

Black Politics - 1994

January

Apla: 'Year of the bullet and ballot'

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

In a New Year's message received by a Sapa correspondent here, Apla commander Mr Sabelo Phama said yesterday the bullet and the ballot were to be used effectively in 1994.

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

Chicken farm battle to continue

RAINBOW Chickens and the Food and Allied Workers' Union (Fawu) would resume their battle over the fate of two chicken farms in the Durban Industrial Court today, Fawu assistant general secretary Ernest Buthelezi said yesterday.

The union's application for an urgent interdict stalling the closure of the Malmesbury and eZakheni farms on Friday revolves around full information disclosure and its relevance to Fawu's argument that Rainbow will not allow workers to take over the farms because it objects to increased competition.

If the farms close, about 800 workers — both members and non-members of the union — stand to lose their jobs. Some of these workers have been employed by Rainbow and its predecessors Farm

ERICA JANKOWITZ

Fare, Bokomo and Bonny Bird, for more than 20 years, Buthelezi said.

The union's proposal for workers and black business interests to take over the farms was viable, he said. The Malmesbury plant had made a R20 000 profit in the last six months of 1993, while the eZakheni plant had lost about R1m over the same period. *BIDAY 4/11/94*

Rainbow estimated it would save about R7m by shutting both farms and confirmed it did not wish to create additional competition by allowing the plants to continue operating. *(K) (K)*

Buthelezi said Rainbow's East London and Rustenburg plants were expected to increase production to make up for losses due to the plant closures.

League to debate autonomy

REPRESENTATIVES of the ANC Youth League's 600 000 members face a pivotal decision at their congress next week on whether to become constitutionally independent of the ANC and thereby a watchdog body of the new government.

The league will also be forced to elect a whole new generation of leaders, following the departure from the organisation of at least six of its 15 national executive members, including leader Peter Mokaba, because they are too old. *BIDAY 4/11/94*

The organisation's top leadership is also expected to be gutted by a likely decision of the congress to bar league members elected to political office from being members of the league's executive structures.

Information secretary Parks Mankahlana said the main debate in the ranks was on the league's relationship with the ANC, given the probability that the ANC would be SA's next government. *(11A)*

The decision to form a government of national unity effectively postponed a "full blooded democracy" and would result in the ANC being forced to follow policies not entirely its own, he said.

In addition, because there would effectively be no substantial opposition group within government, organs of civil society would have to maintain a watchdog role.

TIM COHEN

The league was bound by ANC policy, but whether it ought to continue to be so under the new dispensation was a hotly debated issue, he said.

Hence, one of the major issues due to be discussed at the congress would be whether to amend the organisation's constitution to give it greater autonomy.

It was generally agreed, however, that members who were elected to national or provincial office should not be eligible for executive positions.

This was mainly because these candidates would be elected to public office, and would be accountable to a wider electorate than league members, he said.

The congress, held once every two years, would also discuss the establishment of a youth ministry or youth parliament, political questions, relations with international bodies, violence and the elections.

The league was arguing for three out of every 20 candidates for national office to be league members, but this had not yet been decided finally by the ANC, he said.

The starting date of the four-day conference, which will be held in Johannesburg, had not yet been finally decided. About 1 500 delegates would attend, he said.

ANC prepares to clamp down on defence units

B/DOM 5/1/84

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC plans to tighten control over self-defence units, which are accused of fuelling township violence, by screening members and establishing a clear chain of command.

The organisation will also appeal to business for funds, which will be spent on disseminating a code of conduct for self-defence units.

ANC PWV secretary-general Paul Mashatile said yesterday the defence units were bound to be hijacked by criminals if residents did not know what codes of conduct the units should adhere to and if unit members remained faceless.

He said unit members should be screened and clear lines of command established to ensure accountability and help isolate criminal elements.

Mashatile's statement came amid criticism that the self-defence units had been infiltrated by criminals perpetrating atrocities in the townships.

The ANC PWV region convened peace summits in the Vaal Triangle and on the East Rand to discuss the defence units. A code of conduct was

adopted at the summits. (117)

It calls on members of the units to respect human rights. It also calls for barricades to be erected only after consultation with the community.

It is understood that ANC PWV officials Obed Bapela and Robert McBride convened a meeting of defence units on the East Rand yesterday. People at the meeting affirmed their commitment to the code.

But Mashatile said it was being reworked to make it more stringent.

He said decisions taken at the summits could not be disseminated properly in the townships for want of resources. Funds would be solicited from business to help "filter decisions down to the grassroots".

He stressed that the defence units were not accountable to the ANC but to their communities. "We are intervening now because there are problems in these structures," he said.

However, the NP said yesterday that warring factions of the ANC's defence units proved the ANC had

lost control over key elements of its organisation.

"These defence units have been involved in intimidating and killing innocent South Africans and members of other organisations. . . (They) are creating battlefields in certain townships and the ANC leadership keeps quiet."

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the "rogue units" played a major role in political violence and posed a direct threat to public safety, Sapa reports.

"To show its commitment to peace and tolerance the ANC should take immediate remedial measures and fully co-operate with the police to bring the perpetrators of atrocities to justice."

Human Rights Commission national director Safoora Sadek confirmed that her organisation had received reports of "murders and atrocities" committed by defence unit members. She said a criminal element was taking advantage of political violence to get into the defence units.

Westonaria businesses angry at latest political boycott

B/DOM 5/1/84

WILSON ZWANE

THE boycott of businesses in the West Rand town of Westonaria, which began on December 23, has raised the ire of local businesses who have accused boycott organisers of using them as a bargaining chip in a dispute with government.

The consumer boycott was called by the ANC and Azapo in protest against the presence of the SAP's internal stability unit and soldiers in neighbouring Bekkersdal.

Sources said the boycott was still in force yesterday. Both the ANC and Azapo have said the protest will continue until the unit and soldiers were withdrawn from the township.

Businessmen, canvassed for comment yesterday, said it was disappointing that business was blackmailed into intervening whenever political groupings in the township had problems with authorities.

A businessman said it was ridic-

ulous to expect them to intervene in things they had nothing to do with.

He said the current boycott was not the first to be called by Bekkersdal people "without consulting us".

He added that it was unlikely that the business community would petition government to accede to the demand of the boycott organisers as it had been treated shabbily in the past.

