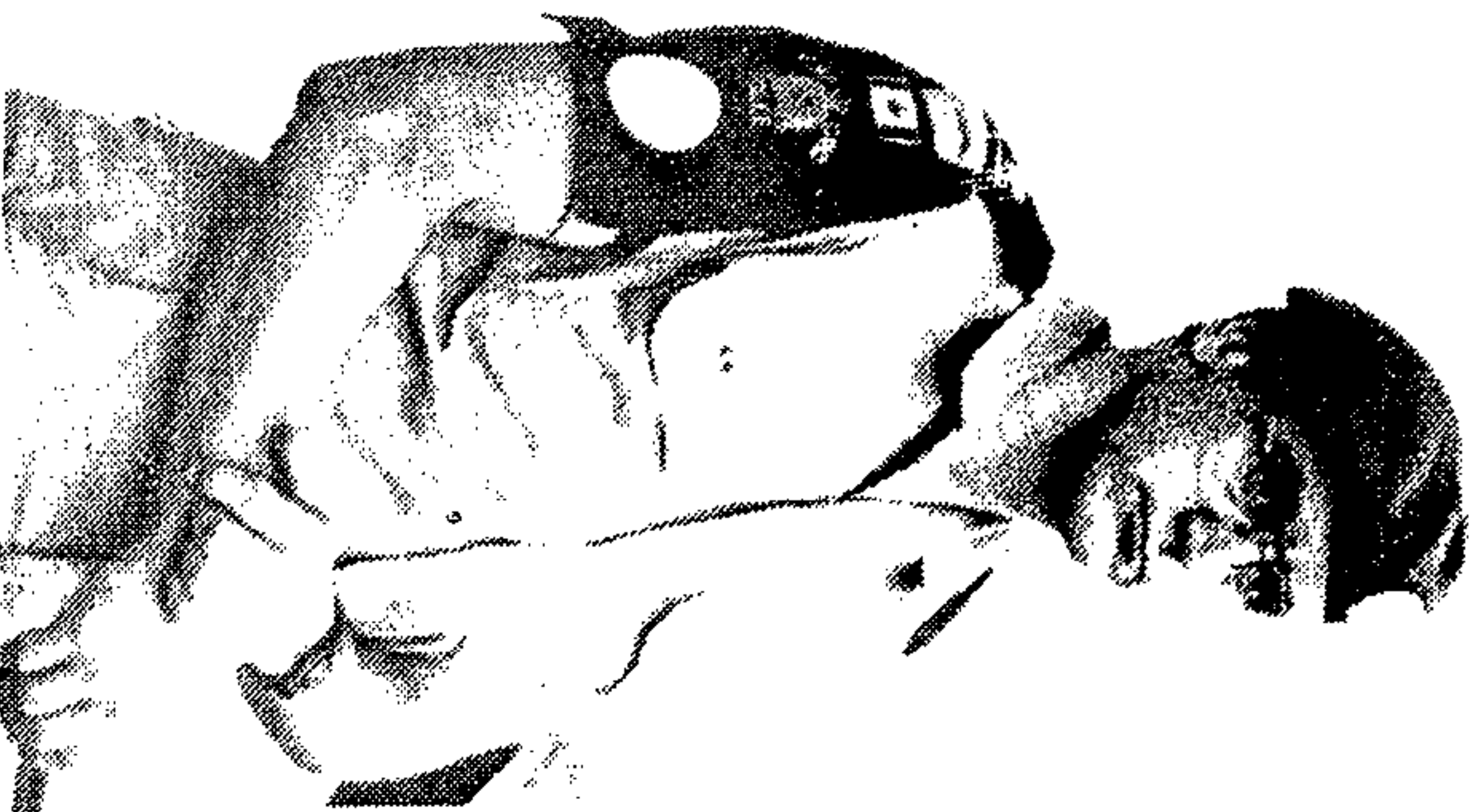
There are many instances of political intolerance in South Africa.

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.



MONITORS... from the international community will ensure that voting is free of intimidation

The power of the ballot

VIDEOS

The use of a secret ballot is one of the critical features of South Africa's first democratic elections on 27 April.

they voted for a particular party, but nobody will know that person's real selection.

Inside the voting station



You show your ID

IFEE

The following VHS videos are available from IFEE.

KHULULEKA
A 13-part TV series now showing on CCV every Tuesday evening.

MOMENTS
An hour-long video of Matla Trust's voter education play.

HOW TO VOTE: WHAT IS DEMOCRACY
Available in nine different languages

IFEE
Box 1178
Johannesburg
2000

21/2/94

5049

Everyone's vote is their 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.

THREAT

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 her employer or risk losing a job.

A person can state in public that

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

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 demonstrate a democratic process for electing a democratic government.

If you know of a problem that could prevent a free and fair campaign in your area, telephone the IEC on: (011) 928-1000

1		Document
2		Your hands are checked.
3		Your hands are marked
4		You are given a ballot paper
5		Your paper is stamped
6		You go into an empty booth
7		You vote for your party
8		Place your paper in the ballot box

HEAL
OUR
LAND



VOTE
APRIL
27TH

INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION

THE POSTERS ON LAMPPOSTS were quite clear: Roelf Meyer, chief Government negotiator, was to speak at the Zoo Lake in Johannesburg last Wednesday night.

With him would be Sheila Camerer and another man, a Mr de Villiers. Starting time was 6pm and I was stepping on the gas as I was 10 minutes late.

I did not want to be stuck outside as the hall, surely, would be full, I told myself. It was, after all, Roelf Meyer on the podium.

I may as well have crawled to the place. As I parked my car near the lawn next to the lake, I noticed that the huge tent in the middle of the lawn was empty.

There were some people milling around outside. The police were out in force and the minister's men were there with their walkie talkies in their hands and ear pieces in place.

The party people had also turned up — the new black Nats standing in a group apart, doing their best to dodge the focus of a party propaganda video cameraman.

Lastly, there were the media people.

Where were the residents of the area, I asked one of the party men.

This is DP territory, I was told.

There was no escaping the embarrassment of the empty chairs and the unconsumed plates of biscuits. If this was South Africa's second biggest party, poll-wise, and you had none other than Meyer himself speaking, to less than 100 people all inclusive, what was happening?

Imagine an ANC meeting where Meyer's opposite, Cyril Ramaphosa, was scheduled to speak and less than 100 people showed up. It would be a disgrace.

The turn-out at the Zoo Lake meeting could be blamed on many things. De Villiers tried to explain, unasked.

"One could say the posters were the wrong colour and the time was printed on a blue strip and was therefore difficult to read, or that the time itself was wrong. What is clear, is that there was not sufficient work done to prepare for the meeting," he said.

As for the posters, I personally saw more posters on the route than there were people attending the meeting.

The meeting started an hour and half later than scheduled, prompting one man to say that in preparing itself for the new South Africa it was creating, the National Party was already using "African time".

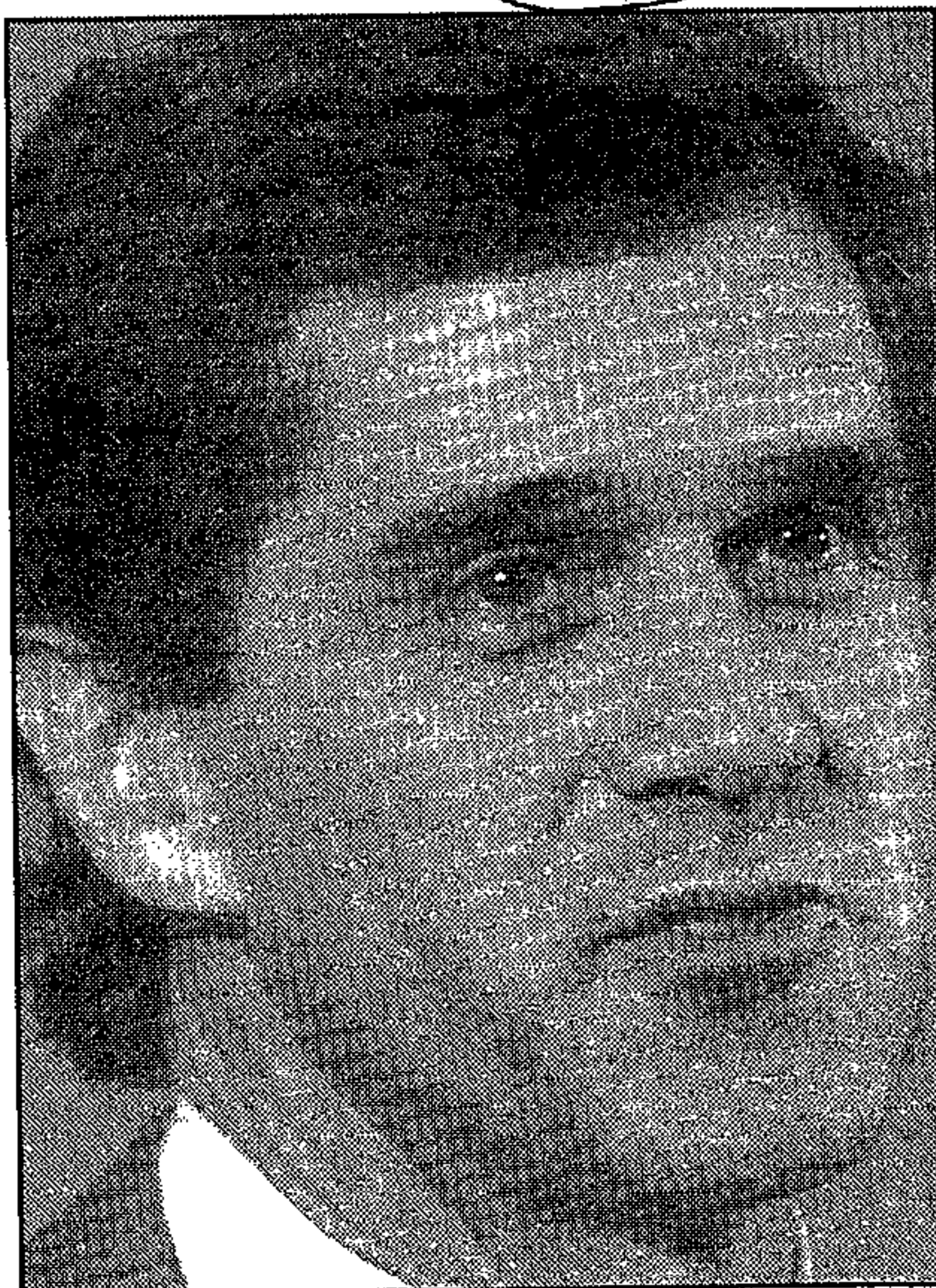
Question time was truly revealing. A black man stood up to ask what the party was doing about the racist attitudes that black members faced from whites who saw every black person as an ANC supporter. We have to continue to talk to them, he was told.

The question of black NP members is an interesting one. The group that was there had been bussed in, perhaps kombied in would be the more appropriate, from Soweto.

PWV election list No. 7. Mr David

Savetan 21/2/94
The National Party is the second biggest party but less than a 100 people turned up for a meeting that was to be addressed by Roelf Meyer. What is happening? asks Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu:**

304A



Roelf Meyer — a case of "I talk to the trees..."

Shuenyane, brought his own audience along "to support our brothers in the northern suburbs", he said.

But they seemed extremely uncomfortable, keeping to themselves and hiding their faces from the camera. One man who knew me said, without being asked, that he had only come to listen and that he had been asked to do so by the woman standing next to us.

The cheerful faces of the white party organisers and officials, who seemed very happy that they had black faces in the small crowd, were in sharp contrast to the sullen faces of their black counterparts. The latter seemed to feel out of place, a bit embarrassed, as though they were cheating or selling out, almost.

The oppressor and the oppressed are finding it difficult to sleep together, or even stand



There was no escaping the embarrassment of the empty chairs and the unconsumed plates of biscuits

together in front of cameras and say we are one.

Commenting on the poor turn-out, Shuenyane said the suburb brothers would have to wake up to the fact that organising means speaking to people.

"In Soweto we go from door to door. We talk to people. That is what you must do here, instead of just saying the people here are DP," he said.

De Villiers said they were aiming at launching a telephonic campaign. "Door to door does not work in an area like this, with high walls and high fences. You

will spend most of your time at the gate ringing the bell and if you get in you'll have to deal with the dogs.

"Once past that, it will take you six minutes to walk from the gate to the house as the yards here are quite big. It just would not pay," he said to laughter.

So they will use the phone. And they will target the domestic servants as they, too, now have the vote. They will phone them during the day when their DP masters are at work.

Over the weekend, the turn-out at FW de Klerk's meetings in the Western Cape was good. Almost salvaging the image of the second largest party. But if that label is to stick, that party must pull in more residents in Zoo Lake, too, and not depend on the bussed vote.

Mathatha Tsedu, 61 Commando Road, Industria

Star 2/12/94

Leon in second slot on DP candidates' list

(304A)

■ STAFF REPORTER

The Democratic Party's leading candidate for the PWV region, Tony Leon, heads the party's national list of elected candidates for the National Assembly after party leader Dr Zach de Beer.

Dr de Beer's position is reserved automatically.

The DP federal electoral college voted on Saturday for the first eight positions on the national list, electing a woman as third in line.

The sequence is Tony Leon, Dene Smuts, Colin Eglin,

Kobus Jordaan, William Mnisi, Errol Moorcroft, Ken Andrew and Douglas Gibson.

The full ranked list released yesterday evening is:

Zach de Beer, Tony Leon, Dene Smuts, Colin Eglin, Kobus Jordaan, William Mnisi, Errol Moorcroft, Ken Andrew, Douglas Gibson, Chris April, Lester Fuchs, Peter Soal, Mamoud Rajab, Roger Hulley, Sandra Botha, Andries Botha, James Selfe, David Curry, Rupert Lorimer, Solomon Verveen, Graham McIntosh, Hilda Burnett, Etienne Phoofofo, Marlene Webber, Omie Singh,

Steven Ntsane, Neville Padia-chey, Susanna McIntosh, Clement Mhlanga, Matsobane Hlahla, Anne Kirkpatrick, Thelma Henderson, Hemanthkumar Neeraho, Peter Barnard, Erica Venter, Douglas Christmas, Mike Reddy, Siekeder Gani, Margaretha Meiring, Jill Mathiesen, Allie Norodien, Joseph Maart, Jacobus Koopman, Choolwaithe Singh, Rosemary Jacobs, Koos Oliphant, Ramola Parbhoo, Madhangith Ranjithi, Peter Booyesen, Premnath Singh, M Williams, Nizam Khan, Soobramoney Jayanathan, Roelof Pretorius, Philip Gohl.

Star 21/2/94

Boycott likely by strained Alliance

POLITICAL STAFF

The Freedom Alliance is expected to boycott today's meeting of the Negotiating Council, called to give the nod to compromises designed to draw dissenting parties into a political settlement. (304A)

However, there is continuing speculation that the FA is under increasing strain in the face of a determined initiative by the Government and the ANC to forge an inclusive political settlement.

There are indications that Bophuthatswana and some segments of the Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) may eventually become part of a settlement which would see them contest the April election.

There was also speculation this morning that Bophuthatswana might send a delegation to observe proceedings at the World Trade Centre today. Bophuthatswana and the AVF met ANC representatives for talks at the weekend.

There are, meanwhile, persistent rumours of dissension within the Inkatha Freedom Party following the surprise resignation of KwaZulu net minister Nkosi Simon Gumede on Friday. A leading London newspaper has claimed that King Goodwill Zwelethini is poised to switch his allegiance to the ANC.

The Sunday Independent said that in spite of his demand last week for "exclusive and independent sovereignty" over KwaZulu, the king was still negotiating for a role in the new dispensation.

All the FA members indicated last night that they would not attend the Negotiating Council meeting today, although it is believed some may send "observers".

The FA is to hold an execu-

► To Page 3

Star 21/2/94

Boycott likely by strained Alliance

◀ From Page 1

tive meeting this morning to discuss its formal response to last week's ANC initiative, in terms of which various concessions will be written into the Interim Constitution.

Parliament will convene in a week to pass the amendments. The Negotiating Council will meet to give the go-ahead for the amendments.

The FA executive gathering will be crucial, as FA leaders will thrash out the alliance's position on participation in South Africa's first nonracial election.

The IFP appears almost certain to boycott the poll.

Yesterday, IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi told more than 10 000 people in the Natal Midlands that all the IFP wanted was federalism such as the United States, Canada and Australia had, and not the flawed "abortion" of the National Party and the ANC.

"If we consent, then a future ANC government will be able to rob and blackmail us like the National Party did in the past," he said.

Well-placed negotiations sources are predicting that Bophuthatswana and certain elements of the AVF will contest the

election.

At another crucial meeting today, Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje will meet Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer. It is then that many observers believe a deal leading to Bophuthatswana's involvement in the transition could be brokered.

The ANC, the AVF and Bophuthatswana met for behind-the-scenes talks at the weekend. Discussions centred on the initiative announced by ANC president Nelson Mandela last week.

Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope said yesterday that the possibility of a negotiated settlement still existed.

Last night IFP negotiator Walter Felgate was pessimistic about a settlement, saying the ANC initiative did not meet key FA demands.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa yesterday left the door open for further negotiations and concessions by the ANC. Speaking at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park after a meeting of the ANC-aligned Patriotic Front, he said that even once the new proposals had been adopted by the Negotiating Council, "further negotiations will still happen".

(Report by C Whitfield, E Waugh, M Sparks and J Rantao, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

'Volkstaat council' plan

(304A)

CT 21/2/94

Govt, ANC offer new package

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — The government and the ANC have proposed the establishment of a 20-member "volkstaat council" after the April elections to cater for Afrikaner demands for a homeland.

They have also proposed the insertion of a constitutional principle on self-determination which, along with the 33 other principles in the interim constitution, will underpin the final constitution to be drafted after the election.

"The constitution may give expression to any particular form of self-determination provided there is substantial proven support within the community concerned for such a form of self-determination," the proposed principle states.

Government and ANC negotiators said at the weekend that the proposal should meet the compromise demands of Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader General Constand Viljoen and it was now up to Gen Viljoen to sell the package to his constituency.

However, some negotiators do not expect the CP and AWB to accept the deal, but are hoping Gen Viljoen will lead the rest of the Volksfront into the elections to prove his claims that 75% of Afrikaners support the demand for a volkstaat.

Executive

A previous compromise deal on a volkstaat made between the ANC and Gen Viljoen was rejected at a mass meeting of the Volksfront in Pretoria earlier this month.

Today's meeting of the negotiating council at Kempton Park will discuss these and other government and ANC proposals aimed at securing the Freedom Alliance's participation in the transition process, though the Alliance itself will boycott the meeting.

The proposal for a separate volkstaat council forms part of a new section to be inserted in the chapter in the interim constitution dealing with traditional authorities.

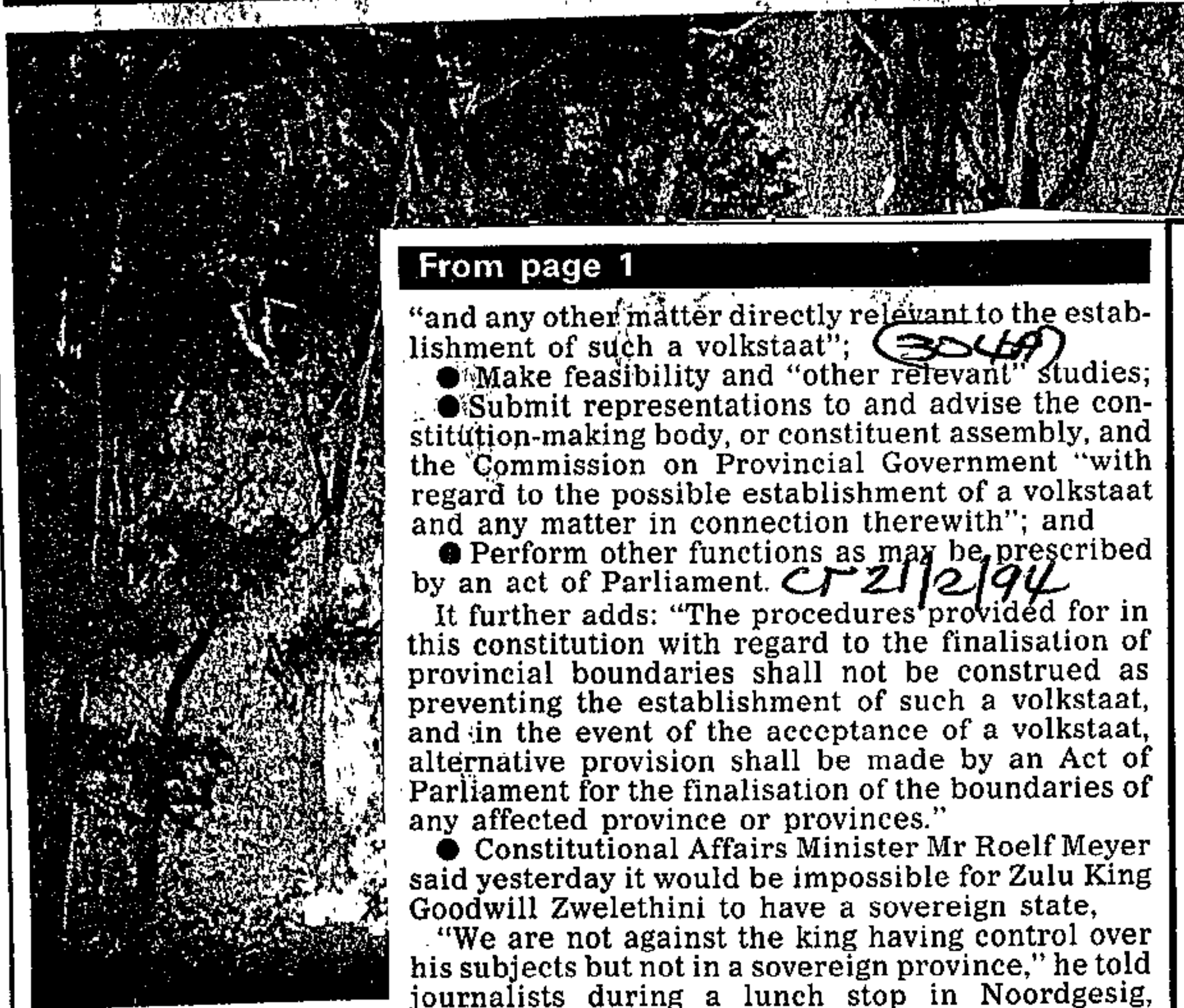
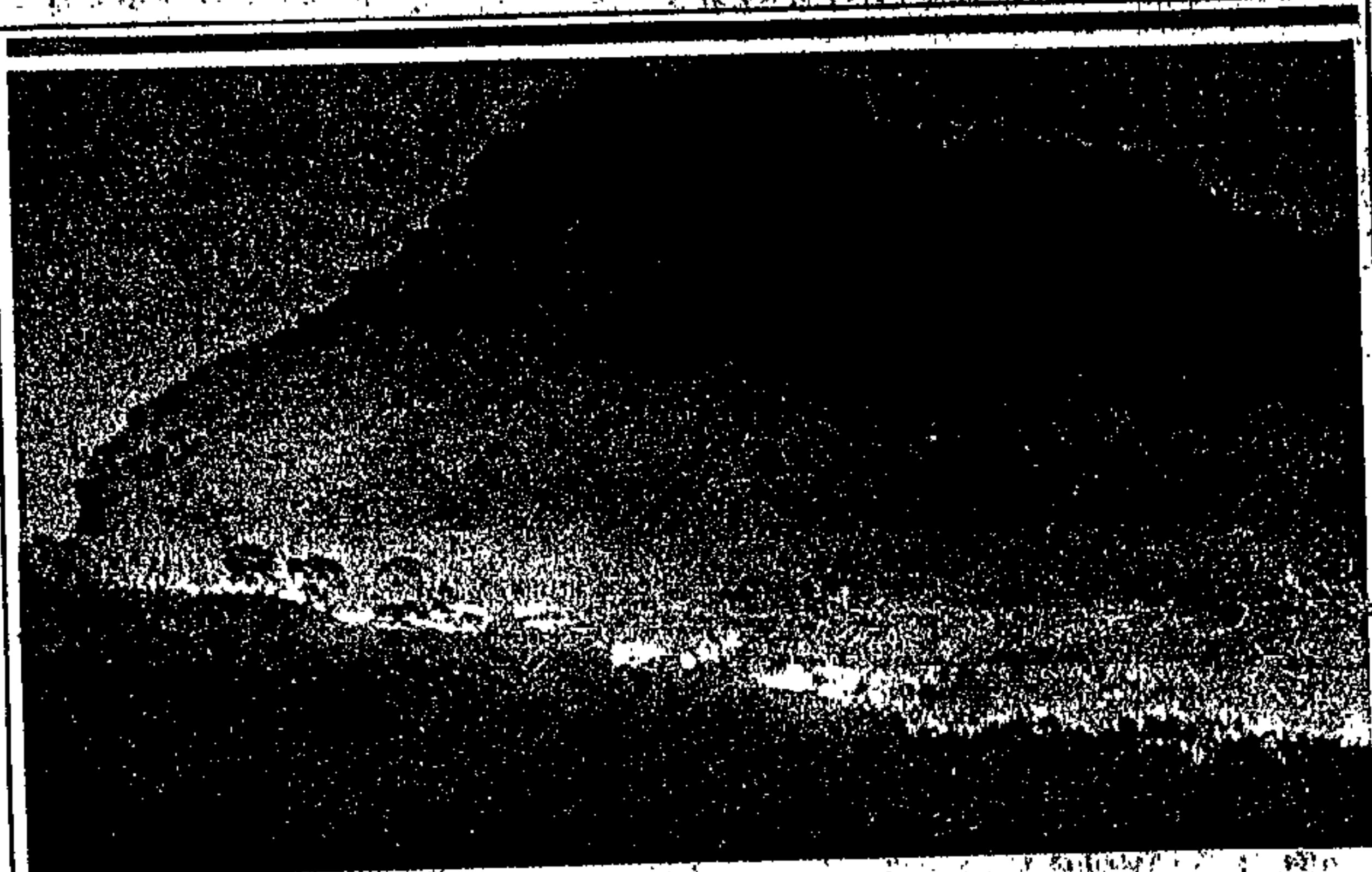
"There is hereby established a volkstaat council consisting of 20 members elected by Members of Parliament who support the establishment of an Afrikaner volkstaat," the proposal states.

The council will serve as a "constitutional mechanism" to enable proponents of a volkstaat constitutionally to pursue its establishment.

It will, for this purpose, be permitted to:

- Gather, process and make available information regarding proposed boundaries, powers and functions and legislative, executive and other structures of such a volkstaat, its proposed relationship with government at national and provincial level
- Buthelesi: We'll go on negotiating — Page 2

To page 2



MOUNTAIN INFERNO . . . (winds which saw the blaze of signal school last night. (Abc almost impossible to combat

From page 1

"and any other matter directly relevant to the establishment of such a volkstaat";

- Make feasibility and "other relevant" studies;
- Submit representations to and advise the constitution-making body, or constituent assembly, and the Commission on Provincial Government "with regard to the possible establishment of a volkstaat and any matter in connection therewith"; and
- Perform other functions as may be prescribed by an act of Parliament.

It further adds: "The procedures provided for in this constitution with regard to the finalisation of provincial boundaries shall not be construed as preventing the establishment of such a volkstaat, and in the event of the acceptance of a volkstaat, alternative provision shall be made by an Act of Parliament for the finalisation of the boundaries of any affected province or provinces."

● Constitutional Affairs Minister Mr Roelf Meyer said yesterday it would be impossible for Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini to have a sovereign state,

"We are not against the king having control over his subjects but not in a sovereign province," he told journalists during a lunch stop in Noordgesig, south-west of Johannesburg, while on an election campaign tour of Soweto.

He said the best solution would be writing the king's sovereignty into a provincial constitution.

'Latest proposals still flawed'

Alliance shuns talks to amend constitution

Biday 21/2/194

THE Freedom Alliance will boycott today's hastily convened meeting of the multiparty negotiating council at Kempton Park to amend the new constitution and extend the election registration date (30/4/94).

Alliance leaders are to meet today to discuss the proposals, which were finalised only on Saturday, but alliance chairman Rowan Cronje yesterday indicated that their stance was unlikely to change.

He said the latest government/ANC proposals remained "fundamentally" flawed because they again failed to address adequately the powers and functions of provinces. Alliance leaders had also not had enough time to consult on whether to attend today's meeting.

SACP national chairman and ANC senior negotiator Joe Slovo said yesterday the alliance boycott was a further indication its leaders had never intended to take part in the April election and would try to prevent it taking place.

"I am absolutely certain that it won't be long before the reasonable-minded people in the alliance who are extremely unhappy with their leaders will stand up and be heard," Slovo said.

Details of the negotiating council meeting were announced on Friday following ANC agreement on a package of constitutional amendments proposed by government, aimed at securing alliance participation in the election.

A special session of Parliament scheduled for next week will formally amend the new constitution.

The negotiating council is expected to adopt government/ANC proposals for two

DAVID GREYBE

ballot papers for the national and provincial elections, a name change to KwaZulu/Natal, a constitutional principle on self-determination, the establishment of a volkstaat council, increased powers for provinces to raise revenue, and powers for provinces to determine legislative and executive structures.

According to the proposed changes to the Electoral Act, parties still wanting to register for the election will have until Monday, March 7, to do so.

Alliance members said last week they had already rejected the ANC's package during talks two weeks ago.

Accusing the ANC of negotiating via the media in a bid to win the moral high ground, the alliance said it would reconsider its position only after discussing the details today.

On Saturday the proposals were faxed to the negotiating council's original members, including the alliance members who walked out in protest in July last year.

"The proposals don't address the powers and functions of provinces," Cronje said. He was referring specifically to Section 126 of the new constitution dealing with the legislative competence of provinces.

The alliance has demanded a separate list of "exclusive" and "concurrent" powers to be included in the new constitution which cannot be tampered with when a final constitution is drafted after the election.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa indicated at the weekend the ANC

□ To Page 2

Alliance Biday 21/2/194

□ From Page 1

now accepted provinces could exercise some exclusive powers, which would be included in the constitution (30/4/94).

But Slovo confirmed there were no proposed changes to Section 126 in the latest government/ANC proposals (1/2/94).

However, government and ANC sources hinted at the weekend the two parties might be prepared, as a "final" concession to the alliance, to consider reopening negotiations on Section 126.

Government and the ANC have proposed instead a change to the constitutional principle on the powers, functions and boundaries of the national and provincial governments in a bid to allay fears that the elected constitution-making body will ride roughshod over the interim constitution.

According to the government/ANC proposals, the powers and functions of provinces "shall not be substantially less than or substantially inferior to those provided for in this (interim) constitution".

Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi yesterday defended his party's stance on the elections in advertisements in Sunday newspapers, claiming Inkatha had not shifted the goalposts but had reduced its demands in December.

"We want federalism and we will continue to fight for it. We promise that once this is achieved, we will work day and night for a free and fair election to secure true democracy," the advertisement said.

Yesterday in Maritzburg he reiterated that Inkatha rejected the interim constitution, and would boycott the elections if its four "reasonable" minimum demands were not accommodated:

□ KwaZulu/Natal be given the right to draft its own constitution;

□ Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini be recognised as the constitutional monarch of KwaZulu/Natal;

□ The single ballot system be replaced by two ballots; and

□ KwaZulu/Natal and the other proposed provinces be given the right to raise taxes.

Inkatha could expect more pressure to try to force it to take part in the poll, Buthelezi said.

"We must also expect that if we do not fight the election and the ANC wins, they will do everything in their power to destroy Inkatha and KwaZulu," he claimed. However, Inkatha knew this and would be ready to face the "onslaught".

● Picture: Page 3

Govt, ANC

propose 20-member council

By Day 21/2/94

to pursue volkstaat idea

GOVERNMENT and the ANC have proposed the establishment of a 20-member "volkstaat council" after the April elections to cater for Afrikaner demands for a homeland.

They have also proposed the insertion of a constitutional principle on self-determination which, along with the 38 other principles in the interim constitution, will underpin the final constitution to be drafted after the election.

"The constitution may give expression to any particular form of self-determination provided there is substantial proven

support within the community concerned for such a form of self-determination," the proposed principle states.

Government and ANC negotiators said at the weekend that the proposal should meet the compromise demands of Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen and it was now up to Viljoen to sell the package to his constituency.

However, some negotiators do not expect the CP and AWB to accept the deal, but are hoping Viljoen will lead the rest of the Volksfront into the elections to prove his claims that 75% of Afrikaners support

DAVID GREYBE

By Day 21/2/94

in the chapter of the interim constitution dealing with traditional authorities.

"There is hereby established a volkstaat council consisting of 20 members elected by members of Parliament who support the establishment of an Afrikaner volkstaat," the proposal states.

The council will conduct its affairs "according to rules made by the council" and will serve as a "constitutional mechanism" to enable proponents of a volkstaat to pursue its establishment constitutionally.

It will, for this purpose, be permitted to: ☐ Gather, process and make available in-

formation regarding proposed boundaries, powers and functions and legislative, executive and other structures of such a volkstaat, its proposed relationship with government at national and provincial level "and any other matter directly relevant to the establishment" of the volkstaat; ☐ Make feasibility and "other relevant" studies; ☐ Submit representations to and advise the constitution-making body, or constituent assembly, and the Commission on Provincial Government "with regard to the

Volkstaat

By Day

21/2/94

☐ From Page 1

☐ To Page 2

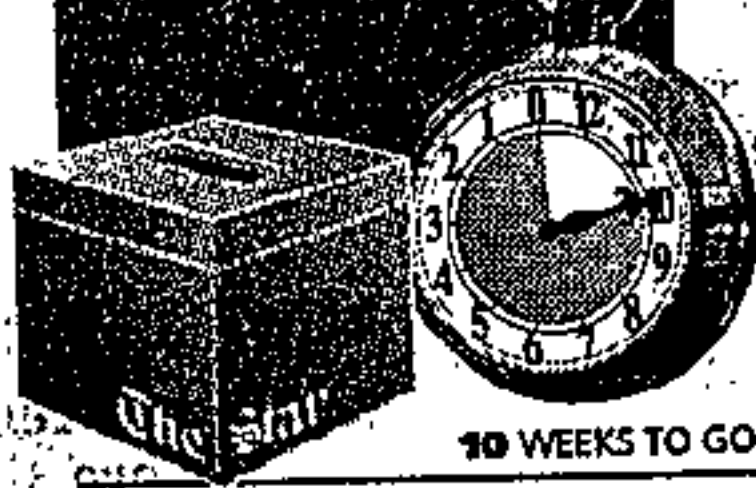
possible establishment of a volkstaat and any matter in connection therewith", and ☐ Perform other functions as may be prescribed by an Act of Parliament.

The proposal adds the procedures to be followed by the volkstaat council in performing its functions will be prescribed by Parliament. ☐ It further adds: "The procedures pro-

vided for in this constitution with regard to the finalisation of provincial boundaries shall not be construed as preventing the establishment of such a volkstaat, and in the event of the acceptance of a volkstaat, alternative provision shall be made by an Act of Parliament for the finalisation of the boundaries of any affected province or provinces."

3044

ELECTION 94
COUNTDOWN



WE have gone much, much further than we believe we ought to have done.

— Ramaphosa

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
and ESTHER WAUGH

Last night's last-minute decision by the ANC and the Government to add to the list of powers for regional governments and effectively make them exclusive to regions has yet again taken the Freedom Alliance by surprise.

The concession, which now comprehensively addresses the core of the FA's demands, was pushed through the multi-party Negotiating Council late last night in a clear effort to woo the FA back into the transitional process and secure its participation in the April poll.

Although FA chairman and Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje cautiously welcomed the latest concession this morning, he would not say whether the alliance would now reconsider its decision — announced after a meeting in Pretoria yesterday — to continue with a boycott of the election.

"I have not seen the actual proposal and I don't want to react negatively," he said. "However, it appears that many of the powers added to

► To Page 3

New major concession goes to heart of Right's demands

FA taken by surprise

Star 22/2/94

3047

1994

Star 22/2/94
New offer takes FA by surprise

◀ From Page 1

the list are at present exercised by municipalities. It is a pity this was not done yesterday."

Responding to a question, he said he did not know "whether there will be a need for a meeting of the FA or the individual parties will decide for themselves" what course of action to take in light of the concessions.

Bophuthatswana, which has recently held a series of meetings with the ANC — with the latest two last Friday and on Sunday evening — has been rumoured to be on the verge of agreeing to reincorporation and participation in the election.

At the end of the FA meeting yesterday, Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate said all its demands were equally important and the concessions would have to be considered as a package.

Reconvened for a special sitting at the World Trade Centre last night, the Negotiating Council

agreed that provincial legislation would in certain circumstances be competent to draw up laws for provinces.

The concession is additional to the compromise package on Wednesday.

The council also agreed that parties could apply to register until March 4 to take part in the elections (304A)

It further agreed on a double ballot which means voters will cast separate votes for the national and provincial legislatures.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said the proposals — handed to the council last night by the ANC and the Government — went "a long way" towards addressing the FA's concerns. "We have gone much, much further than we believe we ought to have done."

The series of amendments, agreed to by sufficient consensus at the Negotiating Council's special sitting, will now be put to a special sitting of Parliament next week.

Efforts by the multi-party Negotiating Council

to get the FA to come on board continued throughout yesterday.

The Negotiating Council sent a written invitation to the FA meeting inviting it to attend the World Trade Centre talks before 6 pm. (173)

But FA sources said last night that the letter arrived when their meeting had already closed.

Among the items the Negotiating Council agreed on were: (124)

- A two-ballot system.
- Changing all references to Natal in the Interim Constitution to KwaZulu/Natal.
- The right of provinces to draft their own constitutions, and to create their own legislative and executive structures.
- Increased fiscal powers for the regions.
- Inclusion of a constitutional principle on self-determination that would be binding.
- The establishment of a volkstaat council, consisting of 20 members elected by MPs who support the setting up of a white homeland.

(47 Sauer Street)

Large number of voters set to spoil ballot papers

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Considerably more than a million voters could spoil their votes on election day — a major portion of them through ignorance.

An extrapolation of results of a Matla Trust mock election survey indicates that if there was a 100 percent voter turnout on election day, an alarming 1.9 million voters would spoil their ballot papers — a figure that could have an impact on the result.

According to the survey, 10 percent of black respondents, 9 percent of Indians, 5 percent of whites and 4 percent of coloured respondents spoiled their votes.

These percentages, when calculated as proportions of the 22 million total electorate,

showed that 1.5 million black voters, 176 000 white voters, 79 000 coloured and 54 000 Indian voters could spoil their votes in a 100 percent poll.

Although such a turnout is highly unlikely, the figures will be alarming for voter educationists battling to reach the millions of South Africans who have never voted.

Concern

(304A)

According to the survey — which involved 8 000 respondents of all races spread countrywide — spoiled votes resulting from ignorance were found mainly in the black electorate.

This is fuelling concern that a substantial percentage of these voters will be deprived of the vote due to a lack of education.

It is also believed that major

parties could lose a considerable number of votes because of this problem.

Of every 10 black respondents who spoiled their papers, four did so out of ignorance. Another four could not read. The remaining two were unsure of which party to vote for.

The survey results showed voter ignorance was extremely high in the north-western, eastern and northern Transvaal. Voter ignorance was more prevalent in the rural areas, but was also unacceptably high in the urban areas in the Transvaal, PWV, eastern Cape and Natal, said Barry Gilder, head of Matla Trust's communications department.

Voter educationists are also concerned about voter fears that the poll will not be secret.

(47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Electoral Commission spells out funding rules

How parties will share pie

Star 22/2/94

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Taxpayers and foreign governments will be footing the bill for electioneering by registered political parties, each of which gets an equal financial injection despite the differences in their support levels.

One condition, however, is that they produce an opinion poll showing they have at least 2 percent support regionally or nationally.

According to the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC), the electoral fund — consisting of State funds and donations from the international community — has been divided in two.

One half is earmarked for pre-election campaigning and the other for parties gaining seats in Parliament afterwards.

GOVERNMENTS overseas and SA taxpayers will to a large extent foot the bill for election campaigns of political parties

If a party produces a petition with at least 10 000 signatures instead of an opinion poll of at least 2 percent support, it will be entitled to half the full money grant.

A party standing regionally only, and showing a 2 percent or more support poll, is entitled to a quarter of the full grant.

If the party can only raise signatures, it will get one-



eighth of the amount. At least 3 000 are needed for a regional party.

The second 50 percent of the electoral fund has also been divided in two.

Twenty-five percent has been earmarked for parties that obtain one or more seats (they will get equal amounts).

Another 25 percent is to be distributed between parties in

Parliament on a proportional basis, depending on support.

"In other words, the smaller parties, while they might get the same amount as the bigger parties initially, will end up with much less at the end of the election process," a spokesman for the IEC said.

Aside from the electoral fund, each political party is being funded by its own donors.

The ANC, in particular, is receiving substantial assistance from foreign governments.

Sources could not give a ballpark figure for the amount in the electoral fund, but it is expected that each voter will cost a party between R1 and R3 in campaign money.

There are 22 million eligible voters.

Volkstaat^{304H} CT 22/2/94 'not viable'^{304A}

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG. — Businessmen and industrialists operating within proposed "volkstaat" areas are overwhelmingly opposed to secession and may refuse to accept or recognise an Afrikaner state.

Businessmen, including those in the right-wing camp, are opposed to a volkstaat because they feel they will be expected to carry a financial burden which will eventually have disastrous consequences for their operations.

Sources in commercial associations in the Transvaal said the concept of an ethnic state enjoyed virtually no support among industrialists and businessmen.

Some businessmen were already investigating alternatives, which could include the rezoning of business areas to remove them from the control of pro-volkstaat town councils. The proposed volkstaat includes much of the Transvaal and Free State, excluding the major metropolitan areas such as Pretoria, Johannesburg and Bloemfontein.

Volksfront leaders have defended the financial viability of a volkstaat and claimed that the targeted area generates more than 12% of South Africa's Gross Domestic Product.

Nedbank chief economist Mr Edward Osborn has said that without a cohesive structure, supported by business, a separate state would be reduced to "horse and cart status", depending almost entirely on the farming community for its economy.

Disruption at firms feared

304A

CT 22/2/94

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

A CLAUSE in the Electoral Act could cause disruptions in sectors of commerce and industry, the Cape Town Chamber of Commerce warned yesterday.

It said in discussions last year between it and Cosatu, it was agreed by all parties that overt political campaigning would not be encouraged in the workplace in the run-up to the elections.

This view was subsequently endorsed by Cosatu's national coordinator, Mr Jesse Maluleka, who committed it to a political campaign which would be "outside work hours and resources",

Free access provision 'dismaying'

the chamber said in its latest newsletter, released yesterday.

In spite of this undertaking, the chamber had noted "with dismay" the provisions of clause 61 of the Electoral Act.

This clause states that any person impeding or threatening to impede or preventing any representative of any registered politi-

cal party from gaining access to a particular area, public or private, for political canvassing will be guilty of an offence.

The chamber said breach of this section could result in a fine not exceeding R60 000 or imprisonment not exceeding three years or both.

It said: "It is quite possible that a workforce that is dominated by members of a particular party will resort to violence to expel members of an opposing campaigning party from business premises and so disrupt normal business activity and damaging equipment and buildings."

The chamber said it had called on the Independent Electoral Commission to clarify this section of the act.

It's not enough — FA

Sowetan 22/2/94

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

■ ALLIANCE 'APPALLED' Old

THE Freedom Alliance yesterday accepted the concessions made by the Government and the African National Congress, but insisted they did not go far enough to draw the FA into the elections.

This was despite an invitation by the multiparty negotiating forum late yesterday afternoon for the alliance to take part in a debate at the World Trade Centre.

FA spokesman Mr Rowan Cronjé said while the invitation came long after most of the alliance's members had left, they could not, however, accept it because the issues that the FA would have liked to raise did not form part of the forum's agenda.

Cronjé said the alliance was appalled by the fact that its demands for exclusive provincial powers were not even dealt

demands not even dealt with:

with in the concessions as announced last week by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela. (304A) (18)

He said the issue of the granting of exclusive powers and functions to the provinces formed the main thrust of their demands and they were surprised that these were left out when the package of concessions was announced.

Meaningful powers

"The establishment of provinces is one thing, but if they are without meaningful powers to administer them, then (those provinces) are meaningless," said Cronjé.

Speaking at a news briefing after a meeting of FA members in Pretoria, spokesman Mr Walter Felgate said the "so-called concessions amount to no

more than the corruption of FA demands made during trilateral negotiations earlier on. They are not concessions at all."

While the FA welcomed concessions on the two-ballot system, the retention of the name KwaZulu/Natal in the constitution and the granting of fiscal and financial autonomy for the provinces, the alliance, however, said it was surprised that no concessions were made with regard to the powers of the provinces.

According to Cronjé the FA's demand for exclusive powers to provinces is contained in the December 19 document that formed the crux of the alliance's assertions.

(Lulama Luti, 61 Commando Road, Industria West)

Alliance surprised by new proposals

(304A)

ARG 22/2/94

JOHANNESBURG. — The last-minute decision by the ANC and the government to add to the list of powers for regional governments and effectively make them exclusive to regions has yet again taken the Freedom Alliance (FA) by surprise.

The concession, which now comprehensively addresses the core of the alliance's demands, was pushed through the multiparty Negotiating Council late last night.

FA chairman and Bophuthatswana chief negotiator Rowan Cronje today cautiously welcomed the latest concessions.

"I have not seen the proposal and I don't want to react negatively," said Mr Cronje.

Responding to a question, he said he did not know "whether there will be a need for a meeting of the FA or if the individual parties will decide for themselves" on action in light of the concessions.

Bophuthatswana, which has held a series of meetings with the ANC, has been rumoured to be on the verge of agreeing to participation in the election.

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate said the concessions would have to be considered as a package.

Reconvened for a special sitting at the World Trade Centre last night, the Negotiating Council agreed that provincial legislation would in certain circumstances be competent to draw up laws for provinces.

The council also agreed that parties could apply until March 4 to register to take part in the elections.

The series of amendments will now be put to a special sitting of parliament next week.