He said boycotts had been called and heeded on three previous occasions despite business people's willingness to intervene on behalf of Bekkersdal residents.

The business people said that although it was too early to assess the losses caused by the boycott, the protest was severe.

Inkatha Freedom Party has condemned the action, saying it was fuelling violence in the township.

Nooitgedacht conflict averted

CONFRONTATION between landowners and squatters at Nooitgedacht, northwest of Johannesburg, was averted yesterday when the parties postponed a final decision on the squatters' removal until Friday.

Yesterday was the deadline for the squatters to be moved from Nooitgedacht after several weeks of deliberation on a new site after complaints by landowners in the area.

The postponement was decided at a meeting of the Transvaal Provincial Administration, the Nooitgedacht committee and the ANC's PWV region.

ANC PWV regional chairman Mathole Motshekga said he was delighted the "potentially explosive conflict has been eased".

Motshekga said the TPA and the local government committee would consult their principals over the Nooitgedacht committee's proposals and meet again tomorrow. — Sapa.

ANC seeks Israeli help

JERUSALEM — The ANC has sought the Israeli army's help in working out an education programme for black recruits in a new South African army. Haaretz reported yesterday.

It quoted Israeli sources as saying an ANC delegation visited Israel two weeks ago to gather information on the army's special programmes for recruits who failed their studies.

ANC members told the newspaper they were facing difficulties in enrolling young blacks with no education — Sapa:AFP.

CT 6/1/94

DP councillor defects to ANC

PORT ELIZABETH
Prominent DP city councillor Mr Graham Richards has resigned to join the ANC (1A)

Mr Richards, who was vice-chairman of the DP's branch here, declined to comment except to confirm that he would make a full statement today

● Former DP Youth national chairman Mr Siyathemba Malgas has joined the ANC

ANC takes Chikane off list

SEVERAL SABC administrators and a senior churchman are set to lose their places on the ANC PWV region's list of election candidates because they are working in institutions which are supposed to be impartial. **BIDOM 61194**

Second on the PWV region's list of candidates for the national assembly was SA Council of Churches secretary-general Frank Chikane, a member of the Independent Electoral Commission.

The ANC said its members had voted for Chikane out of recognition for the contribution he made in working for a just, non-racial society. However, the ANC and Chikane agreed that his name would be removed with immediate effect from all nomination lists.

The same would apply to other nominees who were working for independent institutions, said ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus,

TIM COHEN

who topped the region's list for the National Assembly. **(11A)**

SABC administrator Zwelakhe Sisulu and board member Njabulo Ndebele appear on the region's list for the National Assembly, while presenter Felicia Mabuza-Suttle is one of the region's nominees for the provincial parliament.

The SABC recently hired Sisulu, currently editor of New Nation, to be personal assistant to group CE Wynand Harmse. Ndebele was prevented from becoming board chairman after the intervention of President FW de Klerk.

The list contains well known ANC personalities, but it also contains a host of surprising candidates including long distance runner Bruce Fordyce, Wits law

□ To Page 2

ANC list

BIDOM 61194 □ From Page 1

professor Denis Davis and Miss SA Jacqui Mofokeng **(11A)**

Third on the list for national assembly is Operation Vula member Janet Love, followed by Aubrey Mokoena, Abe Nkomo, Essop Pahad, Frene Ginwala, Raymond Suttner, Smangaliso Mkatshwa and Barbara Hogan, most of whom occupy senior ANC posts. Senior ANC members Obed Bapela, Robert McBride and Amos Maseko head the region's list for the provincial legislature.

Only three well known businessmen appear on the lists, Nafcoc past president Sam Motsuenyane, Soweto businessman Richard Maponya and PG Elson chairman Leon Cohen.

The three woman candidates released

by Cosatu for participation in parliamentary election all appear in the top 50. They are Susan Shabangu and Elizabeth Thabethe, who appear ahead of former Cosatu first vice president Chris Dlamini, and Rejoyce Mabhudafhadi.

An ANC statement said the regional lists were only provisional. Many nominees had not yet been informed and might decide not to stand.

The NP last night accused the ANC of putting the names of prominent people on its list of election candidates without their consent to give credibility to the list. It said this caused embarrassment to public figures who might differ fundamentally with ANC policy and did not want to become embroiled in political controversy.

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ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela and regional executive committee member Robert McBride at a news conference at which measures to purge Katlehong's self-defence units of criminals were announced. Picture Abdul Shariff

ANC to probe defence unit power struggles

BIDAY 6/11/94

WILSON ZWANE

THE ANC's PWV region has launched an investigation into allegations that power tussles among self-defence units in Katlehong on the East Rand are behind the recent upsurge of violence in the area.

The region's deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela told journalists in Johannesburg yesterday the decision to establish a commission of inquiry was taken at a meeting on Tuesday. The meeting was attended by members of the ANC alliance, Mass Democratic Movement (MDM) organisations and self-defence units.

Bapela said the commission of inquiry would be chaired by a lawyer and would be made up of alliance and MDM members. It would begin its work on Monday.

Bapela said a committee had been elected to appoint the commission, whose members would be made public tomorrow.

Bapela said the commission would complete its work within two weeks and its findings would be submitted to the leadership of the alliance and the MDM, who would decide on action to be taken.

The news of the commission comes a day after the ANC had said it would purge the defence units of criminals, who were perpetrating atrocities in the township.

Bapela also said the ANC had information about people who had allegedly hijacked self-defence units in Katlehong. He said the organisation and its allies would take disciplinary measures against anyone found guilty of crimes. The culprits might also be handed over to police.

He added that his organisation and its allies would seek to have a police officer in whom it had faith appointed as investigating officer in any case arising from the probe.

Bapela also said that the ANC PWV regional office had intervened in the matter as soon as it had been alerted to continuous gunfire between unit members of

Mavimbela and Ncala sections in Katlehong at the weekend.

There had been no similar occurrences since Sunday, Sapa reports.

SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) southern Transvaal president Kgabiso M-sunkutu said the ANC alliance and MDM organisations would convene a meeting next weekend at which proper structures for defence units and their relationship to elected leaders would be thrashed out.

Law and Order Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said the ANC's response to the defence unit crisis was predictable, but inadequate.