Among the amendments:

- A two-ballot system.
- Changing all references to Natal in the Interim Constitution to KwaZulu/Natal.
- The establishment of a volkstaat council consisting of 20 members elected by MPs who support a white homeland.

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

Mandela asks Clinton to help prod Alliance

ARG 22/2/94 (304A)
PETER FABRICIUS
The Argus Foreign Service

WASHINGTON. — In response to an appeal for help from ANC leader Nelson Mandela, President Clinton is considering ways of trying to persuade the leaders of the Freedom Alliance to take part in the April elections.

It is understood that Mr Mandela has also appealed to other world leaders.

White House sources said yesterday that Mr Mandela had telephoned Mr Clinton and had asked him to use "whatever influence he could to draw other parties into the process".

They said Mr Clinton was considering several options.

A spokesman said that Mr Clinton "pledged that the United States will continue to work to persuade all groups that participation in the election is the best route for them in order to influence the future course."

● The ANC and the government last night made further concessions in an attempt to draw the Freedom Alliance into a settlement.

The multiparty Negotiating Council, reconvened for a special sitting at the World Trade Centre, agreed that provincial legislation would be competent to draw up laws for provinces, subject to several conditions.

Eight further powers were also added to the list of provincial powers set out in the Interim Constitution.

These concessions were further to the compromise package announced last Wednesday.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said: "We have gone much, much further than we believe we ought to have gone".

There was now no reason for the FA not to take part in the election or the transition process, he said.

(News by P Fabricius, National Press Building, 14th Street and F Street, Washington, DC, and E Waugh and K Matzumba, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg).

Poll registration deadline extended

New regional concession to woo Alliance

BIDAY 22/2/94

THE ANC and government last night pushed through a further amendment to the constitution in another attempt to woo the Freedom Alliance back into the electoral process.

In spite of the alliance's refusal to attend yesterday's meeting of the negotiating council at the World Trade Centre, the council agreed to amend a key section in the interim constitution dealing with the powers and functions of regions.

This latest concession will remove all reference to exclusive or concurrent powers, allowing provincial legislatures more freedom from central government. Essentially it is a compromise between the ANC's refusal to accept provinces having exclusive powers, and the alliance's fears of central government overriding provincial decisions if it had concurrent powers.

ANC negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa told the council that the amendment effectively gave provinces exclusive powers in all areas within their competency.

The council also amended the Electoral Act, extending the date for parties to register for the elections to midnight on March 4. This gives parties until March 9 to submit their lists of candidates.

Yesterday afternoon the council sent the alliance a written invitation, asking it to join discussions on amending the constitution. However the alliance turned down the invitation after its four-hour meeting in the Botswana embassy in Pretoria.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje reportedly proposed to government negotiator Roelf Meyer that the council mandate the multiparty planning committee to ne-

BILLY PADDOCK
and DAVID GREYBE

gotiate directly with the alliance. Sources said Meyer and Ramaphosa suggested that he discuss this with other alliance members to firm up the proposal.

Alliance leaders also rejected the government/ANC package of proposed constitutional amendments. Referring to the alliance's demand for exclusive provincial powers, Cronje said: "The most important issue is not even on the agenda."

The alliance said: "It could have been possible, had the trilateral negotiations not been unilaterally terminated (by government and the ANC), to reach consensus on these proposed amendments as announced (last week) by the ANC (30/4/94)." (30/4/94)

The alliance claimed the government/ANC package had been "selectively formulated to distort the alliance's compromise proposals" made in December.

Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Walter Felgate said the constitution remained "fatally flawed". He accused government and the ANC of trying to replace talks with the alliance with the "failed" negotiating council.

In debate at the negotiating council, former alliance member, Ciskei negotiator Mickey Webb said too little was being given too late and called for meaningful changes to the powers and functions of regions.

Meyer pleaded with Inkatha Freedom Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg, Afrikaner

□ To Page 2

Alliance

BIDAY 22/2/94

Volksfront leader Gert Constand Viljoen and AWB leader Eugene Terreblanche to respond positively to the amendments to the constitution saying they "really address your concerns", and the alliance leaders should not deny their people the right to vote. (30/4/94) (HA)

Meanwhile, TIM COHEN reports that the fourth meeting between Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini and President F W de

Klerk is scheduled to take place soon, possibly today, following their summit in Durban last week.

The meeting, being held as a further effort to satisfy the king's demands for autonomy, follows a working group meeting between representatives from both sides last Saturday.

Report by W Paddock and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● Comment: Page 10

□ From Page 1

Major parties mum on campaign cash

TIM COHEN

THE major political parties are silent on how much they intend spending on their election campaigns, with the NP and the ANC both declining to comment on the state of their election war chests.

By contrast, the DP was forthright about its campaign expenses, with DP national organiser James Sefle expressing confidence that the R8m expenditure estimate of the DP's national office would be enough.

The ANC declined to comment on a Weekly Mail report that quoted ANC treasurer-general Thomas Nkobi as saying the organisation was "struggling to avoid going into debt".

The report also suggested the organisation was struggling to persuade its US office to transfer R1,7m raised by ANC president Nelson Mandela in the US last year.

The ANC's original R300m campaign estimate has apparently been drastically reduced. The Weekly Mail quoted Nkobi as saying the R58m target for international contributions

had not been reached.

The report said ANC chief representative in Washington Lindiwe Mabasa, high on the ANC's list, was being blamed for not following up on pledges worth R6,2m following Mandela's US trip.

Meanwhile, the NP said it was not prepared to divulge any information on its campaign budget.

The party was prepared to say that the largest single expenditure item was marketing and information, and that its main source of financing was donations.

Party insiders said the NP was likely to spend at least as much as the ANC intended spending. They pointed out that the amount spent on campaign advertising had been about equal so far.

Sefle said the DP's regions were expected to do a large part of their own fundraising. The

amount of income expected varied from R250 000 in the northern Cape to R3m in the PWV region, he said.

Parties will have their resources boosted by disbursements from the Independent Electoral Commission, which originally said about R22m would be available for parties taking part.

The TEC recently recommended that this amount be trebled and the matter is under consideration by the TEC's finance subcommittee. Participating party officials have expressed confidence that the final amount will be about R90m.

A complex formula has been established for the division of these funds between the political parties, partly related to the amount of support parties eventually gain in the election.

However, the smaller parties will gain disproportionately from the fund, with the DP estimating that it will get about R2,5m if the amount is increased.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

Parties will answer for candidates' acts

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has published far-reaching electoral regulations which include provisions that presume political parties are responsible for the actions of their office-bearers and candidates.

The regulations, a supplement to the Electoral Act, were published in the Government Gazette at the weekend, and provide detailed provisions on almost all aspects of the April elections.

Included are provisions on how disputes will be handled and on voting procedures. The duties of monitors and international observers are also described.

One of the most far-reaching aspects of the regulations creates a legal presumption that parties are responsible for the actions of their leaders, candidates, office-bearers, employees and agents, but are not responsible for their supporters' actions.

Electoral tribunals, which have extensive powers including the power to cancel a party's registration, will be guided by this presumption when making decisions.

The presumption is limited by an additional provision which stipulates that a party will not be held responsible if it can be proved that it could not have prevented an offence.

However, the provision is considered to place additional pressure on party leaders to ensure that their office-bearers and candidates act responsibly.

Another provision stipulates that tribunal proceedings will be open to the public unless good order or any person's safety could be compromised.

TIM COHEN

A separate IEC legal notice gives the eastern Cape four more seats, the northwest province four fewer seats and Natal one more seat than the numbers suggested in the new constitution.

Meanwhile, the IEC has denied a report in the Sunday Nation that suggested taxpayers' money would be squandered by the commission's purchase of 20 crop-dusting aircraft to monitor the election.

Funds for the operating costs of the aircraft during the contract period would be raised from concerned SA business and foreign agencies, without any expense to taxpayers, the commission said.

In another development, an IEC delegation led by chairman Judge Johann Kriegler met Azapo in Johannesburg yesterday.

Sapa reports Kriegler said the IEC and Azapo delegations had reached agreement on Azapo's anti-voting campaign.

Azapo president Ithumeleng Mosala said Azapo would allow all political parties, including traditionally white parties, to campaign in the townships, despite its call for a boycott of the elections.

But he could not guarantee how supporters would react to campaigning by white parties.

"We cannot guarantee what our members and people will do on the ground. But we as Azapo ... will enforce and will encourage our people to focus on the actual political programme which Azapo will be utilising for its campaign."

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and D Isaacson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

focus on elections

Sowetan 23/2/94

ONE disconcerting fact and one reassuring fact override the increasingly fevered debate over whether or not there will be a free and fair election in April.

The disconcerting fact is that, come what may, South Africa will not get a better chance of holding an election than the one we have.

Whatever the Inkatha Freedom Party and the far right might decide to do, and whether or not their threats of "civil war" and "limited violence" come to pass, there is no doubt that the next 64 days will be our best shot at setting up a true democracy.

The prospect of another ballot, with the present Government remaining in limbo for the weeks or months it would take to hold it, and with pervasive violence and emotions at fever pitch, and the economy precariously balanced, is infinitely remote.

And the prospect of the freedom and fairness of such a further election being greater than the one we are about to embark upon, would be even more remote.

In the event of the Independent Electoral Commission, and the thousands of foreign observers, finding the April election to have been fatally flawed, the present Government would remain in power. But it would be unlikely to do so alone.

It is already committed to the ideal of a government of national unity and in a constitutional crisis it would be thrust towards such a solution by the need to appease, and win the support of, major parties like the ANC.

Reassuring fact

The reassuring fact is that those who threaten to resist the election are doomed not only to fail, but to fail with humiliating certainty.

Even if they were to do their very worst, their options now are vastly narrower than their bold and menacing rhetoric would have the country believe.

One worst case scenario would be for them to try to create so much violence and mayhem that an election would be impossible.

The wave of bombings and sabotage of the past weeks, and the Creighton massacre and other apparent attempts to spur violence and retribution, may have persuaded some that this option may have been chosen already by some.

But in the most unlikely event of a catastrophic breakdown of law and order, where the stability of the state was seriously threatened, the chances are overwhelming that the parties participating in the election would band together and agree to allow President FW de Klerk to use the emergency powers he has to suspend the constitution and rule by direct decree.

Given the momentum towards consensus which is already at work among the participating parties, and the likelihood that a crisis would unite them as never before, such a step probably would be a prelude to the formation of a government of national unity without the benefit of an

The chances of the far right or the Freedom Alliance successfully sabotaging the coming elections are infinitely remote, argues political analyst

Hugh Robertson:

‘The far right and their military cohorts have proved over and again their spectacular talent for political misjudgment’

election, through the Transitional Executive Council.

There is another worst case scenario, one which the Government has confirmed it was warned about by the country's intelligence establishment last month — the possibility of an attempted coup.

The temptation of a coup must have teased more than a few idle minds as the momentum of change gathered pace — all the more so in the light of the many military men in the ranks of the far right and the fact that they have at their disposal commandos, and perhaps impis, and sympathisers in the country's existing security forces.

The far right and their military cohorts have proved over and again their spectacular talent for political misjudgment. But their foolishness aside, what would be the prognosis of an attempted coup?

According to Government spokesmen, military intelligence has warned De Klerk that there might be resistance from some in the SADF to shooting at their own kith and kin if there were an attempted coup or a showdown with the far right.

By the same token this resistance would apply as much to the very extensive shooting at kith and kin from the other political direction that would be needed if a coup were to succeed.

And in a situation of massive violence and disruption, the reaction of the security forces almost certainly would be to contain the violence, and not to fulfil the wild political ambitions of small groups, thereby vastly escalating the bloodshed and putting at far greater risk the lives of everyone in the security forces and the country.

Furthermore, in the very unlikely event of the very worst case scenario — a successful coup — what would the perpetrators do with their prize? They could not seriously expect to survive under the combined weight of internal insurrection, the collapse of the economy and worldwide retribution.



FW de Klerk

With almost heroic persistence, those committed to taking part in the election are bringing a reality home to the boycotters — that whatever the opposition might be to the election in April, whatever the level of violence, and whatever the judgment might be here and abroad on the freedom and fairness of the ballot, there is a political inevitability about the process now under way.

It overwhelms virtually all present, or potential, obstructions and there is every chance that, given time and concentration, it might even impinge on the thinking of the Freedom Alliance leaders themselves.

Certainly the alliance has a great capacity for causing mischief, to everyone's misfortune — including its own. But it has no capacity at all for succeeding with its mischief. For the time being the larger parties are attempting to prevent it from even embarking on such a course, in the interests of the country as a whole.

But when the talking stops, and the hard thinking really begins, the Freedom Alliance would have to be monumentally foolish not to recognise that there is an historic process under way which cannot be stopped.

The alliance is trapped in a political cul-de-sac. The polls show that the election holds not a glimmer of hope for its members in their role as boycotters, the prospect of the election being disrupted, or being declared unfree and unfair, likewise provides no chance of stopping the inevitable transfer of power, and the chances of staging a successful uprising-coup are absurdly remote.

What is left is either to take part, with modest expectations, or to disappear — quietly, or by leaving an odious smudge on South African history behind them.

(Comment by HS Robertson, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town.)

R40m for votes

CT 23/2/94

(3044)

**Own Correspondent
JOHANNESBURG. — A R40-million election fund to inspire the electorate, educate voters and reinforce political tolerance was launched here yesterday.**

Organisers claimed the campaign would be "probably the largest, most intensive publicity campaign yet seen in Africa" and would aim to reach the total electorate in the next nine weeks.

The media, pop musicians and sportsmen were given a preview yesterday of the campaign, which will include conventional TV, radio, newspaper and billboard advertising, as well as other avenues such as rural concerts, road shows and lectures and groups.

The campaign's slogan will be "Business stands for building a great nation" and will include a logo emblazoned with the words "participation", "goodwill" and "prosperity".

Former Barlows chairman Mr Mike Rosholt said the fund val-

ued the wide range of endorsements it had received, in particular those from the Independent Electoral Commission, the Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative and the Independent Forum for Electoral Education. It had been agreed to by all 21 signatories to the TEC.

Extensive discussions had also been held with many non-political interest groups, and trade unions had acknowledged that the fund had a positive role to play.

Black business

Mr Rosholt said about half the estimated R40m the fund intended to spend would be in the form of services in kind. Between 60% and 70% of the rest had already been raised, he said.

The fund claims support from a wide range of business organisations, and has the "tacit support" of black business organisations.

Its patrons will be Mr Rosholt, Sankorp chief executive and Absa chairman Mr David Brink and Independent Development Trust chief executive Mr Wise-

man Nkhulu. Represented on its board of directors are Shell, BP, PG Bison, Samcor, Eskom, Sasol, and Anglo American.

Delivering the keynote address at the launch, Mr Rosholt said that in the past business concentrated all its efforts on economic growth. This was no longer possible "because we have now learned that politics, economic growth and social development are inextricably linked. None can be tackled in isolation."

He said this was the basic rationale for initiating the campaign, which aimed to encourage a climate for hope, stability and tolerance and encourage participation in the democratic process.

Mr Rosholt stressed that the business campaign would complement, not duplicate, existing programmes.

Business needed to encourage a "bridging" climate of tolerance so that after the election the country could achieve a sustainable economic growth path without which a "new South Africa" could not hope to succeed, he said.



FUN AT THE SHOW... Aletia Oosthuizen, 3, of Pretoria and Armand Ackerman, 4, of Johannesburg were having fun at the opening of the Cape Show at the Goodwood Show Grounds yesterday.

Picture: STEWART COLMAN

FW calls in the heavies

Sowetan 23/2/94

■ AFRICA ANALYSIS (3044) Nat motive in
urging IFP to rejoin negotiation process:

Sowetan Africa News Service

STATE PRESIDENT FW de Klerk is trying to enlist the help of two former African heads of state to persuade Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and his Inkatha Freedom Party to rejoin the negotiation process and participate in the forthcoming elections.

According to the London newsletter *Africa Analysis*, De Klerk hopes to get former Nigerian head of state, General Ibrahim Babangida and former Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda to try to convince the Zulu leader to abandon his call for a double ballot (to which the

ANC and the Government have already acceded), entrenched regional constitution (on which the two major players have recently made significant shifts) and federalism. *Africa Analysis* claims that De Klerk was still hoping a diplomatic miracle is possible to get Buthelezi on board, and that an alliance can be forged between the National Party and Inkatha in Natal to snatch the province out of reach of the ANC.

"However, if the IFP boycotts the process, there is likely to be a heavy abstention by black voters (in Natal). This will allow the IFP to claim that it represents the majority of (Zulu-speaking) blacks in Natal." (Report by J. Latakomo 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg.)

Business to spend R40m on poll drive

MARCIA KLEIN and TIM COHEN

THE Business Election Fund, launched yesterday, would spend about R40m in the next 65 days on a media campaign to inspire the electorate, educate voters and reinforce political tolerance, former Barlows chairman Mike Rosholt said.

Organisers said the campaign would "probably be the largest, most intensive publicity campaign yet seen in Africa".

With the slogan "Business stands for building a great nation", the campaign includes TV, radio, newspaper and billboard advertising, as well as rural concerts, roadshows and lectures. (304A)

Rosholt said the fund had received endorsements from the Independent Electoral Commission, the Democracy Education Broadcast Initiative and the Independent Forum for Electoral Education. It had been agreed to by all 21 TEC signatories.

Discussions had been held with non-political interest groups and trade unions had acknowledged the fund's positive role.

Rosholt said about half the estimated R40m in spending would be in the form of services in kind. Between 60% and 70% of the remainder had already been raised.

The fund is supported by a wide range of business organisations, and has the "tacit support" of black business groups. Its patrons are Rosholt, Sankorp CE and Absa chairman David Brink and Independent Development Trust CE Wiseman Nkhulu. Shell, BP, PG Bison, Samcor, Eskom, Sasol and Anglo American are on the board.

Report by M Klein and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

● See Page 6

DAVID GREYBE
and TIM COHEN

TALKS remained deadlocked yesterday with an inconclusive end to President F W de Klerk's meeting with Zulu King Goodwill Zwelethini and the Freedom Alliance expressing doubts about additional constitutional concessions. **B/Day**

In a short statement after the Zwelethini-De Klerk meeting, the parties agreed to set up a joint working committee to hold further talks. They again discussed the need to ensure proper recognition and constitutional accommodation for the Zulu king and the KwaZulu kingdom.

The two sides agreed to extend the joint working group's mandate to consider all aspects of this question urgently and report back as soon as possible. **23/2/94**

De Klerk and king make no progress

The terseness of the statement suggests that no progress has been made in talks.

It now appears doubtful whether a compromise can be found on Zwelethini's demand for an sovereign Zulu kingdom, with the Zulu delegation expressing little or no confidence in the constitutional process.

The three-hour talks were attended by government Ministers and senior officials, while the king's delegation included Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelez. **(304A) (105)**

Meanwhile, Freedom Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said this week's amendment

☐ To Page 2

Talks fail

B/Day 23/2/94
to the constitution appeared not to change anything fundamentally. "It appears to have been a symbolic gesture on the part of government and the ANC to accommodate the alliance." He said the alliance had received the proposal yesterday. **(105)**

Sapa reports that Buthelezi said the latest concession amounted to nothing more than municipal authority for provinces. The scrapping of the word "concurrent" from legislation on regional powers was not the alliance's bottom-line demand.

Cronje said alliance members would study the proposal in the next few days, before a possible meeting to respond formally. He did not rule out a resumption of talks with government and the ANC.

ANC negotiator Penuell Maduna said **(304A)**

☐ From Page 1
"We've given them virtually everything they've wanted, except for a volkstaat and an independent Zulu state. Those they must win in the forthcoming elections."

He said the ANC would never shut the door on further negotiations. "We are ready to engage them if they want to."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said the constitutional amendment package adopted at the World Trade Centre on Monday addressed all the concerns raised by the alliance.

"There is now nothing to keep them from participating in the elections. For the sake of our country's future we can only hope that reason will now prevail."

Report by D Greybe and T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and A Lefoka, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

● See Page 16

Volkstaat acceptable if voters want it — ANC

THE ANC would accept the establishment of a volkstaat if the Afrikaner Volksfront took part in the April elections and proved its claims of overwhelming Afrikaner support for the concept, an ANC negotiator said yesterday.

"If they win overwhelming support for a volkstaat they've got it," ANC NEC member and negotiator in talks with the Volksfront Penuell Maduna said.

"Political parties should submit to the will of the electorate."

However, ANC constitutional negotiator Valli Moosa said the ANC still believed a volkstaat was not feasible.

Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Vil-

DAVID GREYBE

joen reiterated his claim that at least 75% of Afrikaners supported a volkstaat.

Sticking points in talks have been the Volksfront's failure to adequately define the volkstaat area and the ANC's insistence that no one be removed and that no second-class citizens will be allowed.

Negotiators confirmed that talks were continuing to conclude a "political accord" similar to the one they almost signed last December. The parties agreed then to postpone the signing.

The talks have also been bedevilled by ANC president Nelson Mandela's repeated

statements that the ANC would never grant the Afrikaners' demand for a separate homeland. However, technical groups representing the ANC and Volksfront have continued meeting.

Viljoen said the constitutional principle on self-determination adopted at Kempton Park this week did not go far enough to ensure a volkstaat if there was proven support for it. "The principle is not only for Afrikaners. It applies to all groups."

A political accord with the ANC had to guarantee the establishment of a volkstaat if the Volksfront took part in the elections and proved its support was substantial.

□ To Page 2

Volkstaat

Maduna said the accord had to recognise that a nonracist, nonsexist, and democratic SA would be brought into being after the elections. The accord would also have to renounce violence as a means to achieve political goals.

Viljoen said the ANC and Volksfront had given themselves until March 15 to reach finality on the accord. Talks are expected to resume soon.

He ruled out a separate Volksfront deal excluding the rest of the alliance. But he believed there was still time to reach an inclusive constitutional settlement provid-

ing for alliance participation in the elections. However, it was getting late in the day to mount a proper election campaign.

"We are part of the alliance and, provided its demands are met, we will participate in the elections. We stand together in the alliance," he said.

Viljoen said if the alliance took part in the elections, support for a volkstaat probably would be tested in the provincial ballot on April 26-28, not in the national ballot. Negotiators this week adopted a double-ballot system.

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

From Page 1

focus on the FA

A SIEGE mentality hung over the Negotiating Council of the multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre on Monday.

The representatives of 21 parties sat and deliberated on concessions being made to the Freedom Alliance, concessions demanded by that organisation.

But, as National People's Party leader Mr Amichand Rajbansi said, it was an exercise in futility unless they knew exactly what the attitude of the FA was regarding all the issues being amended in the interim constitution passed by the same council last year.

And so the council adjourned for lunch, hoping that by the time they resumed, they would get an indication from the FA meeting in Pretoria about how the rightwingers saw the concessions.

Effectively, it was the FA, sitting in Pretoria, that was directing and controlling the affairs at the World Trade Centre — by remote control.

When no word came through, the council decided to invite the FA to send a delegation to Kempton Park to explain their position.

The FA refused to go.

The council later amended the concessions, giving more powers to the provinces, which was one of the points the rightwingers had been demanding.

But until early yesterday, there was no indication that this would lure the grouping into the April elections.