"This so-called internal commission of inquiry simply amounts to a glorified kangaroo court which will promote not justice but the political aims of the ANC," Kotze said.

Kotze said the Goldstone commission was already probing unit activities and believed atrocities fell within the ambit of the commission's investigation.

□ In another development, Bapela charged that the Inkatha Freedom Party was opposed to the transformation of self-defence units into peace corps.

He said training of units in Daveyton on the East Rand for peace duties was supposed to start this month. But Inkatha had raised objections to the move, he said. The ANC would demand reasons for the blocking move from Inkatha at a meeting of the Wits/Vaal peace committee next week.

However, Wits/Vaal peace committee spokesman Peter Harris said the organisation had not received any protest from Inkatha regarding the training of peace corps. Inkatha had objected to the hiring of one person who had been appointed to a project to spearhead the establishment of peace corps.

Dutton denies U

FORMER Interboard chairman E denied in the Rand Supreme Court today that he had unlawfully bought and remitted the money abroad in pretext of purchasing plant from shore company.

Dutton, 36, has pleaded not guilty counts of forex and financial fraud at least R150m.

The trial, which has lasted more than two years, resumed in front of Judge Stretcher on Monday when Dutton denied his defence.

The State alleges that Dutton forged invoices and contracts to illegally obtain foreign currency and send the country by misrepresenting funds were needed to pay for machinery purchased overseas.

It is also alleged that most of the money was in fact never purchased and the value of plant that was imported

Peace force

want the peacekeeping force to be more than kutskonstabels" (2)

The subcouncil also announced significant progress had been made in the creation of a new national peace force. Working groups had been set up for the logistics of the new defence force several months, SADF transition director Brig Marius Oelschig said.

The CP yesterday said it would recognise the force or the TEU were products of "communist" negotiations at Kempton Park.

The party warned that its forces were prepared to defend it

Govt stock

said the slightly lower yield on government bonds compared with the E168 real foreign demand for R150s. Yesterday R150 closed three points below but earlier this week the gap widened to seven points.

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82nd ANC birthday rallies

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress is preparing mammoth rallies nationwide to celebrate its 82nd anniversary on Saturday

Arguably, the ANC is about the oldest liberation movement in the world, just a year younger than the Parliament of South Africa and two years older than its arch-foe, the National Party

The commemoration coincides with the last days of the white Parliament and the end of 48 years of apartheid rule

The ANC was launched on January 8 1912 in reaction to the exclusion of blacks

Sowetan 6/1/94
from the political process with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910

Ironically therefore this anniversary will also be the beginning in earnest of the ANC's election campaign and when opinion surveys predict the organisation will win more than 60 percent of the vote on April 27

National conference

Saturday's celebrations will precede the organisation's national conference to be addressed by ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela on January 15 He is also scheduled to address a rally on the anniversary

At the national conference to be held in

Durban Mandela is expected to lay down the ANC's election policy and announce its complete national and provincial lists of candidates for the new Parliament of the government of national unity

● Meanwhile, as the ANC national headquarters was this week co-ordinating plans for Saturday's event, the organisation's Northern Transvaal region announced that ANC Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela, ANC Youth League president Mr Peter Mokaba, ANC national executive committee member Mr Mac Maharaj and MK Northern Transvaal regional commander Mr Jacob Rapholo would address its rally on Saturday

ANC won't register as party

Own Correspondent

EAST LONDON — The two national liberation movements, the African National Congress and the Pan-Africanist Congress, will contest the April elections as liberation movements and will not register as political parties.

Thus, emerged during interviews with the two organisations yesterday. ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said his organisation would only consider reg-

istering as a political party after the liberation goals had been attained.

This, he said, could happen after the elections in April.

He said it was legally possible to contest the election as a liberation movement now that the election law had been amended.

Meanwhile, the PAC's national organiser, Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani, said

the PAC would remain a liberation movement.

He said there was no need to register as a political party for the elections because it was agreed at the multi-party talks that any movement that had a certain number of members would be allowed to take part in the elections.

The first multiracial elections in South Africa are scheduled to be held on April 27.

Peace force must be deployed first

ANC says it will disband defence units

Biday 7/11/94

THE ANC said yesterday it would call for the disbandment of township self-defence units, some of which it conceded were out of control, once the national peacekeeping force had been deployed successfully. (11A)

The announcement was made as peace talks between rival units in Katlehong broke down.

The ANC also called for what it hoped would be a major conference of political and civic organisations on the East Rand to try to create a "peace consciousness".

ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela told a news conference that the units had never been intended to be permanent. He said they had been established in 1991 only when it became clear that the police had failed to protect communities.

The ANC, which intended establishing a commission of inquiry to investigate conflict between the units, would reassess the situation once the national peacekeeping force had been deployed.

Bapela said if the force dealt effectively with political violence, it would be a positive gesture to call for the disbandment of the self-defence units.

Sapa-Reuter reports that peace monitors said a fragile truce between warring factions in Katlehong was near collapse. Peace talks between rival units had lasted only 30 minutes on Wednesday before feuding commanders walked out, they said.

"They are conducting a reign of terror in some areas. Everybody is struggling to call them to account for their actions," Peace Action monitoring group official

TIM COHEN

Vanessa Barolsky said

A peace worker said the talks had broken down "in protest at a peace call".

Barolsky said some self-defence units were little more than "hired guns" these people will kill for anybody.

Sources close to the ANC have admitted that at least three East Rand self-defence units are out of control.

ANC PWV executive member, Jessie Duarte said the East Rand ought to be declared a disaster area because the social fabric had collapsed.

The ANC's plan would include discussions on new gun control measures which, she said, ought to be discussed by the Transitional Executive Council, and the establishment of a new base for national peace accord structures since their eviction from Natalspruit Hospital.

The region had sent invitations to a January 15 all-inclusive meeting to the Inkatha Freedom Party, Azapo, and church and civic groups, she said.

Among the ANC's plans were a joint walkabout by leaders of political parties and holding nights of peace, during which the areas would be flooded with people.

Sapa reports the commander of the SADF's Group 41, based on the East Rand, confirmed reports of violent incidents involving self-defence unit members.

Col CP du Toit said the units contributed to violence and made it difficult for the SADF to establish peace and stability in the area.