The African National Congress and the National Party Government delegations gave the rightwingers the following:

- The establishment of a *volkstaat* Council, which would make its own laws, and powers including those of proposing boundaries;
- Two ballots instead of one;
- Exclusive powers for the provinces;
- Powers for provinces to levy taxes and collect revenue;
- The inclusion of KwaZulu as the prefix of the Natal province's name;
- The entrenchment of these clauses in the constitution so that the elected constituent assembly cannot tamper with the clauses; and
- An extension of the registration date for elections.

An exasperated ANC general secretary, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, told the council that the ANC had bent over backwards to accommodate the aspirations and fears of the far right, and that they now had no reason to stay out.

He said the FA had been a "difficult customer to negotiate with, who spoke with no unified voice and who shifted goal posts. The ANC has done everything humanely and politically possible", he said.

The desperation of the negotiators can be deduced from the ANC's agreement, even if only in principle, to the possibility of the existence of a *volkstaat* as demanded by the white extreme right.

For an organisation that has fought wars and

Sowetan 24/2/94
As the Freedom Alliance continues to dig in its heels and the ANC bends over backwards to accommodate them, has the entire process become an exercise in futility? Political Editor **Mathatha Tsedu** examines the question: *(113) 304A*



Amichand Rajbansi ... an exercise in futility.

waged battles for one undivided and nonracist South Africa, to concede to such a possibility must have taken some talking.

The catch is of course that the ANC insists that such a state should be based on the proven political support for such a concept in an election, and that it should not be based on racism.

It is, some would say, a fair demand to Eugene Terre'Blanche.

It is the same argument surrounding the Zulu monarchy. Such a monarchy should be declared by the provincial government elected by the people, the ANC insists.

This would mean that King Goodwill Zwelithini would have to wait for the outcome of the election, and in fact encourage participation so that those who support his idea should win.

The king of course does not agree, and insists that his monarchy must not be made a hostage of the results of elections.



Cyril Ramaphosa ... ANC bends over backwards.

In this he has the support of IFP leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who has so far shunned the idea of going into the elections.

But the far right clique has shown the power to destabilise the country and the negotiators feel they must therefore be wooed into the process.

Hence the meeting on Monday and the attempts to drag them in.

They are still resisting, for in the efforts to get them into the process, they have come to realise that the process seems unable to go on without them.

The efforts to get "an all inclusive settlement" have degenerated into a farce in which the far right issues demands and the rest of humanity gives in.

The far right has now until March 4 to register, if that date is indeed a deadline as defined in the normal English dictionary.

Will they or will they not?

ting ● Memorial for dead police

Death at FW rally

Sowetan 24/2/94

A NATIONAL PARTY SUPPORTER has been arrested for questioning by Kimberley police after a 37-year-old woman was shot dead during an NP rally in the coloured township of Roodepan last night.

The man was removed from a chaotic scene surrounding what would have been an NP rally addressed by President FW de Klerk.

Stones and rocks were thrown at De Klerk's chief campaign organiser and Deputy Minister Chris Fisser, when shooting broke out.

A woman was hit and apparently killed instantly, police confirmed afterwards. Fisser, who was ushered out of the melee under a hail of stones,

■ TOY PISTOL Youth arrested for firing several shots at De Klerk: *(304A)*

said later that police had taken an NP supporter for questioning.

Eye-witnesses, some from the media, claimed a man had drawn a pistol and shot into the crowd.

Earlier at Postmasburg, also in the Northern Cape, a black youth was arrested after pointing and firing a toy pistol at De Klerk's motorcade.

He stood on a street corner, went down on one knee in a firing position and pulled off several shots as the motorcade drove past.

Security men accompanying De Klerk turned round and arrested the youth. They confirmed later that he would be charged.

"He is lucky our snipers were not on that corner," a senior policeman said. "He could have been killed before it was established it was a toy pistol."

De Klerk had earlier cancelled an appearance at Kimberley's black township of Galeshewe yesterday because of alleged intimidation. — Sapa.

(P Claassen, Press Gallery, Parliament)

Families threaten to move back into Smartie Town houses

ARG 24/2/94
307

□ Squatters want real tenants in by 11am today

PIETER MALAN
Staff Reporter

FIVE of the families who were evicted from houses in Smartie Town near Hanover Park this week are threatening to move back unless the buildings are occupied by their real tenants by 11am today.

Last night security guards were still protecting some of the empty council houses.

The five families — nine adults and 17 children — are living in a makeshift shack of wood and blankets, while their belongings are in a rondavel used as a store for building materials.

A spokesman for the squatters, Hassiem Engel, said most of the 40 evicted families had moved back to where they had been staying before occupying the Smartie Town houses.

Five families were moved to the Tafelsig self-help scheme where the city council had given them building materials for shacks. Another five were squatting in Smartie Town.

Squatter Faldelah Williams said before the families occupied the Smartie Town houses they had lived in other people's backyards.

"Now other squatters have moved to those backyards and we have nowhere to go."

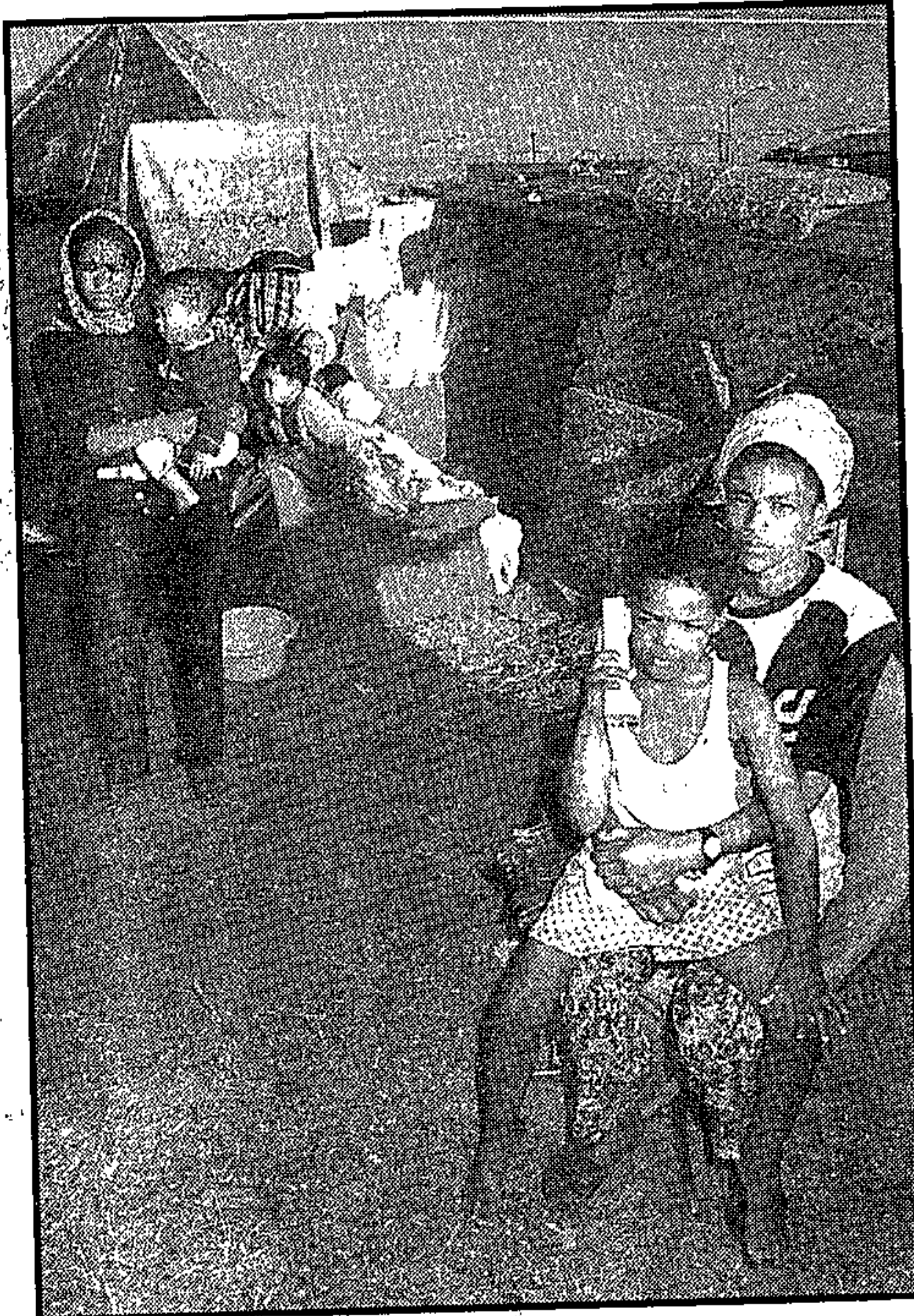
She said the city council had promised them building materials if they could find places to build shacks.

Mr Engel said some "legal" Smartie Town residents had agreed to allow the squatters to build shacks in their backyards, but the council had refused to allow this because they wanted Smartie Town to be a "model town".

A squatter said council housing director Charlotte Sims had promised them on Monday that "she will sort us out on Tuesday".

"But we are still sitting in the dirt and dust with our small children.

"We will move back in — if the council cannot find people



HOMELESS: Faldelah Williams, left, and Kamiela Rakiep outside the shack they share with seven adults and 17 children in Smartie Town. Picture: PIETER MALAN, The Argus.

willing to stay in these houses, we are quite willing."

Meanwhile, the families who were moved to Tafelsig have their own share of problems: council workers yesterday demolished one of the newly-built shacks, saying it was "standing in the wrong place".

Paul Langeveldt said he came home from work last night to find the shack he had built on Monday a heap of corrugated iron and wood.

His wife, Sharon, said council workers had demolished the

structure with a crane, damaging the wooden beams and a door in the process.

"They said the shack was standing on a golf course — but it was council workers who dropped us there on Monday, saying it was our new plot."

She said three other shacks were still on "the wrong plots".

"We are sick and tired of moving around. I have small kids and I want to settle down now in a new home, even if it is just a pondok."

Now DP unveils its manifesto

Sowetan 24/2/94
304A

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Democratic Party aims to be the watchdog on the abuse of power by the future government of national unity after the April election.

Launching the party's manifesto at the World Trade Centre in Kempton Park yesterday, DP leader Dr Zach De Beer said the individual had to be the engine of economic growth.

"People create wealth, not governments," said De Beer, emphasising the main tenet of the forthcoming campaign captured by election posters which read: "Protecting you from the abuse of power."

Tax levels needed to be significantly reduced after the fiscal deficit had been cut to three percent or less. Past wastage of public funds and the increased channelling of capital from the private sector to the State had to be tackled.

The DP believes that key State assets should be privatised to raise revenue and promote efficiency. The freeing of the economy from State interference, however, should be coupled with development programmes,

The DP believes that key state assets should be privatised to raise revenue and promote efficiency

such as massive labour-intensive housing schemes in partnership with the private sector.

It is also the only party to suggest export-processing zones to promote employment in the industrial sector.

State involvement in the administration of pension schemes is also mooted — to encourage wage-earners to contribute to a scheme if they do not contribute to their own. This will in effect reduce the State burden by removing the old age pension commitments.

The DP is aiming to win "a substantial minority" of the vote in April to provide a check on authoritarian tendencies already displayed by the National Party and ANC in backroom deals on the double ballot and the loading of the constitutional court, said De Beer.

Top firms say voter education improves employee relations

A SINCE survey of SA's blue chip companies shows voter education has been given high priority and has improved employee relations.

The survey was conducted by TWS Communications for training company MAST and 25 of the country's top 100 companies were polled. It did not name the respondents.

The survey found that 22 of the 25 respondents believed voter education was "critical" for business, and gave an opportunity for closer co-operation between management, employees

and unions.

These companies had completed voter education training among employees or were finishing training methods.

Three companies said they did not have voter education programmes in place and were not planning to in future. The reasons cited included a perception that it was seen as an "unimportant, time-consuming and sensitive poli-

tical issue" that affected profitability.

MAST MD Derek Jooste said although organisations were initially unsure of the benefits of voter education, they had come to realise that it was an important factor in strengthening relationships at all levels.

Apart from the short-term benefits, voter education was engendered by a shared belief in democracy which could assist in building a climate of tolerance within the company and the country.

JOHN BLUDU

Business 24/12/1994

Woman shot as protests upstage FW roadshow

DAVID GREYBE

POSTMASBURG — One woman was killed and others injured as ANC protesters forced President F W de Klerk to cancel two northern Cape rallies and abandon another yesterday. **BIDAY 24/12/94**

The woman was killed in fighting between NP and ANC supporters in Roodepan. De Klerk was hit on the head by a stone in Postdene and a youth was arrested in Postmasburg after pointing a toy gun at him. One of De Klerk's spokesmen, Chris Fisser, was stoned. **(304A)**

An angry De Klerk said: "The chilling fact is that the ANC leadership has no control whatsoever over its youthful members." It was "high time" the Independent Electoral Commission focused on its main tasks and, with the TEC, prevented intimidation in the run-up to the election.

Affidavits about intimidation submitted by the NP had been rejected as "too vague and embarrassing". However, after the latest disruptions, the IEC was welcome to call him as a witness, De Klerk said.

The IEC's northern Cape office was opened in Kimberley only yesterday and immediately met NP presidential campaign manager Coetzee Bester to discuss the incidents.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that the IEC's monitoring directorate said it would appoint an official to investigate De Klerk's allegations. It had not received allegations of intimidation from the NP.

Last night, the president's last stop in the Roodepan coloured township was cancelled after police said the situation was dangerous as NP and ANC supporters were shooting at each other.

Fisser was stoned by ANC supporters when he went to the township to speak to NP supporters. He said some NP supporters had retaliated. Shooting broke out and one person was killed. The situation was still tense late last night.

Earlier a planned rally in Kimberley's Galeshewe township was cancelled after the local civic association threatened that it would spark "the burning of cars and the shooting of people".

De Klerk said he had cancelled the rally to protect the lives of NP supporters. At

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FW roadshow

BIDAY 24/12/94

From Page 1

least two cars had been gutted in the township. Free and fair elections were impossible with such levels of intimidation. "The ball is now squarely in the ANC leadership's court. They must do something."

The roadshow's security head, Brig Pieter Scholtz, confirmed that a 17-year-old youth had jumped into the road as De Klerk's cavalcade entered Postmasburg and pointed a toy gun at the cars. **(304A)**

"If one of our sharpshooters had been near that corner, the youth would have been shot dead. Actually he should've been shot dead," said a security team member.

In the coloured township of Postdene, dozens of ANC supporters drowned out De Klerk's attempts to be heard over a loud-hailer system.

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

See Page 5

BUSINESS DAY, Thursday, February 24 1994

FW issues election challenge to Viljoen

DAVID GREYBE

POSTMASBURG — President F W de Klerk yesterday challenged Afrikaner Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Viljoen to take the "reasonable majority" in the Volksfront into the April election.

Any party which stayed out was admitting it did not "have the guts" to take on the ANC democratically, De Klerk said, referring to the refusal of the Inkatha Freedom Party and CP to take part.

Addressing a media conference in Postmasburg in the northern Cape on the first day of a two-day NP roadshow, he said it was "simply not true" that the package of constitutional amendments adopted this week did

not fundamentally improve the interim constitution. "I disagree with anybody who says the new constitution is not typically federal." (304A)

De Klerk said Viljoen's choice was to take the lead or accept co-responsibility for any violent situation which developed, even though his responsibility was to prevent violence.

It was sad to see a man of Viljoen's stature booed recently at a Volksfront meeting in Pretoria by the AWB "and other wild elements", he said.

Viljoen was now duty bound "to take the lead and to lead the reasonable people in the Volksfront" to a

part in the election.

Participants in Tuesday's Volksfront protests in Bloemfontein and Newcastle in support of a volkstaat were plain "cowboys and crooks", he said. "But at any moment it can develop into something ugly."

Government would not hesitate to use the law against any party which tried unconstitutional means to achieve its demands, De Klerk said, in a reference to supporters of a volkstaat and independent Zulu kingdom.

He appealed to the Volksfront's peace-loving supporters to distance themselves from the ultra-right's violence-oriented speeches and pleas.

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

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TML 216 Vermoulen



The DP launched its election manifesto at Kempton Park yesterday. From left are election candidates William Mnisi, Paige Cuffe, Tony Leon, Zach de Beer and Peter Soal.

Picture: ROBERT BOTHA

DP trumpets its election strategy

THE DP released its manifesto yesterday, adopting the theme "Protecting you from the abuse of power", on the same day as the party's "battle bus" went on its maiden voyage to campaign in calypso style in Alexandra township near Sandton.

The double-decker bus, festooned with balloons and posters, was well received by rain-drenched Alexandra residents, despite the continual blare of pop music and propaganda.

Few residents showed hostility towards the colourful entourage, although the wild enthusiasm which usually accompanies township visits by ANC president Nelson Mandela was not in evidence.

The roofless bus carried a host of DP candidates, including PWV leader Tony Leon and former Miss SA Michelle Bruce, who frequently clambered off to hand out pamphlets and balloons.

DP leader Zach de Beer said the "golden thread" that ran through the DP's manifesto was the "unique, shining belief of the democrats in the supreme worth of the individual human being".

The 10-page manifesto contained few surprises, expressing the party's vision of individual freedom and human dignity on a broad variety of topics.

The manifesto places a question mark over DP participation in the government of national unity, saying that should it gain more than 5% of the vote, it would not necessarily take up the Cabinet posts it

would be entitled to.

Whether the DP would accept the invitation to serve in the government of national unity would depend on whether participating parties would have the right to criticise government decisions publicly.

On economic solutions, the manifesto was specific about the need for strict control of expenditure, lower taxes and privatisation.

The party's economic plan called for a massive labour intensive housing and development programme and a compulsory state pension and medical scheme.

It pledged that the party would oppose "economic madness", including nationalisation, economic populism, socialism, creeping communism and the politicisation of education, housing and social services.

The party also gave notice that it intended fighting for additional constitutional reforms, including citizens' initiatives and proportional representation with constituencies.

The manifesto also pledges a tough law and order campaign which would put criminals in jail "where they belong".

It also called for a caring government which would ensure freedom from hunger, attempt to ensure a home for every family, care for the aged, ensure dignity for the disabled and right the wrongs of the past.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

Psychiatric patients wander into town

KATHRYN STRACHAN

HELPLESS patients from Bophelong Psychiatric Hospital were wandering the streets of Mafikeng yesterday as striking staff — fearing police harassment — fled the premises, the Mafikeng Anti-Repression Forum said.

Other patients were roaming about the premises, the forum said.

Meanwhile, strikes by hospital workers and public servants in Bophuthatswana's Odi region were suspended yesterday to give negotiations a chance, the Bophuthatswana information service said.

Public servants returned to work after a memorandum was submitted to the region's assistant governor with the demand that a response be given by tomorrow. They are demanding a refund of pension contributions before the reincorporation of Bophuthatswana into SA, better working conditions and higher salaries.

The information service said striking nurses and health workers at Bophelong Psychiatric Hospital had tried to prevent patients from being transferred to other institutions. It also claimed strikers turned away emergency cases, threw stones at police and intimidated non-strikers.

The forum, which has been monitoring the situation, denied these allegations, as well as the claim by the Bophuthatswana government that hospital workers had placed psychiatric patients between themselves and the police. Forum spokesman Bailey Mahlokoleng said unattended patients had walked outside but had not stood between the two groups.

The Bophuthatswana government said workers were also demanding the expulsion of Latvian doctors working at the hospital.

Election fears for KwaZulu

THE breakdown in talks between President F W de Klerk and Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini over an independent Zulu kingdom has sparked concerns that conducting elections will be extremely difficult in KwaZulu/Natal. **BIDAY 24/2/94**

Government, the ANC, the TEC and the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) are urgently trying to find ways of ensuring that election meetings and elections will be able to be held in the region.

Violence is expected to increase prior to the elections and government and the ANC have accepted that the Inkatha Freedom Party will boycott the polls.

The TEC's management committee could not find a solution on Tuesday, but a committee source said: "We were all

BILLY PADDOCK

acutely aware of the need to do something urgently to stabilise the situation."

An IEC source said it was "struggling to establish our elections infrastructure in the region and be confident that elections will be able to be conducted freely".

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that IEC head Judge Johann Kriegler said yesterday his commission was planning to organise debates between political parties in "no-go" areas. **(304A)**

The ANC and Inkatha said they would welcome such a move and would give it their full support.

Meanwhile, Home Affairs Minister

To Page 2

KwaZulu

BIDAY 24/2/94

From Page 1

Danie Schutte headed a government delegation meeting Zwelithini's emissaries in Cape Town last night. The discussions will continue today.

Zwelithini told De Klerk on Tuesday that he was not dependent on multiparty approval for the recognition of a sovereign Zulu kingdom. He was "simply claiming it".

But the ANC said the king's aspirations would never be met.

Sapa reports that ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki said: "There is no way we are going to restore the boundaries of the 19th century or return to political structures of the 19th century. It's not going to happen. That is a non-starter." **(304A)**

He said an end to violence, in which more than 14 000 people have died since February 1990, was essential for free and fair elections.

Meanwhile, the Freedom Alliance said

that, as a result of the changes to the interim constitution, SA now had a better and improved product.

Chairman Rowan Cronje said no decision had been made to boycott the elections. The alliance would assess the whole package before making a decision.

"However, in the end the individual members of the alliance will make their own decisions whether to boycott or contest the coming elections in view of the latest proposals," he said.

An ANC source said a further round of talks with Bophuthatswana was planned for this week "but unfortunately we have nothing arranged with the Afrikaner Volksfront or Inkatha".

Report by W Paddock and J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb; and P Bulger, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

See Page 14

NP the only winner with new concessions

With more and more concessions being granted to the Freedom Alliance, the National Party can finally claim some negotiating victories, writes **Chris Louw**

THE Freedom Alliance may still refuse to be enticed by the government and ANC's latest compromises into taking part in the elections, but at least Constitutional Development minister Roelf Meyer had reason to smile this week.

During the negotiations last year senior Nationalists had dismissed the waning support for their party with the promise that it will become easier to sell their successes at Kempton Park once the deal has been clinched. "We have a responsibility not to derail the process;

(304A) therefore we can't beat our own drum," was the standard argument.

In the event, the NP had little to show for its efforts when the negotiations came to an end. It was out-negotiated by a skillful ANC/Communist Party alliance.

When the negotiators gathered at the World Trade Centre on Monday to incorporate important changes to the transitional constitution, there was only one winner.

The Freedom Alliance parties — including the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Inkatha Freedom Party and the Bophuthatswana homeland — had already rejected the concessions. Senior ANC members admitted that they had walked "yet another mile" to accommodate minority fears. Only the NP was smiling.

The new concessions accepted by the country's negotiators in fact satisfied NP demands more than any one else's, including the Freedom Alliance parties.

For the first time the NP will now

WM 25/2-3/3/94 be able to claim some "victories" at the negotiating table.

These include:

- Devolution of power to the regions through the acceptance of the double ballot system.

- Stronger emphasis on the federal aspects of the new constitution through extended powers for the new provinces, including powers of taxation, exclusive (or sole) powers in all areas of competence, and a guarantee that provincial powers will not be substantially inferior to those of the new national assembly.

- Recognition of "minority rights" through the creation of a volkstaat council and acceptance of the principle of self-determination.

To add to the entrenching of federalism, provinces will now also be allowed to write their own constitutions and to create their own executives and legislatures.