© Picture Page 2

focus on THE ANC

Sowetan 7/11/94

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS was launched on January 8 1912 in reaction to the exclusion of blacks from the political process by white parties

This was two years after the National Convention of white parties proclaimed the Union of South Africa in terms of an exclusively white constitution

The ANC adopted its own constitution in 1918, in which it stated that its aims included the achievement of universal adult franchise and the creation of a united South Africa

The organisation adopted the basic principles of Mahatma Gandhi's strategy of passive resistance and started its campaign by petitioning both the South African and British governments

By 1919 according to historical records thousands of men and women had been arrested for burning their passes which gave blacks permission to live in 'white' South Africa

The ANC's closest ally, the South African Communist Party, was formed in 1921

Indeed, the ANC is possibly the oldest liberation movement in the world and celebrates its 82nd anniversary tomorrow

Today, still adhering to the principles of the Freedom Charter adopted in Kliptown on June 26 1955, the ANC is on the brink of coming to power its leadership speaks boldly of 'the ANC government'

Will of the people

The Freedom Charter states that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of the people

And the ANC is about to collect, so to speak — it has come a long way since the first conference of the South African Native National Congress in 1912 which gave birth to the ANC

Significantly, however, and despite its having embarked on the armed struggle in December 1961, and abandoning it in 1990 on its road to realising its goals, the ANC has won the "struggle" as a liberation movement?

In 1990 the ANC engaged in formal negotiations with its arch-foe and former jailer, the National Party

When ANC president Nelson Mandela signed the Groote Schuur Minute and later the Pretoria Minute in 1990, effectively "suspending" Umkhonto we Sizwe armed incursions, there were "oohs" and "aahs" and even cries of "sell-out" from various quarters

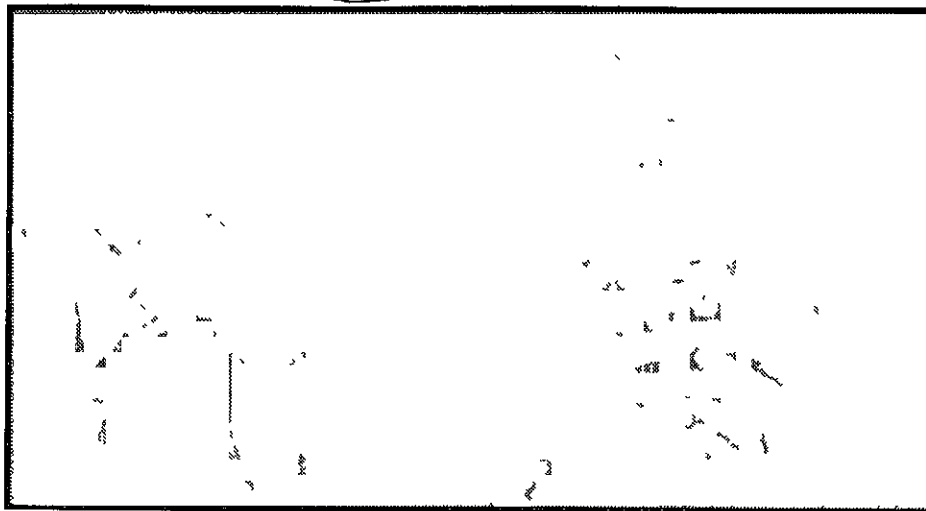
Mandela was in fact following up a process he initiated while serving a life sentence he was the first ANC leader to talk to the Government as early as 1986 about negotiating a democratic settlement

When the multiparty negotiations process (MPNP) began with the Convention for a Democratic South Africa later in 1990, the ANC and

The ANC possibly the oldest liberation movement in the world and celebrates its 82nd anniversary tomorrow. It is now on the brink of power, writes Political Correspondent **Themba**

Molefe:

(11A)



FLASHBACK ... Nelson Mandela and his erstwhile comrade, the late ANC national chairman Oliver Tambo.

the Government became the leading negotiating partners despite the fact that there were 24 other political parties in the process

The Pan Africanist Congress was the first to walk out of Codesa after crying wolf. It claimed the ANC and Government had made secret deals and were using the multiparty process as a rubber stamp

Conspiracy

Codesa collapsed but was revived as the no-name MPNP and still with the suspicion of an ANC-Government conspiracy

The ANC stuck to its guns. Mandela repeatedly parried accusing questions by saying "the ANC and the Government are enemies and negotiating with your enemy does not mean surrender"

In fact, State President FW de Klerk recently began saying the same thing, unconsciously prompting the ANC president to take an even harder line

In December Mandela angered De Klerk by declaring during the two men's Scandinavian visit that the ANC would "bury the National Party for good" after the April 27 election

But together with the Government the ANC has the daunting task of bringing back to the transitional process the black and white

rightwingers in the Freedom Alliance, especially Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi

It can be argued therefore that the ANC is on the moral high ground compared with its adversary the NP

Although it is currently not on good terms with its partners in the broader liberation movement — the PAC and Azanian People's Organisation — the ANC believes it is the most practical and realistic of the three

And it is indeed for this reason every second black person in the streets of Johannesburg or an urban township readily admits he or she will vote ANC on April 27

Election manifesto

This notwithstanding the fact that like the rest of the liberation movement, the ANC has yet to spell out its election manifesto and/or policies

Mandela is expected to do this when he addresses the media tomorrow morning

The anniversary of the ANC formation coincides with the last days of the white Parliament and the end of 45 years of NP rule

Important, though, is that the 82nd anniversary of the ANC will also be the start in earnest of the ANC's election campaign and when opinion surveys predict the organisation could win more than 60 percent of the vote on April 27

PAC not sure if it carried out pub attack

Schisms are appearing in the ranks of the PAC and its armed wing as the organisation prepares for elections, reports **Mondli waka Makhanaya**

WIM 7-13/1984

THE Pan Africanist Congress was treading a thin line this week being deliberately ambiguous on whether its attack on the Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town.

While the organisation's first response was an emphatic denial by deputy-president Johnson Mlambo that the Azanian People's Liberation Army was involved by the middle of

WIM 7-13/1984

the week officials were saying they "did not know". If its cadres were responsible instead the PAC shifted the focus to the Section 29 detention of Western Cape regional chairman Theo Mabusela and organiser Mlisahele Sinyo and the failure of police to produce hard evidence linking Alpha to the attack.

Observers speculate that the organisation's failure to commit itself may be due to the fact that its poli-

cal and military leadership has no control over some Alpha units and militant youth sections of the movement who oppose negotiations.

Both the constitutional negotiators who have long favoured an immediate end to such attacks and the PAC's militant wing insist there must be a mutual cessation of hostilities before armed actions stop could not continue the nature and timing of the attack," said one PAC watcher.

Although PAC political affairs head Jaki Seroke says the splinter group Revolutionary Watchdogs have been brought back into the fold senior leaders are said to be concerned about whether the PAC can rein in

some militants when it finally decides to suspend the armed struggle.

In a rather confusing twist two men claiming to be Alpha operatives called the Citizen newspaper giving conflicting accounts of the attack. The first calling himself Carl Jomo claimed responsibility for the attack on Sunday only to be disputed the next day by Carl Zimbiri Zimbiri, who regularly claims Alpha responsibility for attacks, said the mission had been carried out by an elite Alpha unit called the People's Concern.

Confusing matters even further was the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's (BCMA) armed wing, the Azanian National Liberation

Army's (Azania) claim of responsibility. Azania has stepped up its activities in recent months and its hierarchy admits to having carried out the attack on the Highgate Hotel in the eastern Cape last June, which killed five whites.

BCMA official Vuyisa Gunja said that while the political and military leadership generally favours Azania's autonomy for security reasons past events had shown that when Azania claimed responsibility, such claims had always been accurate.

"We trust Azania to be a politically aware force. If they took a certain decision, they would not give us any recourse to criticise them," said Gunja.

Foreigners flock to SA

WIM 7-13/1984

Mididuzi ka Harvey

ENCOURAGED by political reform more and more foreign visitors are whinging their way towards South Africa's azure skies.

And Satoru's Head of Research and Statistics Johan Geyer believes more tourists will visit the country this year. "In 1983 we saw a monthly improvement," he said. "Compared with 1982, we experienced a 10.8 per cent rise in tourism."

Satoru research during August and September last year found that over 5,000 international tourists visited the country in this period. The United Kingdom was most prominent, accounting for a fifth of all visitors coming for holidays visiting family and friends and for business.

Twenty-three percent of Germans visiting South Africa came on holiday. Most tourists stayed for two weeks, and the overall trend was towards shorter visits. Geyer said.

Guests brought about R4,000 each for a two-week stay in the country, and spent at least R2,000 a day.

More than 80 percent of visitors said the country was a good tourist destination. Three quarters of the visitors would recommend South Africa once they returned home and about 60 percent commented favourably on the service they had received here.

But fewer than half the visitors said personal security was good and only one in three felt absolutely safe.



It's polish for the girl with ample curves

Chaire Keeton: East London

WITH the hole in the ozone layer a girl has to be careful of her delicate skin while out in the hot sun this summer — and Vandees is no exception. But she has to make do with black stove polish to avoid sunburn as her ample curves absorb too much of an expensive blackout suntan lotion.

Vandees is a Friesland cow and

her owner, an East London farmer, was baffled when skin started peeling off the cow's back.

She took the animal to the vet and he told her it was simply sunburn, no mysterious bovine disease.

"We started off by putting a blackout suntan lotion on her. It did help but it was terribly expensive," the farmer said.

"We took her back to the vet —

we couldn't keep up one bottle of suntan lotion a day. He suggested we paint her with black stove polish."

"Now she is fine. Her hair has grown back and the sores have healed."

Vandees is covered with the polish every second day and will be for the next 20-odd years.

But when it rains, she goes grey. — Eena

SAP media liaison officer Major Eugene Opperman leaves a meeting between black policemen and Alexandra community groups and foreign observers over the recent killings in the township. Opperman was told he was not invited. PHOTO: STEVE HILTON BARBER

Some PAC activists were however not ruling out the fact that a PAC-aligned group may have been responsible, as the movement's youth and student wings are very strong in the Western Cape and Alpha is worshipped by PAC youths there. It was an Alpha unit or a grouping linked to the PAC that carried out the attack, it was definitely not with the sanction of the political or military leadership. PAC sources pointed out that the agreement was keen to end the armed struggle and to focus on the election campaign. They want this month's talks with the defence force and the defence ministry to succeed.

The PAC's conference last month voted to suspend the armed struggle once a mutual cessation of violence had been agreed. There would also be a moratorium on attacks during discussions with the government.

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke admitted that "we have a problem with people who are not part of the chain of command carrying out actions and claiming to be Alpha members."

"We do not claim to be a watertight organisation without schisms. We admit that we do have some loose cannons in our ranks," he said. The PAC focused instead on the state's tendency to arrest but not charge PAC activists after attacks in order to "cover up their inefficiencies".

Said chief constitutional negotiator Patricia de Lille: "They (the police) told us that the two detainees are not being held as suspects but that they could lead the police to suspects." By midweek three more people had been arrested.

ANC battles brew for regional leadership

(11A) W/M 7-13/94
Farouk Chothia and Anton Harber

THREE regions of the African National Congress are preparing for serious tussles this weekend over their nominations for regional premiers.

In Natal/kwaZulu, three ANC areas have each made separate nominations for the key position, setting the scene for an important fight between moderates Jeff Radebe and Jacob Zuma and hardliner Harry Gwala.

ANC deputy secretary general Zuma surprised observers this week by agreeing to seek the premiership of Natal/kwaZulu, rather than take an almost certain cabinet post in a future government of national unity. ANC sources had earlier said Zuma was likely pull out of the premiership race, as he was the most senior Zulu leader in the organisation and ought therefore to be on the national list.

Zuma's candidature has, in fact, improved hardline Gwala's chances, as it may split the moderate vote.

But Zuma said this week that he preferred to be a provincial leader. He told the *Mail & Guardian* that he would have "endless nightmares" if he were to "sit in the comfort of national office" while the "fires were burning in my own province."

"Whether I am the premier or not, I am going to work in Natal. The battle (for votes) is going to be fought at a provincial rather than national level," added Zuma.

He said he would lead the ANC in Natal/kwaZulu into a government of regional unity with the Inkatha Freedom Party "We are going to have a government of national unity I see no reason why that principle cannot be applied at a regional level as well."