All these concessions are in line with promises made to the electorate by the NP in the months preceding the negotiations. They also contradict SACP chairman Joe Slovo's recent claim that the ANC has achieved its goal of establishing a unitary state as opposed to the NP's aim to negotiate for federalism.

The concessions did in fact also go a long way towards satisfying the Freedom Alliance's more extravagant demands, but it was a forgone conclusion that the member parties — all sure to be reduced to their proper proportions through democracy — would not draw back the recalcitrant parties into the process.

The main purpose of the exercise was to keep the door open to the FA and not to seem to be unreasonable, which would be a sure way of ensuring armed revolt.

It can be expected, however, that greater emphasis will be placed in the 60 days leading up to the elections on wooing away grassroots supporters of the FA rather than winning over the leadership.

Driving a wedge between Conservative Party supporters and the CP leadership formed a major theme in President FW de Klerk's Northern Cape roadshow this week. De Klerk made a point of thanking those Conservative Party members who brought their farm workers to his meetings, while accusing the party's leadership of playing dangerous games.

In the meantime, efforts are still under way to persuade the FA parties to take part in the country's first democratic elections.

This week in Cape Town secret meetings took place between Internal Affairs minister Danie Schutte and a kwaZulu team under the leadership of Dr Ben Ngubane. Schutte is known to be more than sympathetic towards the IFP and he is the one cabinet member who is always prepared to go the extra mile to accommodate IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

Under discussion was King Goodwill Zwelithini's demands for kwaZulu/Natal to become a sovereign monarchy. Last week De Klerk indicated that it should be possible to accommodate the king's demands. The ANC has also said it is willing to entrench the Zulu monarchy in a future constitution.

Parliament's joint standing committee on constitutional affairs will gather in Cape Town today to discuss the outcome of the latest rounds of negotiations, before parliament convenes on Monday.

Fraud probe into torn-up ID papers

WJW 25/2-3/3/94 (30419)

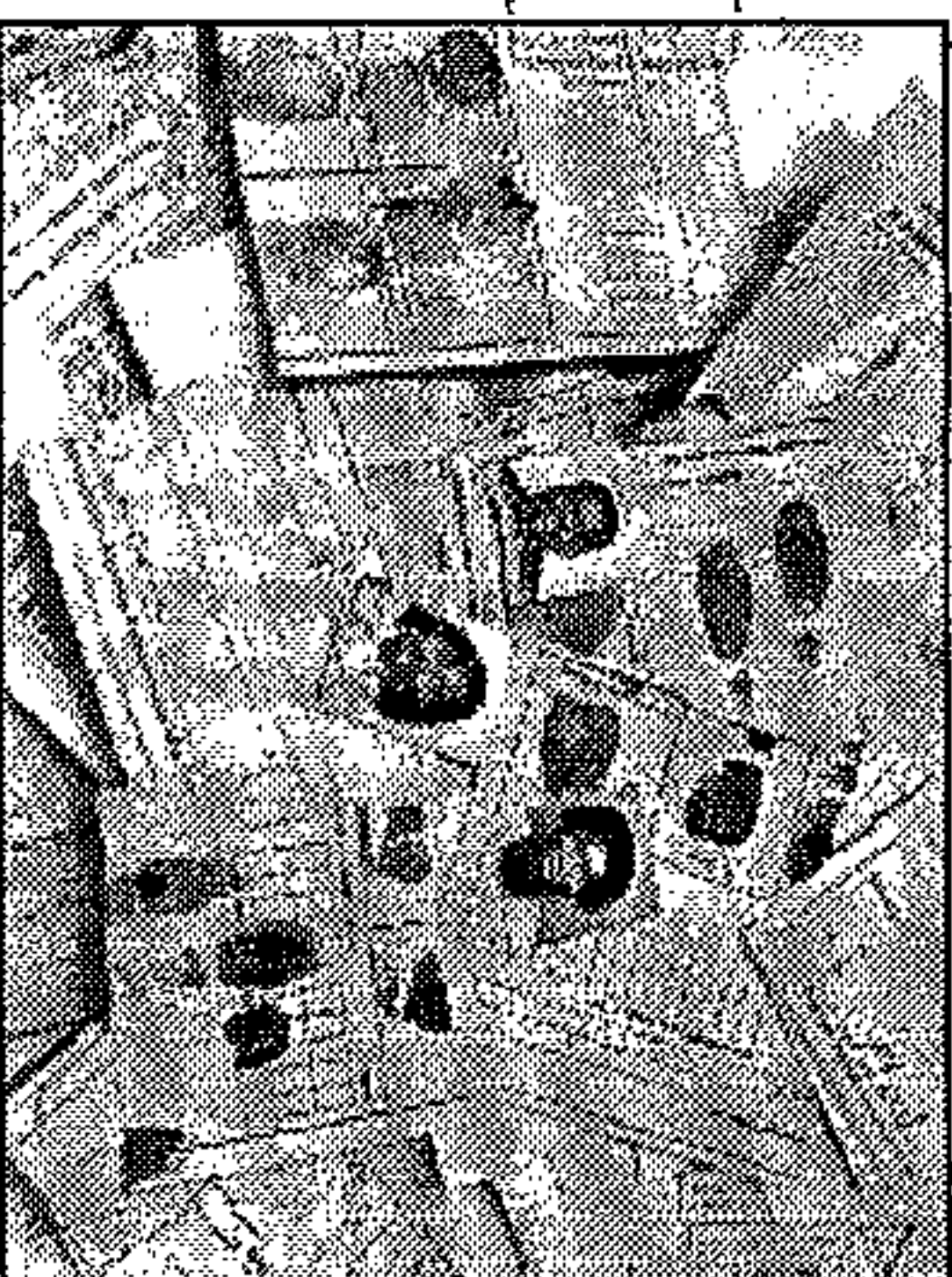
The Independent Electoral Commission has been called in after bags of torn-up ID application forms were found at the Home Affairs office in Lenasia, writes **Ferial Haffajee**

THREE refuse bags filled with torn-up ID application forms have been found at a Department of Home Affairs office — prompting an Independent Electoral Commission probe into possible official sabotage of the election process.

The remains of the completed forms, with photographs and fingerprints, were found in the yard of a Home Affairs office in Lenasia, near Johannesburg. They have been seen and photographed by the *Mail & Guardian*.

The ID applications are largely those of African domestic workers and the residents of three squatter camps in the Lenasia area. The ANC says they are likely to be ANC supporters. "This has very serious implications. It can suppress our capacity to muster votes," said Issu Chiba, chairman of the local ANC branch.

The IEC confirmed that the documents were authentic and not "innocent refuse". The IEC is now investigating whether Home Affairs officials are sabotaging the process or guilty of "inefficiency and negligence". A Home Affairs representative said if the allegations were proven to be true, the



Destroyed ... ID applications in Lenasia

department would take "the strongest possible steps" against the staff responsible.

The find follows a *Sunday Nation* exposé last August of Home Affairs officials in Barberton, Eastern Transvaal, who had burnt a pile of ID books. ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa called this "gross sabotage of the elections process".

This week the ANC called for independent monitoring of the issuing of IDs and temporary voter cards in the run-up to the elections. The latest find took place when Lenasia ANC branch member Batista Mokwena investigated complaints from applicants who had waited months for their IDs and found the application forms and other documents in a bin at the Home Affairs offices.

The torn-up application forms had been filled

out, fingerprinted, stamped and signed by clerks before being thrown away. Other documents of applicants, including original birth certificates and photographs, were also discarded.

Mokwena had been posted outside the Home Affairs office to assist droves of people plying ANC branch offices with requests for help in applying for IDs. He discovered the discarded forms after investigating the large number of applicants who had been told there was no record of their applications.

Most of the destroyed applications were made in January and February this year and appear to belong primarily to domestic workers and squatter residents from three squatter camps in the area. Both the Department of Home Affairs and the IEC have sent investigating teams to Lenasia and much of the evidence has already been handed over to the commission.

Complaints about the Home Affairs staffers in Lenasia surfaced early this year. Shan Balton, of the local ANC branch, met Home Affairs officials in January to complain that most of the Lenasia clerks did not speak a vernacular language and that free photographs were not being provided.

"The problems did not stop and we decided to put a volunteer in the Home Affairs office to assist with forms," said Balton. "If this is happening in Lenasia, what's happening in small rural towns?"

He added: "There is a problem with the absolute control that Home Affairs has over the issuing of IDs and temporary voter cards. They need independent people in the offices."

Teenage girl's killer on NP's Natal election list

The NP and Inkatha are vying for the services of a convicted killer who has crossed the parliamentary floor almost as often as he's crossed the street, reports **Chris Louw**

THE National Party is planning to field as an election candidate a man convicted of killing and dismembering his 15-year-old girlfriend and burning her body parts to destroy the evidence.

Shan Jumuna, also known as Naruntak Jumuna and — in the 1960s when he brutally killed his girlfriend in Ireland — as Shan Mohangi, is the NP whip in the House of Delegates. He appears at number 26 on the NP's recently announced list for the Port Natal region.

His services appear much in demand. The Inkatha Freedom Party's HoD leader, Farouk Cassim, announced on Monday that Jumuna had joined the IFP along with five other Indian parliamentarians. The NP has received no official notification of this, but Jumuna has a history of political defections — in the HoD he once crossed the floor three times in one day.

NP spokesman Lionel Mutshusany this week confirmed Jumuna was an NP member and insisted his consent had been obtained before listing him as a candidate. "We have never received a formal letter of resignation," he said.

NP regional chairman Renier Schoeman added that Jumuna had provided an impressive curriculum vitae and was clearly respected by his community. In accepting him as a member, the NP had not been aware of his past.

He added that Jumuna had met all the NP's criteria for its candidates — including that they should not have been convicted of crimes in the past 10 years.

In 1964 Jumuna was sentenced to death in Ireland for strangling 15-year-old Hazel Mullen, his Irish girlfriend. In his defence, he said he had not meant to kill the girl, but had gone berserk when she told him of her sexual relationship with another man.

The son of a wealthy Indian family from Natal, Jumuna had been studying at the Royal College of Surgeons in Dublin for two years. After killing Mullen, he tried to dispose of the dismembered body by burning it in a basement kitchen in the fashionable Green Tureen Restaurant in Harcourt Street, Dublin, where he worked as a part-time chef. He began by throwing the head in an oven and burning the girl's clothes on an open grill.

People became suspicious of the pungent black smoke billowing from the shuttered restaurant and alerted the fire brigade. Police later found a "whitish mass" and a human thighbone in a storeroom. Further investigation revealed a female hand, pieces of a female body and a forearm. A post mortem found that part of Mullen's genitals had been cut away.

The court was told that at the time of the killing, Jumuna himself was conducting an affair with another woman. Nurse Josephine Ferrally had visited his room to have sex on the two nights before Mullen's death. In a subsequent retrial, the court found Jumuna had killed Mullen in a moment of passion. Convicting him of manslaughter, it reduced his sentence to seven years in jail.

Deported to Natal after serving four years, he established himself as a successful businessman.

His political career began in 1981 when he won the North Coast constituency in the tricameral parliament's House of Delegates for Amichand Rajbanshi's National People's Party. After crossing the floor to Solidarity, he joined the NP a year ago.

This was confirmed by Schoeman, who said all efforts have been made to contact Jumuna about his current intentions. "As recently as Friday (last week) he took 200 posters of President FW de Klerk from our offices and undertook to put them up. We haven't been able to get hold of him since then."

Told this week of Jumuna's past, IFP spokesman Ed Tillet said: "Oh, golly! I must admit that I don't know know anything about this individual."

In recent weeks both the NP and the IFP have been wooing prominent Indians in an attempt to make inroads into Natal's large Indian community. According to Tillet, "various overtures" were made by IFP members to influential people in the Indian community to address "mutual concerns".

Jumuna was a member of a committee set up in the North Coast, but no record could be found, said Tillet, that he actually took out IFP membership. Jumuna could not be reached for comment this week.

Last week the *Mail & Guardian* reported that a number of people with shady pasts feature on the various parties' candidates lists for South Africa's first democratically elected government. (3049)

Report by Chris Louw, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg



Give him a hand ... President FW de Klerk tries to woo black voters in the Free State town of Clarence

PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

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FOCUS ON THE ELECTION BUILD-UP ...

Clinton's men
on the ANC
campaign trail

The two men who won the United States for Bill Clinton are on the ANC election team.

Mark Gevisser talks to Stanley Greenberg and Frank Greer

STANLEY GREENBERG and Frank Greer are romantics; hard-boiled romantics. The former is a sharp and rumped professor-turned-pollster, the latter an affable "how-yadoin?" Southern gentleman-turned-media spinner. Together they master-minded Bill Clinton's 1992 presidential victory. Now they're in and out of South Africa, on regular week-long trips, selling the ANC.

Their work over here is *pro bono*: the ANC picks up the tab only for travel and expenses. "This is a critical election," says Greer, "not only for South Africa but for the world. Our decision to work *pro bono* is based on the personal belief that democracy needs to be encouraged." Greer gave his time, too, to the opposition coalition that overthrew General Augusto Pinochet in Chile in 1988.

One gets the sense that, even in Washington, they are in the business of voter manufacturing and image marketing for reasons as moral as they might be pecuniary. Here's Greenberg: "I begin with the assumption that voters are sensible, and there's a rationality to what they do. Politics is about peoples' lives and peoples' futures, and I'll fight like hell to keep it that way."

And here's Greer: "We made the Clinton campaign substantive, we

made it factual. People respond to that. That's what they think politics should be about. Voters really hate personal attacks, sleazy politics, efforts to divert their attention from what's really important."

Their triumph in the Clinton campaign was to stave off personal slurs on their client — the womanising, the draft dodging — with a dogged insistence on "the issues", the economy.

Which is not to say that they didn't fight fire with fire. There was always, Greenberg acknowledges, "one positive track and one negative track to the Clinton campaign". But, ultimately, Clinton won because "the economy is what voters wanted the election to be about". A little later, he phrases it differently: "We wanted the election to be about the economy." The job of the political consultant is to discover — or, more cynically, to decide — what it is precisely that the voters want. And then to give it to them.

So what do the South African people want, and how is the ANC going to give it to them? All Greer will say is: "The ANC already has its policy. Their campaign is based on fundamental principles, developed through years of struggle. Our job is to fine-tune a message, to discipline it and synthesise it." Greenberg insists the ANC is setting the electoral agenda and that the National Party is simply responding. "South Africans so clearly want this election to be about their lives. I believe the NP will seek to divert attention to other subjects — like how many communists on the list. And our challenge, the ANC's challenge, is to keep the election on the issues."

They admit that, despite the ANC's clear lead, this is difficult work. The NP, says Greenberg, is a disciplined hierarchical machine that has been through many electoral campaigns. The ANC, on the other hand, "has got



The men behind the ANC's campaign Frank Greer (left) and Stan Greenberg PHOTO: STEVE HILTON-BARBER

hundreds of spokespeople and is a much more democratic organisation". Read anarchy between the lines.

And then there is the nature of South African media itself, and the ban on political TV advertising.

"The US campaign is essentially decided on national television. Face-to-face contact, which is so much harder to control, plays a much greater role here," says Greenberg.

And, adds Greer, so too does the print media: "Newspapers here really set the tone. People pay more attention to print advertising here than in any other country I've worked in."

The ANC's print campaign, under Greenberg and Greer's tutelage, has taken the high road; the grey road. While the NP advertises slam Winnie Mandela's inclusion on the list, or present splashy full-page photos of the party's new black face, ANC broadsides are filled with almost-impossible quantities of text.

"What's being communicated," says Greer, "is that they as a party have thought about solutions to South

Africa's problems and that they have been willing to present that in a plan."

But who actually reads the reams of text in ANC adverts? "Even if you don't read or can't read the details," interjects Greenberg, "you get the message: the ANC has a plan; it's serious."

He believes that "had this election taken place in closer proximity to Nelson Mandela's release, the emotional content would have been higher. But people have taken a lot of time to reflect on things, and much scepticism developed as the negotiating process dragged on and on."

"You have an electorate that's serious. South Africans are not just voting to affirm history, they're voting for a direction and a set of policies."

All Greenberg's research shows that "as the election date draws nearer, the electorate becomes more hopeful. An unrelentingly negative campaign might backfire and put the ANC out of synch with the mood of the country." What he does not say is that the ANC has a powerful "negative" trump card that does not need to be played

because everyone knows about it anyway: the NP's apartheid history.

Greenberg's interest in South Africa goes back to his days as a political scientist at Yale University, where he set up the Southern African Research Programme. Greer, new to this part of the world, is "stunned" by the level of political sophistication and by the "openness" of the ANC's campaign.

Greenberg outlines potential pitfalls in the transformation from liberation movement to political party.

There is "a tendency for parties to play out the past rather than the new context that they are in; to get caught up in their personal histories and personal struggles". And "popular mass-based parties tend to think that an election is only about mobilisation and not about persuasion". Finally, believing you have the moral highground "can lead to empty dogma".

According to Greenberg and Greer, the ANC is falling into none of these traps. Of course not. They're being advised by Greenberg and Greer.

Report by Mark Gevisser, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

'Mother of all elections' will employ tens of thousands

Chris Louw

AS many as 180 000 people will be employed to help with the April elections, set to become the country's biggest provider of jobs in years.

Plans for the "mother of all elections", in which more than 23-million people are expected to vote, got off the ground this week with the final decision by multiparty negotiators to allow two ballots.

"The process is similar to a newborn baby which immediately has to learn to run," said a member of the Independent Electoral Commission, the body in charge of ensuring the elections are free and fair. "There is no precedent for what we have to do and no time to learn through mistakes."

"The logistics for running the election are complex, but the IEC is confident that everything will be in place at election time," says IEC communications director Humphrey Khoza.

In the two months remaining, 180 000 people must be hired and trained for their jobs at polling stations over the three days set aside for voting. There will be about 9 000

polling stations, each with a presiding officer supported by about 18 staff.

Nine provincial electoral officers and 37 deputies are to be appointed, while each of about 1 200 voting districts will have a district electoral officer.

The IEC will employ about 9 000 election monitors. In addition, 5 000 observers, 2 000 of them foreign, are expected to register. They will refer problems to the IEC, but will have no say in mediation or dispute resolution.

Where will the IEC's 180 000 employees come from? "Employees of the electoral administration directorate will be recruited through district electoral officers and should be representative of the community," explains Khoza. "Some staff will be civil servants, others will come from all walks of life in the community."

The IEC's budget — which could run to between R50-million and R100-million, according to a spokesman — has yet to be finalised. A plan will be laid before the Transitional Executive Council next week and the final budget will then have to be ratified by parliament, which will also have to provide the funds, through the Department of Home Affairs.

It was planned that each voting station would have three voting compartments. But because a double ballot was accepted, there will now be up to five compartments per voting station.

The average number of voters per station is estimated to be less than 3 000.

The IEC is supported by three main divisions: election administration, monitoring and adjudication.

The commission comprises 11 eminent South Africans under the chairmanship of Judge Johann Kriegler, as well as five international, non-voting commissioners.

The IEC has wide legal powers and machinery to call to account offenders against the Electoral Act or the electoral code of conduct.

The election adjudication secretariat, headed by Professor Mandla Mchunu, will establish electoral tribunals and electoral appeal tribunals to adjudicate disputes which cannot be solved through mediation.

The highest legal authority will be the special electoral court, headed by an appeal court judge, assisted by two supreme court judges and two others.

Reprint by Chris Louw, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg



Election Barometer

Free access to property

■ The Independent Electoral Commission has announced that political canvassers must give five days notice before going onto private or public property. Owners may not refuse permission unless they can prove that the canvassing may result in violence, disrupt normal operations or cause loss of income. If there is a dispute around access, the parties may appeal to the IEC for mediation and settlement.

Democratic Party

■ The DP this week released its list of nominees for the national assembly. Party leader Zach de Beer topped the list and DP candidate for the PWV premiership, Tony Leon, came in second.

Azanian People's Organisation

■ Azapo will definitely not participate in the elections, Azapo spokesman, Gomolemo Moko, said on Wednesday, quashing earlier rumours that the organisation would consider standing.

National Party

■ The NP kicked off an intense campaign for the eastern Cape on Monday and have targeted former Labour Party supporters in a bid to

secure the coloured vote in the region.

■ State President FW de Klerk, who has been in the Northern Cape since Wednesday, will return to the Western Cape on Saturday. On Wednesday he announced he was cancelling a visit to Galatshwe township because of intimidation by ANC Youth League members.

Pan Africanist Congress

■ The PAC released its manifesto at a rally in Cape Town, last Sunday. The organisation has yet to release a list of candidates for the constitutional assembly.

African National Congress

■ ANC President Nelson Mandela will be wooing votes in the Northern Cape on Friday and Saturday before swinging south to the Border region on Sunday.

■ Secretary general Cyril Ramaphosa will be meeting the masses — and other opinion makers — in the Border during a series of gatherings on Saturday and Sunday. ■ Transkei's General Bantu Holomisa will be campaigning in the PWV from Friday to Sunday.

Intimidation

■ De Klerk became the first political leader to be hit by intimidation. On Wednesday, he was "struck by a projectile" when he tried to face down ANC supporters at a rally in Potstam, in the Northern Cape.

THE massacre of 15 people in a Natal village last weekend has raised the question: are free and fair elections possible in Natal?

In recent weeks, violence in strife-torn kwaZulu/Natal appears to have shifted to less politicised rural areas where election fever is sweeping through communities. And, in another ominous sign, key peace-brokers have been targeted for attacks.

Peace-workers fear that if the Inkatha Freedom Party confirms its boycott of elections, anyone engaging in voter-education could be targeted — while anyone going to the polls could be identified as an ANC supporter and thus vulnerable to attack.

In the Southern Natal village of Mahehle, where 15 people aged between 12 and 28 were shot and hacked to death by unknown gunmen last Saturday evening, no political violence has previously been recorded.

The massacre took place hours after ANC activists embarked on their first major recruitment drive in the

Killings may threaten free, fair elections in Natal

A rise in violence in Natal, coupled with Inkatha's threat to boycott the elections, puts campaigners and voters at risk, reports **Farouk Chothia**

village, putting up posters offering "Jobs, peace, freedom". They planned a voter-education workshop the following day.

A similar massacre in nearby Richmond a few weeks ago, where 12 people were killed, has left residents fearful of exercising their vote.

"The idea is to instil maximum fear in those communities which are on the verge of making a political decision and to intimidate them from voting," said the Reverend Danny Chetty, of the Practical Ministries in Port Shepstone, who chairs the local peace committee.

Chetty warned that with the IFP having now decided to boycott elections — thus moving away from its previous ambivalent position — anyone engaged in voter education could be targeted.

"Even if (people) vote there may be a large number of spoilt ballot papers because of a lack of voter education," said Chetty.

Of great concern, said Chetty, were attacks on peace-brokers along the Natal South Coast. Recently, ANC leader George Mbhele and church leader Reverend Richard Kgetsi, both of executive members of the Port

Shepstone Peace Committee, were killed. Mbhele was killed in the hitherto peaceful Umzumbi district where only one politically-related death has been recorded in the last five years.

"We have a campaign of terror which is aimed at destabilising any peace process and the election would be bloody," said Chetty.

He added that he himself had received several death threats, forcing his family to leave their home.