The Eastern Cape also meets this weekend to choose between two candidates, both veteran ANC leaders. They are Raymond Mhlaba, who served 27 years in prison alongside Nelson Mandela, and Steve Tshwete, also a prison veteran who has made a name for himself by facilitating South Africa's return to international sports arenas.

The crucial Western Cape area — where the ANC is facing its most serious regional challenge — is shrouded in mystery. Tight-lipped head office officials will only say that "the matter is not resolved" and "it will probably be sorted out a national

level". So far, no specific names have come forward.

This almost certainly reflects a tussle around Dr Allan Boesak, the controversial church leader whom ANC president Nelson Mandela personally backed to lead the organisation in the Western Cape to try and secure the all-important and uncertain coloured vote.

Boesak is the best-known regional leader and the ANC's most powerful public orator, but has many critics in the ANC. Many believe that, because of his controversial personal record, he does not command the kind of respect that is needed to overcome the distrust and uncertainty of most coloured voters.

Other provinces have agreed on their nominations. Former United Democratic Front leader, Patrick "Terror" Lekota is almost certain to be premier of the Free State after the April election. He was nominated unopposed and this is an area where the ANC can be confident of getting a strong majority.

The charismatic former Umkhonto weSizwe commander Tokyo Sexwale is the PWV candidate, South African Communist Party central committee member Essop Pahad is the Western Transvaal nomination and Ngoako Ramathlodi is the Northern Transvaal's.

The complex internal voting procedure by which the ANC is choosing its election candidates comes to a head next weekend with a national lists conference. Delegates from around the country will vote on national nominations.



Harry Gwala



Tokyo Sexwale

Friday January 7 1994 SOWETAN

PAC unwavering

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress would not consider lifting its armed struggle until there was a cessation of hostilities from the SA Defence Force, PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille said yesterday

Commenting on a report issued by the Defence Ministry that the PAC was apparently softening its stance on its armed struggle, De Lille said the organisation would never suspend its struggle unilaterally.

ally.

The ministry was commenting on De Lille's statement that the PAC had consistently condemned all acts of violence and was busy negotiating a comprehensive mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government

She confirmed, however, that plans were afoot for a meeting between the SA Defence Force and the PAC military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

"The details are at present being worked out," she said

(11A)

Ultimatum for Coke

By Ike Motsapi

SOWETO businessmen have given Amalgamated Beverages Industries seven days to solve the pay dispute with its workers.

After that they will heed the call for a boycott of its products.

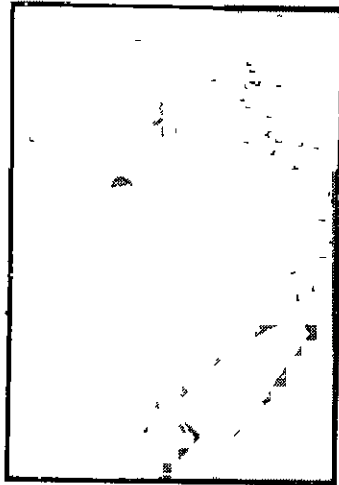
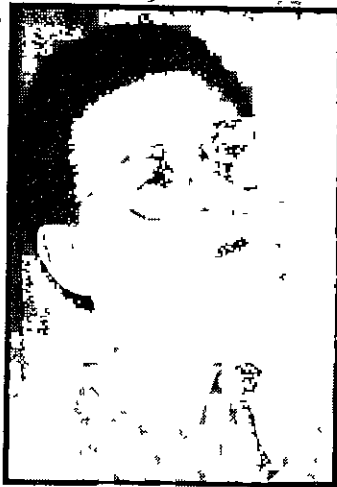
About 2 500 workers, who are members of the Food and Allied Workers Union are on strike. Mr George Nene, national chairman of ABI's shop stewards committee,

said businessmen from the Greater Soweto Chamber of Commerce agreed with the Fawu that the company, which produces Coca-Cola, should be given a chance to find a solution

Striking workers will meet at Vista University in Soweto tomorrow at 10am to discuss the latest developments. The meeting will also discuss plans for a march on the Head Office of ABI in Sandton on Wednesday

Bizwell





□ Allan Boesak is not high up on ANC candidate lists

□ Johnny Issei is fifth on ANC regional list

Boesak unlikely to head W Cape after elections

ARC 8/1/94 (11A)

Weekend Argus Political Staff

REGIONAL leader of the African National Congress Allan Boesak appears to have suffered a setback to his bid to become the first Prime Minister of the Western Cape after the April 27 elections.

Although he has expressed interest in the position, his region, which held its nominations conference in December, still has to elect a candidate for the key position — making it the only one of the ANC's 13 regions still to elect their candidate

A copy of the Western Cape's national and regional lists of candidates has come into the possession of the Weekend Argus.

Dr Boesak does not head either of the lists.

Regional Executive committee member Zou Kota heads the regional list with 197 votes.

She is followed by her executive committee colleagues Cameron Dugmore, Vincent Diba, Lerumo Kalako, Johnny Issei, Hilda Ndude, Ebrahim Rasool and National Executive Committee member Reggie September.

Tony Yengeni, who was ousted as regional secretary by Mr Kalako, is number 10 on this list.

He is followed by trade unionist Tasneem Essop and Dr Boesak

Dr Boesak has also performed poorly on the ANC's list of candidates for the National Assembly

This list is headed by ANC constitutional negotiator and civil rights lawyer Johnny de Lange.

Western Cape head of the South African Municipal Workers Union, Salie Manie, is second followed by human rights lawyer Dullah Omar, Dr Boesak, Mr Yengeni, trade unionist Danny Olifant, Mr Diba, Mr Kalako, Ms Kota and Rob Davies.

Other names on the list are Peninsula Technikon rector Franklin Sonn, lawyer Essa Moosa, South African Democratic Teachers' Union national head Shepherd Mdladlana, his secretary Randall van der Heever and University of the Western Cape rector Jakes Gerwel.

MPs Ken Lategan and James Swiegelaar are the only two Labour Party members on the National Assembly list

The ANC meets in Johannesburg next weekend to finalise its regional lists for the national assembly and regional government

The Western Cape will have 44 representatives in the assembly, 200 in regional government and 10 in the senate

A third of the candidates in each sphere of government must be women.