Meanwhile, the ANC said this week that its voter-education programmes had run into trouble in Northern Natal — seen as the traditional

stronghold of the IFP.

Bongumusa Dladla, head of the ANC's voter organisation and training team in the area, said IFP supporters attacked a workshop venue in Nhlabane village last Friday, shooting and wounding one person.

In the Khoza area near Eshowe, a voter education meeting was called off after rumours that IFP supporters planned to attack the venue while in Ncotshane, near Pongola, the ANC was forced to stop door-to-door canvassing after election co-ordinator Busi Mvelase received death threats. Chetty said, however, some IFP supporters on the South Coast were taking part in voter-education programmes, without any hindrance.

Strategies adopted to overcome communities' fear include trainers visiting residents' homes before leaving them with study material which could be passed on to friends and holding smaller meetings to reduce the potential for conflict.

■ Report by Farouk Chothia, 139 Smit Street, Johannesburg



Farewell, comrades-in-arms ... A naval non-commissioned officer lays a wreath last weekend at an Atteridgeville memorial service for 607 black soldiers who lost their lives in South Africa's biggest World War I disaster. The soldiers of the Native Labour Corps went to a watery grave on their way to the killing fields of France in 1917 when their troop carrier, the SS Mendi, went down after a collision with the Darro. Wreaths were laid by representatives of the French, British, Russian, Bulgarian, Australian, Argentinian, and Taiwanese governments

PHOTOGRAPH: GUY ADAMS

The battles over the bounty of Walvis Bay

Graham Hopwood

THOUSANDS of Namibians and hundreds of dignitaries are expected to converge on the port town of Walvis Bay this weekend to celebrate the enclave's return to Namibia after 116 years of foreign rule — first under colonial Britain, then South Africa.

Four days of festivities will climax on Monday when Namibian world champion sprinter Frankie Fredericks will enter the Jan Wilken rugby stadium to light a unity flame at the stroke of midnight. Minutes later the South African flag will come down and the Namibian colours will be raised.

There to witness the moment will be African leaders such as Jerry Rawlings of Ghana, Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe and Ali Mwinyi of Tanzania. But missing from the line-up will be ANC president Nelson Mandela and President FW de Klerk.

The last time De Klerk was in Namibia for a similar ceremony — at independence in 1990 — he had tears streaming down his face as the South African flag was lowered. This time, he's sending Justice Minister Kobie Coetsee to do any crying required.

Mandela will be on the campaign trail in the Northern Cape and the ANC is sending a delegation headed by foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki. Many Namibians are upset that Mandela will not be there.

Namibia had hoped to resolve the

thorny issue of state assets at Walvis Bay before Monday's handover. But most of the key issues remain deadlocked, with South African parastatals demanding compensation totalling over R100-million.

The issues are complicated — for example, Portnet claims Namibia owes it R66,4-million for liabilities the port has undertaken. Namibia meanwhile claims the port has been making a profit for the past 30 years and liabilities taken out in its name were used to fund other parts of the South African transport network. In fact, Namibia says South Africa owes Windhoek R33-million as the port's profits went to SA Harbours and Railways and its successors.

A row is on the boil between Telecom Namibia and Telkom SA over R20-million telecommunications assets. Eskom is demanding that Namibian power parastatal Swawek pay R23-million for a back-up power station at Walvis Bay.

There is concern over a potential 40 percent pay cut for teachers in the enclave once it becomes part of Namibia and Namibia has protested against the sale of dozens of state-owned houses to officials at deflated prices.

The arguing is likely to go on long after the 1 124 square kilometre enclave becomes part of Namibia. Such issues, however, are likely to be far from the minds of most Namibians as the mark the biggest national event since the country became independent.

Media watchdog a 'toothless poodle'

Bruce Cohen

SEVENTEEN journalists have either been killed or have vanished without trace since the collapse of the Angolan peace accord in October 1992, according to a report.

The constant threat of death and intimidation is just one aspect of life for Angola's shackled journalists, says the report, commissioned by the Media Institute of Southern Africa (Misa). "Blatant, as well as more subtle control of the country's media institutions by the warring factions is another."

The report follows a visit by a Misa task force to Angola recently to assess the impact of the civil war on the country's media.

The task force found media freedom in ruins. "It is patently clear that both the press and the electronic media are effectively muzzled by the ruling MPLA and the government." In areas controlled by Unita, says the report, conditions are similar if not harsher.

Chief executives of the country's state-run radion, TV, news agency the the only-mass circulation daily newspaper are appointed by the

cabinet, and "tend to act more like civil servants than journalists", says the report.

It describes the media council, the country's media watchdog, as a "toothless poodle".

The report says that an apparently private and independent media does exist, but even these have close ties with the ruling MPLA. Several private radio stations and a weekly newspaper appeared before the abortive September 1992 elections, and it is widely believed they have been financed by the MPLA.

Another factor highlighted in the report is the poor pay received by journalists (about R200 a month) as well as the lack of job opportunities which gives journalists little choice but to toe the line.

In spite of the enormous problems, the Misa report notes that Angolan media employees have created several initiatives which could be the "seeds of a genuinely independent and pluralistic media". However, the report notes, "these seeds have fallen on a devastated landscape and need a great deal of nurturing".

British print SA's ballot papers

A BRITISH company has won the tender for printing 80-million ballot papers for South Africa's first democratic elections.

The international printing company, De La Rue, of Basingstoke, England, is one of three companies in the world capable of printing ballot papers: because of security requirements involved, the process is much the same as printing bank notes.

Humphrey Khoza, communications director of the Independent Electoral Commission, said security, capacity, price and time were key factors taken into account in awarding the tender.

Initially 30-million ballot papers were required. Since the introduction of a double ballot, the number needed is now 80-million, and it will take De La Rue the equivalent of about 35 days to produce them.

The printing budget has not been finalised as agreement on the double ballot upset earlier calculations.

■ Report by Chris Louw, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

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FREE SPEECH *FM 25/2/94*
Not at UWC

The tyranny of intolerance seems set to replace the tyranny of apartheid as the main focus of the Democratic Party's struggle for true democracy in SA. ~~(SIP)~~ (304A)

The hounding, yet again, of DP youth organisers on the campus of the University of the Western Cape by the ANC-aligned students' representative council is symbolic of the disturbing lack of political tolerance that still sweeps the country at a relatively sophisticated level two months before the election.

DP youth wing national chairman Colin Douglas says formal complaints have been laid with the Independent Electoral Commission against the UWC SRC. He says the SRC has "consistently denied" registration of the DP's UWC youth branch, which would put it on a par with the ANC-aligned SA Students Congress (Sasco) and the PAC-aligned Pan African Students Organisation (Paso).

In the latest development, the SRC pub-

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CURRENT AFFAIRS

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lished a statement attacking the DP as one of the parties that "had stood at loggerheads with the oppressed." The statement said the DP was "a party of the ruling class" whereas students at UWC were "anti-ruling class".

Needless to say there has been no move by the SRC to reject the significant subsidy paid towards students' studies at UWC out of tax revenue collected from the private sector that generally supports the DP's policies.

Earlier, the SRC expelled DP youth organisers from a "closed" meeting for new students to meet representatives of "registered" student organisations. Douglas says the university administration refuses to intervene in the dispute.

"The DP Youth's position is clear: we insist that UWC recognise and protect our rights to free political activity and that it ensure that the terms of the Electoral Act are adhered to on its campus."

UWC rector Jakes Gerwel (who has openly aligned himself with the ANC) says the university is committed to promoting democracy and democratic practice. The right of the DP youth group to operate on campus is not and never was at issue. Similarly, the SRC does not have the right to prevent the group from "the legitimate exercise of its right to free political activity."

However, he supports the SRC's right to hold a closed meeting for new students. Gerwel says the desirability of registering the DP youth wing as a student organisation is another matter "being pursued seriously by a different route." Douglas says the DP's UWC youth branch has been trying to regis-

ter as a university society since September last year. ~~(SIP)~~ (304A)

In August last year a DP information table was overturned, banners were torn down and party pamphlets burned on the campus.

The FM commented at the time that while the lack of a democratic culture in SA made intolerance understandable, it did not justify it. ■

FREEDOM ALLIANCE

Fm 25/2/94

Doing it by degrees

The multiparty negotiating council on Monday failed to bridge the divide between the Freedom Alliance and a common government/ANC position on provincial powers.

The problem, it seems, is that though some gains have been made, the Alliance view is that its package of demands must be taken in toto. The clauses are integral to one another and if one clause is not acceptable it damages the integrity of the remainder.

But Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate says his party is committed to negotiating to the bitter end to resolve differences. However, he questions the ANC's commitment to finding an all-inclusive settlement.

"Cyril Ramaphosa told the council that Monday night's meeting finished formal negotiations. They decided unilaterally to end trilateral discussions and rush inadequate proposals through the negotiating council, hoping an Alliance boycott will mean our supporters voting for them," claims Felgate.

He says that in spite of the Alliance's resolve to pursue a negotiated settlement, time is becoming a factor which will have to be addressed. The parties maintain that as they have not yet campaigned for the election, they are at a distinct disadvantage.

Responding to claims that Monday's amendments to the interim constitution, which confer additional exclusive powers to regions, should be sufficient to draw the Alliance partners in, Felgate says: "The concessions don't meet our requirements. In constitutional negotiations the various stumbling blocks are individually negotiated. While each concession may be interpreted as a gain, all progress is meaningless until the differences which fatally flaw the constitution are removed."

For example, he says that the renegotiated clause 160 — which safeguards provincial constitutions and provides for their own structures (so that KwaZulu/Natal, for example, could make special arrangements for the Zulu monarch) — could be regarded as an Alliance gain. But because there are no powers worth having as defined in schedule 6, the safeguards are worthless. "It's rather like a jewel safe without any gems to keep in it. The powers, even as redefined, are fewer than the pre-1986 provincial system."

The Alliance rejection seems to have come as no surprise to the negotiating council. In private, ANC and supporting delegations expressed a lack of conviction that the amendments would be enough to bring the Alliance into the elections. Ramaphosa said it was not clear whether the Alliance parties actually wanted to reach a solution.

The council felt the amendment to Section 126 dealing with provincial powers could serve as the basis for further negotiation

until March 4 — the extended deadline in terms of the Electoral Act, which will go through parliament next week, to allow Alliance parties to register for the election.

The amended Act also provides for separate ballots to be used in the election — one for the national assembly and one for provin-



cial legislatures — and it adds the word KwaZulu to the name Natal and another constitutional principle on self-determination.

Ramaphosa has also hinted that the schedule of powers to be exercised exclusively could be extended to meet Alliance demands. And, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer claims provincial laws will now prevail over national legislation. "The negotiating council has now addressed all the concerns that were raised in negotiations with the Freedom Alliance," Felgate, however, remains sceptical. He says these issues have already been negotiated and talked about. "Meyer and Ramaphosa know full well that they have been rejected for sound constitutional reasons and yet they are presenting them as meeting our demands. It's total hypocrisy."

Meyer's claim that provincial laws will now prevail over national legislation, since the word "concurrency" has been deleted, is not the whole story. For while provincial laws now "shall prevail over an Act of Parliament dealing with a matter falling within the functional area specified," this applies only if the Act deals with a matter that cannot be regulated effectively by provincial legislation; or needs uniform norms and standards, is necessary to maintain economic unity, protect the environment, promote inter-state commerce; or if the provincial law materially prejudices the interests of another province or impedes the implementation of national economic policies.

However, Meyer points out that the overrides were already provided for and were previously accepted by the Alliance. Among the 29 areas in which provinces have exclusive powers under schedule 6, are agriculture, local airports, casinos and gambling, cultural affairs, education at all levels excluding tertiary level, environment, health services, housing, language policy, local government, police (subject to national standards), public transport, regional planning and development, roads, tourism, trade and industrial promotion, traditional authorities and welfare services.

There are also amendments to sections 155-159 which strengthen provincial taxing powers. Section 156, for example, says provinces "shall be competent to raise taxes, levies and duties other than income tax or value-added or other sales tax, and to impose surcharges on taxes."

A new chapter is inserted into the constitution establishing a Volkstaat Council consisting of 20 members elected by MPs who support the establishment of a volkstaat. The council will serve as a constitutional mechanism enabling the proponents of a volkstaat to pursue their objective.

The new constitutional principle provides for the right of self-determination by "any community sharing a common culture and language heritage whether in a territorial entity or any other recognised way." It will require substantial proven support. ■

ELECTION MANIFESTOES

Are they only promises promises?

Party manifestoes express similar aims but very different methods

SA's first nonracial general election promises to be a largely emotional affair with overtones of an *uhuru* election in which the parties' detailed policy prescriptions are, we suspect, less important than what they symbolise.

That's why some observers say it's a beauty contest, an American-style presidential campaign principally between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and National Party leader President F W de Klerk. Unfortunately, it appears that Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who claims by far the biggest party membership (2,5m), is reluctant to be a part of the pageant.

In this kind of election — bearing in mind that opinion surveys give the ANC around 64% support — it scarcely matters that the DP's manifesto, for instance, is the best on paper and comes backed up with a track-record of probity, concern for individual rights and accountable government.

Elections are, of course, about pulling in votes and, with the overwhelming black majority voting for the first time on April 27,



De Klerk



Makwetu

the main parties have had ineluctably to direct their appeal to the victims of apartheid. The NP manifesto, written in almost simplistic language, best illustrates this.

None of them is short on the virtues of motherhood and apple pie. But there exists a large measure of convergence in the menu of party promises with which they hope to woo the electorate. The differences in policy tend to revolve more around method, degree and priorities than substance.

So, for example, some form of State intervention to redirect greater resources to social spending and black upliftment is accepted by

even the free market DP and the "new" NP, as it now styles itself. The emphasis differs. But that emphasis is critical.

Compare the slogans. The NP says: "Justice, peace and prosperity for all;" the ANC motto is "Working together for jobs, peace and freedom;" the DP, campaigning on the three F's of federalism, freedom and free enterprise, subtitles its manifesto "Protecting you from the abuse of power;" and even the PAC manifesto under the legend "It's the PAC for true liberation" is softened by the subtitle "Towards a democratic and caring society."

The main value of the manifestoes, especially the ANC's, is that from them can be gleaned an idea of what the next (ANC) budget, likely in August, will contain.

"There is a compromise zone over the economy where the ideological gap between State and the struggle has narrowed. Even the NP concedes the wrongs of apartheid need to be addressed," observes Stellenbosch's Willie Breytenbach (see *Current Affairs*).



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PM 25/2/94

Axiomatically, the main party manifestoes all contain a clutch of policies directly aimed at reconstruction and development with blacks as the main intended beneficiaries. They include affirmative action (though it remains to be seen whether legislation affecting the private sector in this regard will be brought in), economic deconcentration (business has already started unbundling), land reform (the constitution includes a clause, generally upheld by the major parties, for the restoration of land rights to those forcibly removed under apartheid, plus fair compensation); a new tax regime (a reconstruction levy or some kind of wealth tax is envisaged by the ANC) and greater social services spending on housing, education and health.

All this is traditional ANC territory in which the other parties will be popularly challenged to appear as credible rivals — especially with the PAC, hoping to outbid the ANC from the Left, advocating the return of all land to “the people” without compensation.

While the ANC may well have the best credentials in the area of black upliftment and, it avers (probably correctly) the “political will” to “put people first” (*Current Affairs*, February 4 1994), the DP and NP warn against making promises that are unlikely to be met.

Aside from committing itself to an open, democratic society based on nonracialism, non-sexism, cultural diversity and human rights protection, an ANC government will make the millions without jobs a top priority. Thus, the focus of the ANC manifesto is a national public works programme to provide jobs and training for about 2.5m people over a decade, by building houses (a million in the first five years), roads, schools, clinics and providing water and electricity.

It is convinced the plan is feasible, can be sustained and will boost the economy. Others are not so sure. They worry about the implications for the deficit of its heavy social spending programmes and its continued flirtation with nationalisation and forced government intervention as a means of addressing past wrongs. But whether or not its promises can be fulfilled, it all adds up to a powerful message to black voters.

For thick-skinned electioneering, the manifesto of the “new” NP is hard to beat. As with the ANC and its election trump card in the form of Nelson Mandela, the NP kicks off extolling the reforms of De Klerk, who “ended apartheid, released political opponents and made this election possible.”

“F W de Klerk is recognised throughout the world as the man who really liberated SA,” it says, going on in unctuous and hypocritical tones about the party having safeguarded democracy and limited the power of government by negotiating federalism. “Everyone over 18 can now vote in the election — men and women of all races, colours and creeds,” says the NP, promising to ensure regular elections, fundamental rights and to safeguard the constitution. Full credit is tak-

en for the new NP having scrapped the Group Areas Act, Separate Amenities, Mixed Marriages, pass laws, etc — all its own doing in the first instance. “We South Africans have all struggled for freedom, each of us in our own way,” it claims. And further on: “freedom is worth nothing if it can be taken away at the whim of the government” — the NP, claiming that it negotiated a charter of fundamental rights, should know. (BOKA) (BOKA)

Attacking socialism and communism, the Nat manifesto states that only private enterprise and a market-orientated economy can create prosperity.

On affirmative action, it points out that in the past many did not have equal opportunities as the school system and the laws of the land held them back. But the NP has now removed discriminatory laws and equal opportunities have opened to all, implying that the party has no appetite for fullblown affirmative action.

“*Izwe lethu*” — the land is ours — is the main plank of the PAC campaign, which includes the delicious slogan “a vote for the PAC is a vote for African self-determination.”

The PAC says its struggle has not merely been directed against apartheid but is a quest for the return of the land to the people. It says the land belongs to the African people whom it describes as “anyone who owes his or her allegiance to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of the majority.”

The party advocates that the State should



Mandela



De Beer

be the caretaker of the land and that the people should have leasehold access to it. A ceiling on the size of land (per farmer or business) should be invoked, but exceptions will be considered on the basis of established criteria.

“Everybody will be entitled to the free use of land for housing, agriculture and business,” says the PAC, adding that it will “not distribute wealth from a rich white elite to a few rich black elites through nationalisation. Instead, we will redistribute wealth to the toiling masses at the point of production through socialisation.”

Zach de Beer’s DP, recognising it is small, is astutely projecting itself as the best opposition party to a dominant ANC. It intends to “continue playing the role it has played for 35 years by opposing racism and authoritarianism and leading future governments on the path of real democracy.”

Releasing its manifesto this week, the DP pitches itself as the only truly independent

party, which is committed to human rights and the worth of the individual. It doesn’t make secret deals, it says, and unlike the ANC and the Nats, believes parties must serve the people, not the other way around.

The basis of the DP’s economic policy is a free market economy with a social conscience — the social market economy. Government must not interfere with the market but create a well-designed social security safety net alongside it, it maintains. The DP (and the NP) say explicitly that a better standard of living for everybody can “only” come from a growing free market economy. Jobs are the top priority as this will enable people to take care of themselves instead of depending on charity.

The State is given an important, short-term role, however, to initiate essential public works programmes (schools, clinics, roads) which should be community-based and labour-intensive where this makes sense. This, it is hoped, will help break the cycle of unemployment that leads to instability and discourages investment. The State must encourage productive job retention and big and small business.

The DP manifesto announces a 12-point economic plan: Strict control of State expenditure with budget deficits held down to about 3% of GDP; lower taxes better spent; privatisation of key State assets; eliminating waste and corruption through open government free from patronage; deregulation and rationalisation to improve expenditure efficiency; phasing out the financial rand and exchange controls; massive labour-intensive housing and development programmes in partnership with the private sector; unlocking private sector development potential; establishing export processing zones; encouraging tourism; compulsory State-administered pension and medical schemes for earners who do not contribute to their own schemes; and pursuing trade and investment throughout Africa.

By the same token, the DP will oppose economic madness, specifically: the nationalisation of private business and the expropriation of property for political purposes; economic populism leading to excessive government spending, higher taxation and unrealistic expectations; creeping communism and State direction of the economy; and the politicisation of education, housing and social services.

Interestingly, should the DP get 5% of the vote entitling it to a Cabinet seat, it will only accept if participating parties have the right to criticise government decisions publicly.

In the light of the NP government’s abysmal 45-year record of providing for the needs of all South Africans and the ANC’s “wish list” which is unlikely to be affordable, it may well be that the DP has, as it claims, “the policies and the people with the expertise and ideas needed to bring reconciliation, peace and stability to our country.”

Past and present trends, however, suggest that the mass of voters will (mistakenly) see the ANC in that light on April 27. ■

Call for votes for prisoners

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE prohibition of many prisoners from voting in the election was a violation of the fundamental right of every citizen to vote, the Black Sash said yesterday.

It said section 16(d) of the Electoral Act, which allows only some categories of prisoners to vote, should be repealed immediately.

CT 25/2/94 (304A) (353)
This provision conflicted with the Bill of Fundamental Rights in the interim constitution, the Black Sash said in a statement.

It said section 21(2) of the constitution stated that "every citizen has the right to vote".

"Unless a court specifically included a prohibition on voting in the sentence imposed, depriva-

tion of this basic civil liberty cannot possibly be viewed as necessary to the administration of justice," the statement said.

The Black Sash has also submitted its statement to the parliamentary Joint Committee on Home Affairs, which meets this morning to consider proposed amendments to the Electoral Act.

Eight-point compromise offer for Alliance in Bill

Plan to get rightists into poll on parliament agenda

AKG 25/2/94

(304A)

TOM WENTZEL
Political Staff

THE eight-point compromise offer by the government and African National Congress to the Freedom Alliance to get its members to take part in the election is confirmed in a Bill published in Cape Town today.

It is the main issue on the agenda for next week's three-day special session of parliament. The other measure announced is the new Electoral Act.

The objects of the concessions, which will now be embodied in the new interim constitution, are to:

- Change Natal's name to KwaZulu/Natal;
- Extend the legislative competence of provincial legislatures;
- Grant provinces more powers in financial and fiscal affairs;
- Provide that provinces may adopt their own constitutions in which legislative and executive structures may differ from those provided for in the constitution;
- Provide for a volkstaat council;
- Provide for two ballots, one for parliament and one for regional governments;



DEFIANCE: ANC supporters block a riot police vehicle as they protest against President De Klerk's roadshow in a township at De Aar in the Northern Cape.

- Guarantee regional powers and functions in a future constitution; and
- Add a new constitutional principle of self-determination for communities who want this.

The volkstaat council, with 20 members, will be a mechanism to enable proponents of the idea to pursue it. The council can investigate relevant issues including boundaries, powers and functions.

But any volkstaat concept may not be based on discrimination. The Minister of Law and Order, Hernus Kriel, made this clear at a meeting in Prieska.

Freedom Alliance leaders will soon hold their first meeting since the Negotiating Council's approval of the package of concessions.

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

Volkstaat change^{304A} tabled^{CT 25/2/94}

AMENDMENTS to the constitution and the Electoral Act, one of which makes provision for the establishment of a "volkstaat council", have been tabled in Parliament.

The amendments flow from decisions taken earlier this week.

They are to be considered by the relevant parliamentary standing committees today before being formally debated and decided upon by Parliament at its special three-day session starting on Monday.

Proposed amendments to the constitution include:

- Providing for the establishment of a "volkstaat" council and setting out its functions.

- A name change of Natal to KwaZulu/Natal.

- Extending the legislative competence of provincial assemblies.