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Mandela asked to step in and heal Natal rift

By SIPHO KHUMALO *CIPress 9/11/94*

ANC president Nelson Mandela has been asked to step in to sort out the raging controversy over the election of a new Northern Natal executive committee.

Protests raged after the region's firebrand chairman Dr Aaron Ndlovu was ousted, and now the region is split into two factions – one supporting Ndlovu and the other the new committee led by Bheki Ntuli.

The ousted committee this week asked Mandela to postpone the provincial conference that began in Durban yesterday until the conflict was resolved.

Their memorandum signed by 10 people and delivered to Mandela's office charged that the Northern Natal elections held last November were rigged.

Immediately after the November elections, Mandela appointed a Commission of Inquiry to investigate the allegation.

The ousted members claim that the Commission of Inquiry had recommended the November elections be declared null and void.

However, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa told City Press the Commission upheld the results of the elections.

Meanwhile, the race for nominations for the provincial premiership has started in earnest with deputy secretary Jacob Zuma, Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala and Southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe running for the position.

'ANC will talk to all'

By THEMBA KHUMALO
and Sapa

THE ANC would continue to persuade KwaZulu's, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Inkatha to rejoin the constitutional process, despite the fact that he did not want the liberation of this country, ANC leader Nelson Mandela said yesterday

He was speaking at a press conference in Johannesburg to mark the ANC's 82nd anniversary.

Mandela said the ANC would continue to talk to all parties, including those on the right, which remained outside the peace process to persuade them to return (IA)

"But it must be clear to all of them that no one will stop the April general elections from taking place," Mandela said

He said the ANC would not accede to the rightwing demand for a separate Boerestaat as it would reverse the constitutional process completed last November.

On the question of the ANC-aligned Self-Defence Units which are at each others' throats in Katlehong on the East Rand, Mandela said their violence was a product of people the ANC could not defend against hostel attacks

He said the security forces had failed to protect the people

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Boesak is still a 'front-runner'

ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak may still be elected premier of the region despite his poor showing on the region's list of candidates for the provincial legislature. *S Times*

Regional secretary Lerumo Kalako said yesterday Dr Boesak was one of the front-runners for the regional premiership by virtue of his position as regional chairman of the ANC, a post to which he was recently unanimously re-elected *9/1/94*

He dismissed as "mischievous" reports that Dr

Boesak had suffered a setback in his bid to head the Western Cape regional government and said the order of appearance on the list did not influence a candidate's chances for the premiership.

Mr Kalako said the ANC's Western Cape region had invited nominations for the premiership from all its structures and affiliates and would elect a candidate before the movement's national election list conference on January

15

(11A)
The region's lists of

nominees to the National Assembly and the provincial legislature were released at a press conference at the University of the Western Cape yesterday.

Dr Boesak's name was 12th on the provincial list and fourth on the list of candidates for the National Assembly.

The regional list was headed by executive committee member Zou Kota.

ANC's 'back to school' plan for civil servants

S. Times 9/11/94
By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

THE ANC is planning to step up its training of civil servants ahead of the April 27 election as part of its programme of "preparing to govern".

ANC official Zola Skweyiya said the organisation planned to send future civil servants to Britain, the United States, Canada and Germany to study government in action firsthand.

ANC-nominated regional premiers would be sent to Canada and the US to study how premiers and governors ran their offices there, while others would be sent to Germany to study its constitutional court, he said. (117)

The training programme, which started in 1993, was run jointly by a committee composed of officials from the ANC and Cosatu's public sector unions.

Potential directors-general of government departments would be seconded to the governments of Namibia, Botswana and Zimbabwe to see how "Third World governments" operated, he added.

List set to raise ANC/LP tension

SITimes [C Metro] 9/11/94

SIMMERING tensions between the ANC and the Labour Party (LP) are set to heighten following the release of the ANC Western Cape's election list.

Only four LP members have made it on to the ANC-alliance's national list of candidates, presenting the Patriotic Front with its first major test of unity.

LP members who made it on to the Western Cape's regional (National Assembly) and provincial list are Ken Lategan and James Swiegelaar, while Peter Hendrickse and Llewelyn Landers have been included on the Western Cape's list for the national assembly.

'Hostility'

This week's "slap-in-the-face" for the Labour Party comes less than two weeks after 13 members of parliament crossed the floor in parliament to join up with the ANC. Now there is concern within LP ranks about the future of sitting MPs who have not been included on the list.

Tensions within the LP and some elements within the ANC have been in existence since the LP first joined the Patriotic Front.

The first serious notes of discontent were sounded last month when LP leader Allan Hendrickse wrote to the ANC national executive to complain that he has been "vilified" and "kept in the dark". In his letter, Mr Hendrickse complained of "hostil-

By NAZEEM HOWA

ity" towards his party from within the ANC-alliance.

The alliance is made up of the ANC, SA Communist Party, Mass Democratic Movement, LP and the SA National Civics Organisation, the Youth League and the Women's League. In past weeks there

has been intense discussion within ANC circles about the election pact with the LP. Despite Nelson Mandela's belief that the LP will draw significant coloured support to the ANC in the Western Cape, there is strong opposition to the election pact among rank-and-file members.

This was very much in evidence at last month's ANC-alliance elections

conference, where strong attacks were made against the Labour Party by delegates.

While the list still has to be ratified at a national elections commission, indications are that the Labour Party may appeal to the ANC's national executive committee for additional representation.

ANC regional secretary Lerumo Kalako yes-

terday said the lists were "a product of a democratic and transparent process".

"Delegates had the final say and the lists should be considered as a reflection of their attitudes to the Labour Party," he said.

Mr Kalako said that the alliance partners would meet this week to elect a regional premier for the Western Cape.