- Giving provinces more powers regarding their financial and fiscal affairs.

- Providing for separate ballots for national and regional polls.

- Adding a new constitutional principle "to include in the new constitutional text provision for communities sharing a common cultural and language heritage to exercise a recognised form of internal self-determination should it be proved that there is substantial support in such a community for such self-determination".

Proposed amendments to the Electoral Act include provision for the late registration or amendment of registration of parties participating in the poll and provision for two ballots. — Sapa



Independent Electoral Commission adjudication secretariat secretary Adv Mojanku Gumbl, right, and IEC spokesman Pieter Cronje at a news briefing at the World Trade Centre yesterday.

Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

DP ad leads to IEC complaint

MARIANNE MERTEN

THE Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has complained to the DP about the use of political veteran Helen Suzman's picture on one of its election advertisements. *B/Say 26/2/94*

Suzman is one of the IEC's eleven SA commissioners.

Others include former PAC deputy president Dikgang Mosenke, former Institute of Multiparty Democracy director Oscar Dhlomo and former Eskom human resources GM Dawn Mokhobo.

IEC media spokesman Pieter Cronje said the commission took the initiative to inform the DP that "the use of Suzman's picture could be considered to compromise the independence of the IEC".

The DP has accepted the complaint and would respond to the commission shortly, he said. *(BOLAA)*

The advertisement appeared on Wednesday featuring Suzman and a caption reading: "They say when you're outnumbered in parliament, you can't make a difference. Tell that to Helen Suzman."

DP PWV leader Tony Leon yesterday said the party had used Suzman on an election advertisement because of her past links to the party.

"We are not embarrassed of our past. She is part and parcel of our history," Leon said he felt Suzman's position as an IEC member was not compromised by the advertisement.

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

THE TEC's finance subcouncil yesterday approved KwaZulu's purchase of a R33m jet, ANC delegate Tito Mboweni said.

"The key issue is that it will not be used for party political activity. If it used for the administration of that part of the country, there is nothing wrong in it."

The subcouncil had decided that the new jet should be properly registered so that when a new administration took over there would be a proper transfer of the asset.

However, the TEC had not yet agreed to release Bophuthatswana's R217m Development Bank of Southern Africa loan.

Mboweni indicated that Bophuthatswana was refusing to agree to a set of conditions, among them that it allow free political activity. The loan would remain suspended until the assurance was given.

Buthlezi's R33m jet gets TEC nod

He said the subcouncil was investigating instances of corruption, public funds apparently having been used to the benefit of a political party. It had also come across cases of new posts being created and pension settlements being adjusted in anticipation of a new government. (304A)

Mboweni said the subcouncil was trying to sort out the issue of the budgets of the self-governing and TBVC states. This was complicated by the multiplicity of government departments involved in budget allocations. — Sapa.

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

Printers see magenta at UK ballot contract

THE Independent Electoral Commission's (IEC) decision to award a contract to print 180-million ballot papers to a London-based firm was criticised by the local printing industry yesterday.

The IEC gave the contract to London's De La Rue which printed the ballot papers for the Namibian elections.

Business Forms' Association chairman Richard Staniforth said the contract should have been given to local firms.

He said the IEC's reason that no SA firm had the capacity to fulfil the contract was nonsense. There were about six or seven

MARIANNE MERTEN

firms that could have done the job.

Staniforth estimated that the order was worth at least R8m. "The rub-offs would have been fantastic." Raw materials alone — about 806 tons of paper worth about R2,5m — could have helped either Sappi or Mondi who were "crying because they cannot export their paper".

Technically SA printers could deal with colour and the numbering system. The local industry had been in the forefront of developing a barcode system. Ultra-violet

numbering was also available locally.

An IEC spokesman said the contract had just been signed, but would not be finalised before March 4 when the tally of participating parties was known. The contract price could be made available soon, but transport costs were still being negotiated. The commission had put out tenders and some SA printers had applied. But it was decided to award the contract to De La Rue because of its Namibian experience.

Security considerations were also im-

☐ To Page 2

Ballots

portant. The ballot papers had the second highest rating in the election process, the other being the warehouses to store the papers. Only the Reserve Bank had similar security requirements.

The IEC said the printing of the ballot papers would start on March 12 and would be completed by April 17, when they would be flown to SA. They are expected to fill 10

jumbo jets. They would be transported to warehouses from the airport in the presence of political parties' officials. About three or four days before the elections, they would be moved to secure locations near polling stations.

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

● See Page 6

☐ From Page 1

CP demands freedom now

PRETORIA — Afrikaners would have to gain their freedom before the elections on April 27, CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said yesterday. 2512194

Addressing students at Pretoria University, Hartzenberg called on his audience to join the struggle for a "volkstaat" (304A)

He said Freedom Alliance members would boycott the polls, which would put the election's legitimacy and credibility at stake.

Hartzenberg rejected the "so-called major concessions" made by government and the ANC as meaningless. He would not sign the constitutional principle on self-determination, thereby "signing away the Afrikaner's freedom".

Referring to his opponents who argued that they should take what they could get now and fight for more later, Hartzenberg said: "We are not going to take the crumbs now and later demand more. We demand complete freedom now."

Report by E van Wyk, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb.

Volksfront finally to produce map

By Day 25/2/94

THE Afrikaner Volksfront is at last to produce a map of a proposed volkstaat, and its outline could form the basis of negotiations about a homeland for Afrikaner separatists.

The Volksfront announced yesterday it had instructed a subcommittee to draw up a map to be presented to the organisation's transitional council next week.

But the proposals will come too late for consideration by Parliament next week when constitutional amendments are discussed.

Meanwhile, a CP spokesman has confirmed that members will be attending the two-day session of Parliament in Cape Town next week to voice their reservations about the constitutional amendments agreed by World Trade Centre negotiators.

President F W de Klerk is likely to open the debate on the constitutional amendments and to address other current constitutional issues.

Meetings between the ANC and the Bophuthatswana government took place yesterday where it was speculated that separate elections in the territory were to be discussed.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that the interim constitution was the topic of discussion at a meeting in Ulundi yesterday between the Inkatha Freedom Party and the PAC.

TIM COHEN

PAC foreign affairs spokesman Gora Ibrahim said they would meet again next week to discuss, among other things, the two-ballot system.

Constitutional talks between a government delegation and emissaries from Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and an Inkatha delegation provisionally ended yesterday to allow parties to report back.

The negotiations in Somerset West started on Wednesday night following difficult talks between De Klerk and Zwelithini in Pretoria on Tuesday.

Government delegation head Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte's spokesman, Niel du Bois, said after the talks that government remained committed to the Zulu king and kingdom being properly recognised in a constitutional dispensation "that is also democratic".

Reuter reports that sources close to the talks said prospects for agreement were not good.

"They are just going through the motions and any tentative agreement will have to be referred back. We don't think there is enough time before the sitting of Parliament ends on Tuesday."

Report by T Cohen, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and D van Zyl, Press Gallery, Parliament.

Election courts to resolve disputes

LEGAL structures to resolve election-related disputes were in place but monitors were still being trained, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) said yesterday.

IEC adjudication secretariat secretary Mojanku Gumbi said the secretariat would co-ordinate election courts.

"We are not here to discourage electioneering ... (but) to make sure there are limitations to behaviour," she said.

The secretariat's jurisdiction includes political parties not registered for the elections. A tribunal could legally bind such a party and failure to comply would amount to contempt of court.

Three different courts have been set up for the elections. A supervisory special election court will hear appeals; electoral appeal tribunals attached to the Supreme Court will handle the deregistration of parties and limits or prohibits on media time

MARIANNE MERTEN

allocated to parties; and 374 election tribunals will hear election disputes.

Gumbi said the IEC was concerned about the TBVC states taking part in the elections and election tribunals had been set up in those areas. *3/24*

But, she said, the adjudication secretariat had been talking to TBVC representatives and most had agreed to co-operate. *25/2/94*

Commenting on the shooting of a woman at President F W de Klerk's Kimberley rally, commission member Zac Yacoob said there would be an overlap between election and criminal courts. *(304A)*

"Serious matters like this must be dealt with in the ordinary courts," he said.

Only criminal courts could make an offender into a criminal. Election courts dealt with breaches of the electoral code and election disputes.

The commission would examine patterns of intimidation or violence and take pre-emptive steps.

He appealed for co-operation and promised that "all complaints properly brought will be fully and properly adjudicated".

Gumbi said the IEC would, if it was needed, have 10 or more courts sitting in the same place to resolve disputes in time for the elections.

Yacoob said the secretariat would decide after the election what to do about any cases that might be still outstanding, depending on the number and the nature of the complaints.

Cases might be handled in order of their seriousness, rather than on the basis of first come, first served, he said.

The Association of Law Societies said yesterday 557 attorneys' names had been given to the secretariat. The attorneys would assist the secretariat in various ways.

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

De Klerk supporters and ANC kept apart by police

BIDAy

25/2/94

DAVID GREYBE

DE AAR — Police were deployed yesterday during President F W de Klerk's northern Cape electioneering roadshow to keep NP and ANC supporters apart and prevent a repeat of the clashes the day before that left a woman dead.

De Klerk welcomed ANC president Nelson Mandela's call to his supporters yesterday not to intimidate political opponents, but the NP leader warned it might not be enough, "however much repeated".

"It is absolutely necessary that leadership at all levels of the ANC do something to exercise specific discipline to bring the youth under control," he told a rally in Hopetown.

He warned in his address that if this did not happen, "our one-off chance for a new beginning (in SA) may be squandered".

De Klerk accused the ANC of what seemed like "a specific pattern of intimidation" to disrupt his rallies across the country.

Mandela, in a hard-hitting statement, expressed serious concern about the attack on the NP election entourage on Wednesday.

The ANC president outlined measures his organisation would implement to ensure there was free and fair electioneering.

He said the ANC was, with immedi-

ate effect, instructing its structures to desist from any actions which disrupted political meetings and interfered with other parties' activities.

It would also ensure that any ANC member found violating the Electoral Code of Conduct was disciplined.

And it would facilitate, through the TEC, the speedy completion of discussions on plans to ensure that people in KwaZulu, Bophuthatswana, right-wing towns, as well as on farms and in mine compounds, were afforded their basic freedoms of association and speech. (304A) (HS)

De Klerk appealed to NP supporters during a rally at the coloured township of Petrusville to refrain from using intimidation during the election campaign.

"We must work well with them (ANC supporters) because we can win them over to the NP," he said, pointing to a group of ANC supporters which had been forced to move back by members of the internal stability unit when they appeared to be getting too close to De Klerk.

He said Mandela had telephoned him yesterday morning and expressed "deep concern" about ANC disruptions that forced him to cancel two election rallies and abandon another on Wednesday.

There were no serious incidents of

intimidation or disruptions at any of De Klerk's rallies yesterday.

Police kept ANC and NP supporters apart, but it appeared that ANC supporters were operating under specific instructions not to disrupt De Klerk's rallies.

The NP leader expressed regret that his abandoned rally in Kimberley's Roodepan township had led to the death of a resident.

The son-in-law and bodyguard of NP MP for Diamant Howard Isaacs was arrested on a charge of murder after the shooting of a woman.

De Klerk said because he was not at Roodepan, he could not comment, but the law would take its course.

Brig Pieter Scholtz, who headed the security operation for De Klerk's tour, said after discussions between the police and NP it had been decided to keep ANC and NP supporters apart yesterday.

"We are better organised today," he said.

NP supporters, mostly coloured, outnumbered ANC supporters at all De Klerk's stops yesterday. A pleased De Klerk confidently predicted the NP would win the newly created North Cape province vote and install Agriculture Minister Kraai van Nierkerk as its first premier.

"We are no longer a white party," he said to cheers in Colesburg.

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

More policemen to join election beat

BIDAy

25/2/94

Political Staff

DURBAN — The SAP will recruit 11 000 extra policemen in the next few weeks to be deployed in the last two months of the election campaign.

Together with regular policemen, the recruits — drawn largely from the civilian reserve — will be part of the 60 000-strong team on the election beat on the polling days — April 27, 28 and 29, said Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze.

Altogether 30 000 vehicles will be in the field. All leave will be cancelled in April.

The SADF will attempt to limit the call-up of members of the white Citi-

zen Force units during March and April. However, if call-ups are necessary they are expected to be mainly for duty on the election days.

Defence Ministry spokesman Col John Rolt said the SADF would play a complementary role to the SAP in policing the unrest-prone townships.

He said details of expected flash-points were "matters of security", but large concentrations of troops were expected to be deployed in the KwaZulu/Natal region and in the East Rand townships. (25/2)

Kotze said police, in consultation with an Independent Electoral Commission working group, had identified 10 factors which could undermine a free and fair election.

These were the murder of policemen, the ready availability of weapons, the dangers of criminal elements taking advantage of mass action, intimidation, inflammatory election statements, political intolerance, no-go areas, political extremism, lack of party political control over supporters and negative propaganda against the security forces.

Report by D Pressley, Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St, Dbn.

Mandela tells his supporters not to bully the Nat 'mouse'

ARC 26/2/94

Box 44

KIMBERLEY. — ANC president Nelson Mandela was welcomed at the Galeshewe Stadium here by thousands of cheering supporters as the "new leader of South Africa".

Mr Mandela told the crowd yesterday it was not a day for leaders to speak, but to listen and that was why he wanted individuals in the crowd to put questions to him.

He also repeated what he said earlier, at his visit to the Kimberley Provincial Hospital, about President De Klerk's visit to the city which was disrupted by hundreds of ANC supporters on Wednesday.

"We must protect the rights of all people, even our rivals and must let them voice their policies without fear," he said.

He said political leaders should have the opportunity to address as many people as possible in as many places as possible during the campaign.

"It was a great pity that Mr De Klerk did not get the opportunity to address the people of Galeshewe, but we will expose him in time," he said.

He told the crowd they were expected to behave as leaders to the future government — or at

least play an important part in the future government — and should behave in a suitable manner.

He compared the ANC to an elephant and the National Party to a mouse and said the mouse should also be allowed to run around and have ample time to give its point of view, "without being afraid of the elephant".

He added that ANC supporters should learn to control their anger and stop the ongoing violence in the country.

Many questions were put to Mr Mandela by individuals, but a crucial one was put by a man who wanted to know why rival candidates or political parties should be allowed to address his community.

Mr Mandela explained to the man that campaigns are controlled by the Independent Electoral Committee's code of conduct. "Any political party which disrupts another's meeting can be disqualified from the election list," he said.

He said it was unnecessary to disrupt the other political parties' campaigns as the ANC would win "hands down", but he could only show the NP this when they were allowed to address various

crowds. "We will show you that they have no policy, no point of view, but they must be allowed to speak," Mr Mandela said.

Further questions covered the ANC's education policy, a future tax system and the Bophuthatswana situation.

"The ANC promises ten years free compulsory education and we will double the amount of text books in schools during our first year of rule to make learning easier for all children," he said.

Mr Mandela said every South African would pay a fair tax according to his salary.

One man complained about intimidation of ANC supporters by Bophuthatswana police and wanted to know what Mr Mandela was going to do about it.

Mr Mandela replied that he was not aware of the "bad" situation, but that Bophuthatswana would eventually become one with South Africa and a special task force had been set up consisting of Bophuthatswana and ANC representatives.

He added that he recently approved a document which had been drawn up by this task force and the matter was "under control".

News by Tricia Abbot, chr of Bean and Villiers streets, Kimberley.



□ **A LISTENING EAR:** Nelson Mandela, on a three-day campaign swing through the northern Cape, listens to handicapped children at a home in Kimberley.

Anger rises in sludge-covered Merriespruit

Victims call for answers

**MAUREEN ISAACSON
and GUY JEPSON**
Weekend Argus Correspondents

VIRGINIA. — As the heroic efforts by rescue teams continue, anger is mounting here over repeated allegations suggesting that mine authorities could have headed off the Merriespruit disaster.

Local Conservative Party MP Kobus Beyers yesterday warned of a "building feeling of anger amongst the people".

This has been caused by uncertainty over claims pointing at possible negligence on the part of the Harmony Gold Mine which manages the slimes dam which burst its banks Tuesday night.

Reiterating his call for a judicial commission of inquiry into the tragedy, Mr Beyers said this was imperative to bring "surety to the situation as far as whether or not the mine was negligent".

As the official death toll stood at 13 yesterday, the mine's directors refused to comment on the spate of rumours circulating in this Free State mining town.

However, Harmony Gold Mine Chairman John Turner said if the authorities decided to appoint a

judicial commission the mine would co-operate fully.

Despite mine management's obvious frustration with the conjecture and rumour, the key question remains unanswered: Why did it happen?

The National Union of Mineworkers (NUM) said yesterday they would be taking part in the Mineral and Energy Affairs departmental investigation and public inquiry.

Vice-president Senzeni Zokwana said NUM was aware Harmony had been informed about the dangers facing the mine.

He said NUM believed the reasons that protective measures were not taken was because of the costs that this would entail.

Many questions remain:

■ Why was nothing done about the wet spot that apparently appeared in the dam's wall more than a year ago?

■ What exactly did mine management know about the condition of the wall as a result of the regular inspections?

■ If allegations that Harmony had been warned several months ago about the dangers of the Merriespruit Dam by consultant Fraser Alexander are correct, why was it allowed to get to the stage where the dam burst?

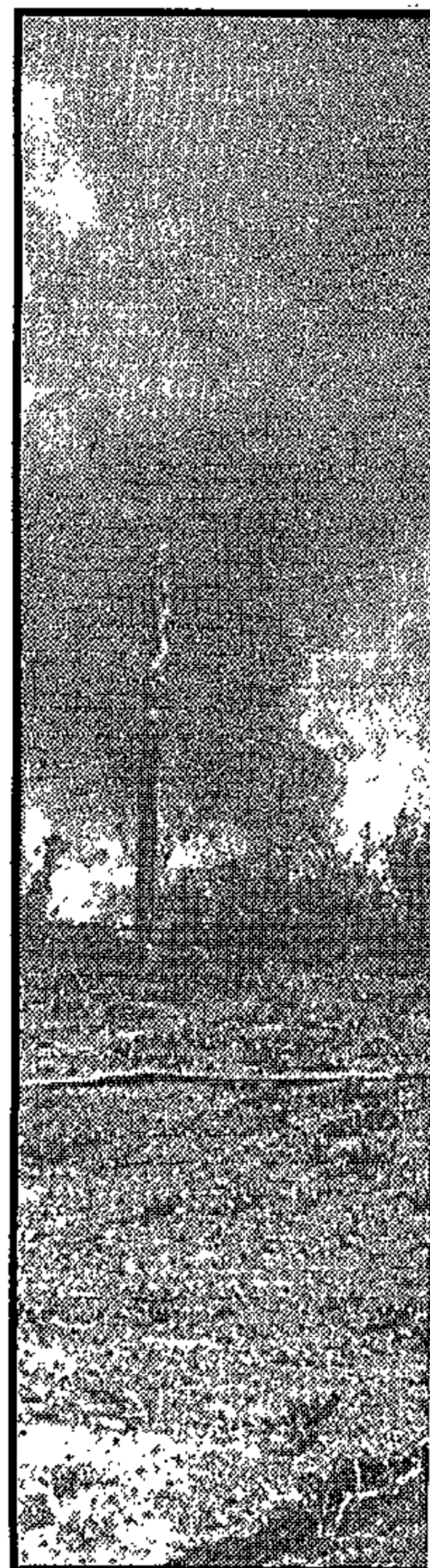
Professor Dereck Sparks, the Department of Civil Engineering, University of Cape Town, said however, that water from a cloudburst could have caused the failure if the drains at the top of the dam were insufficient to cope with the cloudburst.

It may be several months before we discover the full reasons for Tuesday night's disaster. But in the meantime Professor Sparks appears to have the answer to one of the overriding questions of the moment. How can the soil in a mine dump change into a liquid and flow over an area which is three kilometres long and half a kilometre wide?

"The 'slimes' particles or mine waste in the mine dump are like miniature loosely packed sand particles that do not stick to each other like clay particles.

"This mine waste which is pumped into the mine dump (or slimes-dam) is like a milkshake mix of water and finely ground white mud.

"Even when this milkshake mix has settled, it can sometimes liquify and become like a milkshake from a slight shock, as happens in sands in San Francisco. This happens even when the mud has appeared to be stable," he said.



□ FIRE! The Tygerberg. The fire raced down the Loevenstein. At one stage houses and the reserve

R90 000 payroll

A R90 000 payroll was snatched and wounded when a group of three officers payrolled Garden Village municipal West.

The injured man, Dirk K., the stomach and arm, is in. A police spokesman said

14 bodies found as mine fire blazes

26/2/94

Anger at ballot contract

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE decision by the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) to award an R8 million contract to a London-based firm to print the ballot papers for the April election was condemned yesterday by the Democratic Party and the SA Typographical Union.

The DP's Western Cape leader, Mr Hennie Bester, said the decision did not bode well for the commitment of the institutions of the future South Africa to local industry.

"Since the contract will only be finalised on March 5, we call upon the IEC to reconsider," he said.

(304A) (440A)
Satu general secretary Mr Martin Deysel said the South African printing industry could have handled the order, which could have created jobs.

Satu had lost about 10 000 members over the past two years due to retrenchments, he said in a statement. CT 26/2/94

DP slams printing contract decision

THE Independent Electoral Commission should rethink its decision to award a British company a printing contract for 80 million ballot papers, Western Cape Democratic Party leader Hennie Bester said.

Arguing that the local printing industry had the expertise and capacity to do the job, he said the IEC's decision did not bode well for local industry.

"The IEC seems to follow the suit of the African National Congress, which awarded its contract for the production of three million T-shirts to an oriental company ARG 26/94

"Under pressure from other political parties, they were forced to retreat."

Mr Bester said the R8 million printing contract could give many South Africans jobs and, moreover, could be one

of the election's early benefits to the people.

"Since the contract will be finalised only on March 5, we call on the IEC to reconsider."

"It is most appropriate that the physical ballots on which South Africans will cast their first democratic vote should be made locally — by local people, from local paper." — Sapa.

(Report by C C de Villiers, Harrison Street, Johannesburg)

Ct
Jt

Campaigns hot up

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

THE National Party and the ANC are locked in a herculean battle to win the coloured vote which could prove crucial in the April elections.

At this stage the balance of forces looks evenly balanced. This emerged during this week's campaigns by the two parties in the heartland of the coloured people in the western and northern Cape.

During his whistle-stop election tour of coloured areas in the Cape Flats, NP leader and State President FW de Klerk's entourage is being well received.

Heckled

On the first day of his tour of the Cape Flats, ANC supporters who had dogged him throughout the northern Cape were conspicuous by their absence - except at Bonteheuwel, where noisy ANC hecklers were drowned out by NP booing.

Speaking in Bishop Lavis, De Klerk was greeted with loud cheers and waving flags when he said: "Never again on any inch of South African soil will there be apartheid."

South Africa had many problems, "but if we want to solve them, we'll have to make sure the NP wins the election".

It was the NP itself, and not the ANC or anyone else, which had wrung apartheid's neck.

Before De Klerk arrived at Bishop Lavis, Cape MEC Peter Marais led the crowd in a rendition of *Nkosi Sikelele FW de Klerk*.

Local resident John Kouter said: "As long as FW rules, we can hold our heads above water."

And resident Anna Sanders said: "We are for FW all the way. There is not a future for us with the ANC. We are not prepared to give the country to a communist."

Mandela was also pulling in enthusiastic crowds in the northern Cape. He addressed a crowd of about 1 200 at the coloured township of Roodepan at the end of his first day of campaigning in the area. (304A)

He told his audience that the ANC would never grant a volkstaat to any community in SA.

He moderated his outright rejection of the idea by saying it was nevertheless the ANC's duty to bring peace in the country and for that reason a commission headed by ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki was engaged in negotiations with the Afrikaner Volksfront over the issue.

Meanwhile, there were elements busy declaring many towns part of a volkstaat.

"There is nothing we can do about it because we are not the government," he said.

"The government is a government of weaklings who cannot take action, allowing those people to do what they want to do."

He hoped the serious discussions held with the AVF would in due course produce "a solution that will satisfy those elements and yourselves".

Mandela repeated, for the third time, his appeal to ANC supporters to desist from violence and intimidation and to allow their political opponents an opportunity to put their case.

"I appeal to you - live in peace with your enemies."

Attacking the home of a NP supporter only played into the hands of those who wanted to burn the country to ashes, he said. There was nothing to fear from the NP.

"In this election we are going to bury them never to rise again," he said. "Nevertheless, let's fight a clean election."

Mandela's remarks all came in response to questions or complaints put to him at the second "People's Forum" of the day.

Speaking Afrikaans, and apologising for his lack of fluency, he said all he could say was: "Ek is lief vir julle (I love you)."

His welcome was wildly enthusiastic with no sign of opposition.

He introduced the Rev Frank Chikane of the SA Council of Churches and a member of the Independent Electoral Commission for a message on the elections.

Chikane said for as long as there were attacks on supporters or their offices, there could not be a free and fair election.

"The freedom of our neighbour is our own freedom," he said.

Mandela was asked about removals and, as at the earlier Galeshewe Forum, he said there could not be wholesale and arbitrary return of land.

Property

Innocent people had bought land and could not be summarily deprived of their property.

"But there is enough State-owned land to deal with the problem," he said.

(Report by Sekola Sello, 2 Herb Street, New Doornfontein, Johannesburg; P Claassen and D van Zyl, Press Gallery, Parliament, Cape Town)

DP in vigorous street-by-street campaign

Political Correspondent

DEMOCRATIC Party canvassers have embarked on a punishing campaign to sell the party as a vehicle for peace and democracy.

Teams of canvassers in DP "battle-bakkies" have been working their way through targeted Peninsula townships in a systematic street-by-street campaign, which the party believes will pay dividends in the tough election battle in the Western Cape.

Each team is led by an election candidate.

This forms part of what party strategists have called a "17-day kick-start" campaign.

Canvassing is divided into three phases — a pamphlet drop followed a day later by a visit by the canvass team and concluded a day later by a house-to-house canvass.

The campaign was launched last week in Mitchell's Plain and other key areas on the Cape Flats, with three candidates — regional leader Hennie Bester, deputy leader Joe Marks and Elmarie Nielsen — lead-

ing 10-strong teams.

Party planners divided Mitchell's Plain into 43 areas, assigning each team to two or three areas a day.

Good-natured repartee marked the candidates' visit to Mitchell's Plain Town Centre.

"Just watch, Joe Marks is going to buy a trouser," a clothes shop owner, an avid DP supporter, announced to nobody in particular, adding with a grin, "except I don't have his size."

The portly Mr Marks grinned back.

A few paces away, a young man selling sandals turned his nose up at a DP pamphlet.

"I'm PAC and proud of it," he said. But he shook Hennie Bester's hand anyway.

Mr Marks, a former street vendor and fluent in the patois redolent of the District Six of his youth, seemed to be in his element.

He was well-received by shoppers and stall-holders alike.

Later, as the team headed by Mr Marks moved through its assigned blocks in Woodlands — with his son

Andor broadcasting an effective

monotone message through loud-speakers on the bakkie's roof — children rushed into the street and their parents came to the doors and windows of their homes.

As Andor enjoined them to "Stem reg, stem the NP and ANC weg" (vote right, vote the NP and ANC away), Mr Marks, on foot, went from house to house dispensing pamphlets and "fatherly" advice on where voters should put their crosses.

Scores of children mobbed the bakkie for stickers.

Some stuck them on their chests and promised, in return for a second one, to give the pamphlets to their parents.

Mr Marks — who informs people that the ANC and NP cannot be trusted with democracy — believes that people who support the NP are doing so out of opposition to the ANC, but that the DP's campaign will change much of that.

Soon after the start of the afternoon's canvassing, he was already

making sums: "Of the 14 people I have spoken to so far, eight are definite DP supporters and one is a confirmed Nat supporter."

"If it goes like that elsewhere too, we are in with a good chance."

He believed one of the factors in the large crowds drawn by people like President De Klerk and Nelson Mandela was plain curiosity.

"It's a question of people thinking to themselves: 'Ous wil net sien hoe lyk die man' (We just want to see what he looks like)."

David Wilson, a DP candidate from Mitchell's Plain, said the DP's chief opponent in Mitchell's Plain was the NP.

"The ANC are here, but in relatively small numbers. What we are up against is the NP ... or, rather, F W de Klerk."

One of the biggest issues on the Cape Flats, DP canvassers found, was unemployment. Part of the DP's message was a warning to voters not to be fooled by lavish promises.

(News by M Morris, 122 St Georges Mall, Cape Town.)

Parliament faces momentous decisions to woo alliance

ARG 28/2/94
TOS WENTZEL, Political Staff

PRESIDENT De Klerk will open a three-day special session of parliament today as a week of momentous political decisions looms.

The session has been called to ratify final changes to the interim constitution, aimed at trying to draw the Freedom Alliance into the April election.

Any further negotiations with the alliance will be limited to seeking non-constitutional agreement.

No progress was made during weekend contacts between the government and the Inkatha Freedom Party, a member of the alliance, but talks between them are due to continue today.

Contact will also take place between the government and the far right, according to senior government sources.

And tomorrow ANC leader Nelson Mandela and IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi will meet in Durban in an effort to resolve their differences.

Mr Mandela said at Bisho at the weekend he was prepared to go down on his knees to Chief Buthelezi if that would prevent bloodshed.

Although the special session of parliament could be extended beyond the envisaged three-day session, government sources said that would occur only if there were strong indications of agreement with the alliance on participation in the election.

POLITICS TODAY

- ANC president Nelson Mandela defends the Press, page 9.
- The DP seeks support on the Cape Flats, page 5.
- ANC chairman Thabo Mbeki speaks to Cape Muslims, black businessmen, page 5.
- Women's National Coalition adopts a charter, page 5.
- Mandela and De Klerk answer questions from Argus readers, page 5.

With or without agreement from the alliance, the special session will deal with two issues: amendments to the interim constitution and to the Electoral Act.

The constitution will be amended to provide for greater and guaranteed powers for the provincial regions, and to recognise the principle of self-determination.

Amendments to the Electoral Act will provide for two ballots, one for parliament and one for the regional governments.

At the end of four days of talks between government and the IFP little headway had been made, according to government sources.

The IFP had made a bid to have the election postponed in KwaZulu/Natal, and for a referendum to be held on a provincial constitution it would compile.

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

Richards Bay as a volkstaat?

ET 28/2/94

(304A)

Own Correspondent

DURBAN. — The right-wing have claimed Richards Bay as the harbour of a proposed Afrikaner volkstaat encompassing the whole of Natal north of the Tugela, the Free State and the Transvaal.

A procession of about 65 AWB cars and trucks drove through the town on Saturday.

The AWB was not concerned that their claim clashed with the call by King Goodwill Zwelithini for the establishment of a sovereign Zulu kingdom throughout the province.

AWB northern Natal leader "General" Monty Markow said the borders of the white homeland would be finalised this week and the issue would be discussed with the Inkatha Freedom Party soon.

Ironically, the speaker who drew the most applause was a black man. Former ANC exile Mr Pat Hlongwane, who has links with the IFP, backed the AWB in its attempts "to keep the communists from infiltrating Natal".

Parliamentary sitting may hinge on Tuesday meeting

PARLIAMENT reopens today for a sitting due to last at least until Wednesday. However, it could be extended if Tuesday's meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi resolves immediate differences.

The immediate purpose of the short sitting is to pass constitutional changes demanded but not agreed to by the Freedom Alliance. It would be technically possible for amendments agreed by the two leaders to be introduced by the standing committee after the second reading debate which is due to take place by Tuesday, parliamentary experts said. (304A)

But even if this were not possible, there would be no legal bar to holding a further session of Parliament to make additional changes.

If there is no agreement, politicians see the sitting as an attempt to win the moral high ground. This position of moral superiority may allow government, with the support of the ANC, to take firm action

against the Freedom Alliance if its members try to disrupt the elections.

Some politicians believe this could even take the form of a pre-emptive strike by the security forces, suggested by the reluctance of both government and the ANC to repeal Section 29 of the Internal Security Act, which allows detention without trial, as they had agreed during World Trade Centre negotiations.

Both government and ANC spokesmen have furiously denied speculation by DP MP Douglas Gibson that there would be a "huge roundup" of "anti-election forces", but neither denied that contingency plans were being drawn up.

The TEC, manifesting its watchdog role, is also due to meet in Cape Town on Tuesday, and will be sitting in the President's Council building just 100m from Parliament.

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb.

TIM COHEN

Cheering crowds welcome 'FW my hero'

CAPE TOWN — President F W de Klerk took the Cape Flats by storm during a triumphant Friday election sweep through Cape Town's coloured townships. *B/Say*

The NP leader was given a rapturous welcome at all stops on his roadshow, encountering only pockets of resistance from ANC protesters. *28/2/94*

Even pamphlets distributed before his whistlestop tour announcing that his planned visit had been cancelled — blamed by the NP on its ANC rivals — failed to deter NP supporters. De Klerk said at the end of six hours of campaigning he was more convinced than ever that the NP would give the ANC a bloody nose in the western Cape on April 27.

On his first stop in Kensington, the

Political Staff

crowd, many carrying placards proclaiming "FW my hero" and "Ain't Nelson crazy", screamed with delight when De Klerk said the ANC was expert at destroying houses, schools and social services.

At Bontheuwel, De Klerk encountered his first spirited opposition from a vocal group of ANC supporters carrying placards saying "De Klerk you killed Ashley Kriel", "De Klerk retrenched our teachers" and "De Klerk go home". *(30/4/94)*

After scuffles between ANC and NP supporters, De Klerk drew cheers from the crowd by hugging a tearful young girl.

Report by A Johnson, TML, 122 St George's St, Cape Town.

Choice of capitals poses some problems

BIDAY 28/2/94

TIM COHEN

ONE of the first decisions the new provincial governments will have to take will be where they will make their decisions, and this may not be as easy as it seems.

Of the nine new provinces, only two have obvious capitals.

The Western Cape capital could not be anywhere other than Cape Town, while the Free State's capital is likely to be Bloemfontein.

But all other areas include two or more cities vying to become the seat of provincial government, while even small cities in each of the regions could put themselves forward as compromise candidates.

Neither of the two largest parties have taken final decisions at a national level yet about where any of the capitals should be, ANC and NP party spokesmen said at the weekend.

The spokesmen said the matter was one which would have to be taken at a regional level. But even the smallest inclination towards one city or another has provoked dissent not only between political parties but within the parties themselves.

The only ANC area to have discussed the issue in depth and taken a firm decision has been the three Eastern Cape regions — Border, Transkei and Eastern Cape.

The regions compromised on King William's Town, shunning the two larger industrial bases East London and Port Elizabeth.

Eastern Cape spokesman Mcebisi Bata said the decision was taken because no infrastructure would have to be built in King William's Town as the Ciskei government buildings in

neighbouring Bisho could be used.

The town had historical importance for the area, was central and was close enough to East London to benefit from that city's industry and port, Bata said.

He conceded that Transkei's military ruler Bantu Holomisa had a right to be upset about the decision, but expressed confidence that Holomisa could be won over.

The divisions between the ANC in the Eastern Cape are mirrored by divisions in the NP about where the Eastern Transvaal capital should be, with some opting for Middelburg and some for Nelspruit.

An ANC regional spokesman in the Eastern Transvaal said the organisation had not taken any formal decision, but most members swayed towards Nelspruit, with Witbank and even Ermelo cited as compromise capitals.

Although Nelspruit was smaller than Middelburg, it was considered more characteristic of the Lowveld. "Besides, it is prettier. Middelburg is all flat," the spokesman said.

Other areas where there could be disagreements include Natal, although Maritzburg is thought to have the edge over Durban, and in the Northern Transvaal, Pietersburg is favoured over Louis Trichardt.

Potchefstroom is favoured in the North West, although many other towns could be candidates, and Kimberley is a firm favourite for the Northern Cape.

Report by T. Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St., Jhb.

ANC's claims

Countdown begins

THE countdown to the April 27 elections begun in earnest this week.

According to the Independent Electoral Commission 80-million numbered ballot papers will be printed in London from March 12. Printing will be completed by April 17.

The ballots will be flown to South Africa under stringent security. They will be transported to warehouses under surveillance, and in the presence of political party officials.

BALLOT

Three to four days before the elections start, ballot papers will be transported to secure locations near the voting stations.

Ten different types of ballot papers will be used. Each province will use its own for the provincial legislature elections.

The ballot paper for the National Assembly will be 60cm long. It will indicate the names of the contesting parties, identifying each by

its logo and acronym, and a photograph of the party leader.

Alongside each party information line will be compartments in which to make a voting mark.

The provincial legislature ballot paper will only indicate the parties that are contesting the elections in that particular province.

The secrecy of the vote is one of the critical features of South Africa's first democratic elections.

Your vote is your secret.

A secret ballot helps to guarantee that an election is free and fair. Bribery and intimidation cannot alter the election results.

MONEY

If you are offered money to vote for a particular party, you can still vote for the candidate of your choice.

A person or group cannot influence your vote by threatening you with violence.

You might even avoid a threat by agreeing to vote for a certain party, and then se-

lecting a different choice in secret.

The secret ballot has a number of effects.

As a woman you will not have to vote for your husband's party.

As a young man you will have to vote for the party that your parents support.

As a worker you will not have to vote for the party of your employer.

SELECTION

The process of voting allows your selection to be secret.

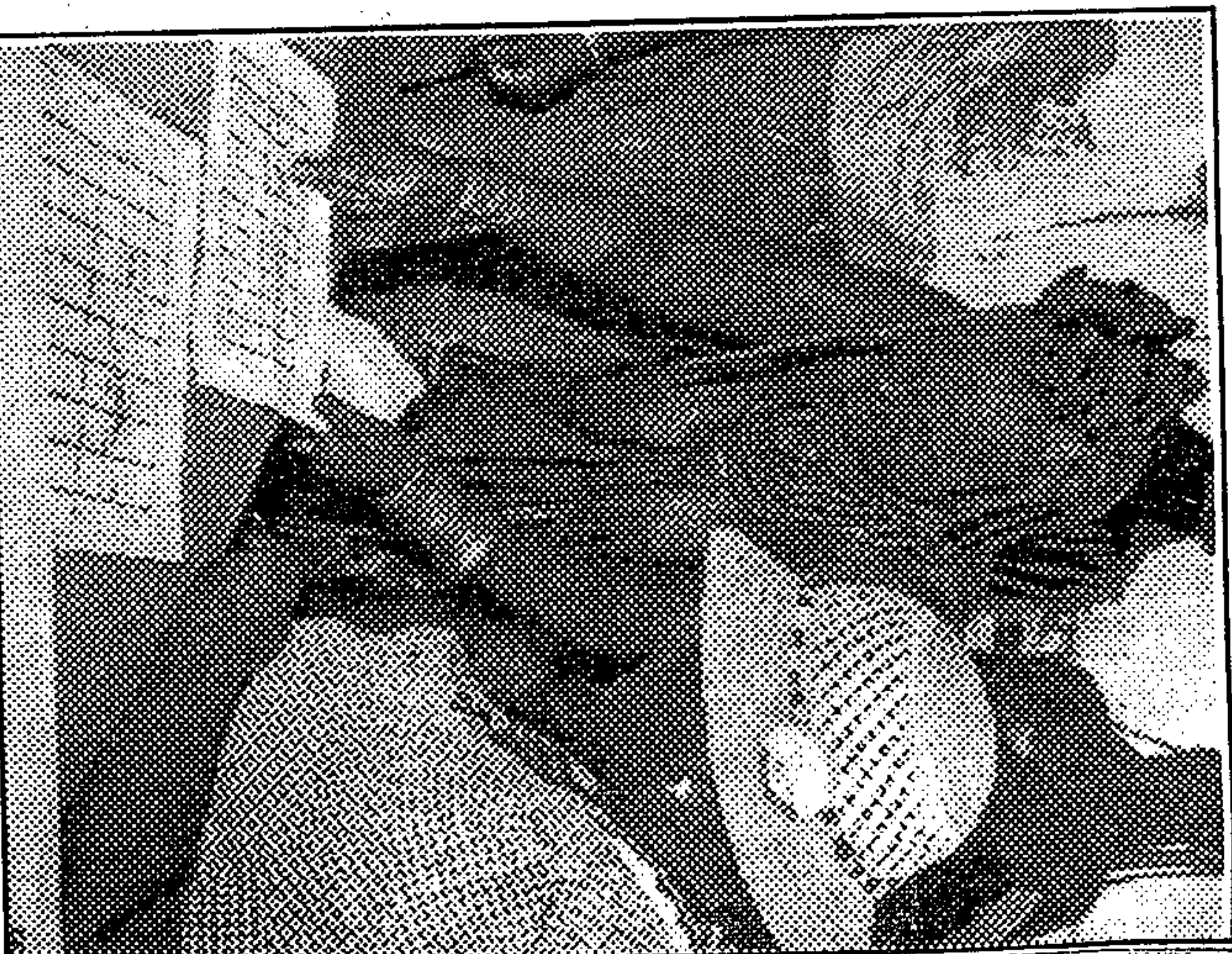
When you vote, you will place a cross next to the party of your choice on the ballot paper.

This activity will take place in a private area and nobody will see your choice.

BALLOT

You will then take your ballot and place it in a special box where it will remain until the ballots are counted.

You do not put your name on the ballot, and it will be impossible for someone looking at the ballots in the



A rural Namibian woman makes her mark for democracy during elections in the country. Pic: CDS: University of the Western Cape

box to identify which one belongs to you. A secret ballot is a necessary component of a democracy.

What happens on April 27

28/2/94 (304A)

Get your voter's card

- 1 You show your identification document to prove you are eligible to vote.
- 2 Your hands are checked under a special light to see if you have already voted before. Everybody can only vote once.
- 3 You dip your knuckles into marking fluid. This fluid is invisible and harmless, but shows up under UV light. The ink wears off after about seven days. This mark prevents you from going to another station to vote again.
- 4 Your ID or Temporary Voter Card is handed to an official who will indent it.
- 5 You are handed a ballot paper together with your ID document.
- 6 You go behind a booth where nobody will be able to see what you are doing.
- 7 In strict secrecy behind the voting booth you place your mark against the party of your choice and then fold the paper so that nobody can see who you voted for.
- 8 You place your ballot paper in the ballot box dedicated to the National Assembly election.
- 9 You move to another table where your ID is checked again.
- 10 You are given a second ballot paper for the provincial legislature.
- 11 You again vote in secret in a voting booth.
- 12 You place the ballot paper in a ballot box dedicated for the provincial legislature election.

In order to solve the problem of more than 3.2 million black South Africans without IDs, the Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) has introduced 400 mobile machines to issue Temporary Voters' Cards. The machines take 10 minutes to produce a card with your name, photograph and date of birth. The machines have been in use since early February. The Cards are also available nationwide from Home Affairs offices.

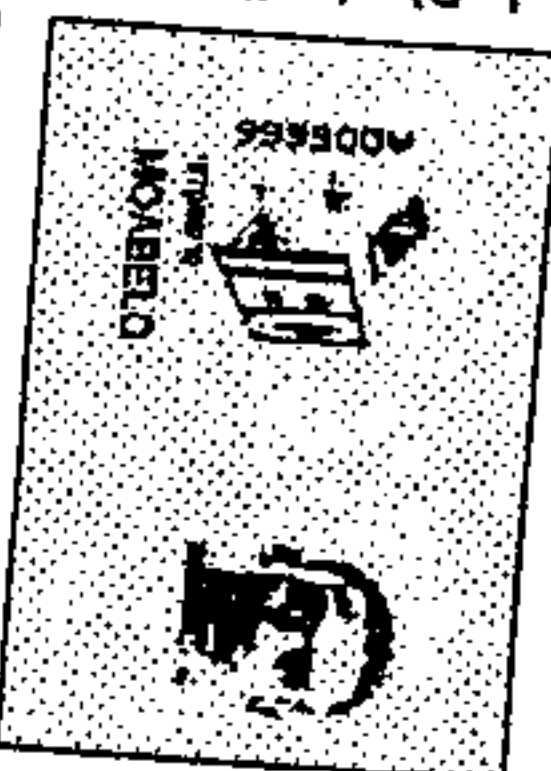
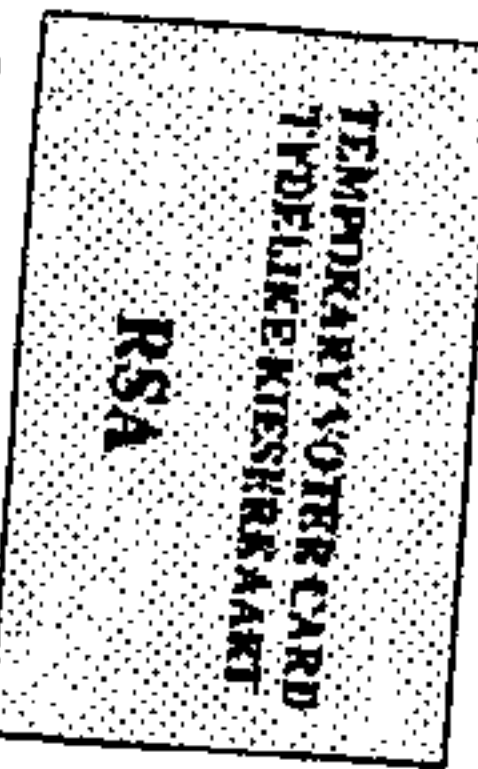
Every card issued also counts as an application for a permanent ID which will be sent to you later. A Temporary Voters' Card entitles any South African citizen over the age of 18 not currently in possession of a valid ID to vote.

If you have already applied for an ID and are waiting for it to arrive, you can still obtain a Temporary Voters' Card by going in person to a Home Affairs office. You will need proof of your identity and age by producing either a birth certificate, a baptismal certificate, a primary school report or a letter from your local authority. From next week all 400 machines will be allocated to areas where Home Affairs offices are not easily accessible.

Machines will be available at church halls, supermarkets, political party offices and anywhere that there is demand from the public.

Do NOT apply for a card if you already possess any other form of identification including a "Dompas" or IDs from the Bantustans.

If you do not take an ID or Temporary Voters Card with you to your nearest voting station on April 27th or 28th,



YOU WILL NOT BE ALLOWED TO VOTE

HEAL
OUR
LAND



VOTE
APRIL
27TH

INDEPENDENT FORUM FOR ELECTORAL EDUCATION