Talks hopes fade as Freedom Alliance sticks to its guns

By RAY HARTLEY
Political Reporter

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

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

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

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

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

However, ANC negotiator Mohammed Valli Moosa said the latest alliance position did not take talks any further. *1/10/94*

The ANC's national executive committee would, nonetheless, discuss the alliance statement at a meeting on Wednesday. *1/10/94*

The alliance said in its statement: "The contents of the required commitment correspond substantially with the commitment already given by the alliance and its leaders." *(S/11A)*

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

'Boesak still in running'

CT/10/1/94 (11A)

ANC Western Cape regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak may still be elected premier of the region despite his poor showing on the region's list of candidates for the provincial legislature

Regional secretary Mr Lerumo Kalako said Dr Boesak was one of the front-runners for the regional premiership by virtue of his position as regional ANC chairman, a post to which he was recently unanimously re-elected

He dismissed as "mischievous" reports that Dr Boesak had suffered a setback in his bid to head the Western Cape regional government and said the order of appearance on the list did not influence a candidate's chances for the premiership

Mr Kalako said the ANC's Western Cape region would elect a candidate before their national election list conference on January 15

Dr Boesak's name is 12th on the provincial list and fourth on the list of candidates for the National Assembly. Dr Boesak could not be contacted yesterday for comment on the results

Border drops Tshwete

EAST LONDON — ANC sports supremo Mr Steve Tshwete was dropped from the organisation's nominations lists for the Border region's premiership — and 73-year-old veteran politician and ANC-SACP leader Mr Raymond Mhlaba was nominated unanimously

It is believed the ANC wants Mr Tshwete, an ANC national executive committee member, who was not present at the conference, to be nominated elsewhere

In Natal, ANC deputy secretary general Mr Jacob Zuma was elected as the Natal region's candidate for provincial premier yesterday

Mr Zuma, who received 149 votes, won the nomination after a close race with ANC southern Natal chairman Mr Jeff Radebe (132), followed by Midlands stalwart Mr Harry Gwala (114).

ANC sources said former Durban mayor Ms Margaret Winter was nominated — Sapa

It is significant that Dr Boesak (with 150 votes) received less support than his vice-chairman, Mr Vincent Diba (184 votes), the ANC regional secretary, Mr Lerumo Kalaka (184 votes), Mr Johnny Issel (176 votes), the deputy secretary, Rev Chris Nissen (166 votes), regional treasurer, Mr Ebrahim Rasool (166 votes), and the ousted regional secretary, Mr Tony Yengeni (159 votes)

Although the ANC quickly denied that Dr Boesak's poor showing had any particular significance, the results are a setback for him

Also surprising was the rela-

tively low showing of the ANC's finance spokesman, Mr Trevor Manuel (26th position with 112 votes), and the MP for Simon's Town, Mr Jannie Momberg (52nd with 68 votes)

However, the ANC's biggest problem is likely to be the effective sidelining of the Labour Party — its Western Cape chairman, Mr Kenny Latégan, only got 19 votes and came 128th. The only other LP member on the regional list is Mr James Swigelaar, the MP for Dysselsdorp, who came 171st with 13 votes — Sapa, Political Staff

Zuma to set off on poll campaign trail for top spot in Natal

□ ANC's candidate to lead province (11A) ARCT 10/1/94

Political Staff

DURBAN — African Natal Congress deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma, the ANC's candidate for the premiership of Natal in the new South Africa, is to set out on the election campaign trail in the province

almost immediately after the ratification next week of his nomination

Mr Zuma said today that the ANC national executive had agreed to send him off to work the campaign trail even before his selection yesterday for the premiership candidature

His choice as the ANC man for the premiership was announced yesterday after a closely fought three-way race between three men known for their roots in the region Mr Zuma won with 149 votes, beating popular Southern Natal and Natal Midlands chairmen Jeff Radebe and Harry Gwala with their respective 132 and 114 votes

The surprise result is believed to be the result of a compromise by the Southern Natal region on Thursday to send half the number of delegates the region was entitled to in terms of its numbers

All three men pledged to work together to secure an ANC victory in Natal

Mr Zuma expressed hope that the Inkatha Freedom Party would decide to take part in the elections, in spite of the party's weekend decision not to do so until certain demands were met

He did not rule out the possibility that certain IFP members, who might decide to vote in spite of their party's decision, would cast their vote for him "I think we have a very important happening on April 27 Many people in this region will want to take part"

Mr Zuma said his nomination was a result of his history in the struggle of Natal and his knowledge of the region

"I hope this (his election as candidate for Natal premier) will attract votes away from the IFP," he said

The delegates also voted for candidates for provincial and national government, but these results are likely to be made public only later this week

Raymond Mhlaba top of list in Eastern Cape

KING WILLIAM'S TOWN — The 73-year-old African National Congress/South African Communist Party alliance leader, Raymond Mhlaba, was unanimously nominated for the regional premiership of the Eastern Cape Province at a conference

years on Robben Island after he was found guilty of high treason together with ANC president Nelson Mandela

The three regions will hold press conferences today to announce the names of 31 people whose names appear on the regional list for the National Assembly and a further 90 names for the provincial legislature

Among those whose names appeared on the two lists were Arnold Stofile, Linda Mtshali, Phathekile Holomisa of Transkei and Mluleki George

Congress of South African Trade Unions general secretary Sam Shilowa warned workers that the struggle would not be over after the April 27 election

He said even if the ANC won an outright majority of votes, the power would be in the hands of a government of national unity where all parties with five percent of the vote would be represented — Sapa

Mr Mhlaba was chosen after the Border region withdrew its support for Steve Tshwete, an ANC national executive committee member, who was not present at the conference

A decision to name Mr Mhlaba was reached during a caucus of the leadership of the three ANC regions — Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei — who met yesterday to find consensus

The Border region ANC chairman, Smuts Ngonyama, said his region had proposed Mr Tshwete as its candidate, but withdrew the nomination after lengthy discussion

Mr Mhlaba is a Rivonia tria- list, who served more than 20

Self-defence units will 'still operate'

WILSON ZWANE

THE controversial self-defence units will continue to operate even if the national peacekeeping force has been deployed successfully — if the SA National Civic Organisation (Sanco) has its way.

Sanco Southern Transvaal general secretary Dan Mofokeng said at the weekend that even the most competent and unbiased policemen would not be able to provide "door-to-door security" in the townships. *BISA*

Given the shortcomings of the police, communities and individuals had the right to "organise their own security", Mofokeng said. *10/11/94*

The self-defence units would continue to exist even if the national peacekeeping force had been deployed successfully in the townships. But the character of the units would change markedly. *(11A)*

They would operate within the confines of the law and would liaise closely with the new police force, he said.

Mofokeng's statement came a day after the ANC PWV region had announced that it would call for the self-defence units to be disbanded when the national peacekeeping force had been successfully deployed.

The units, particularly those operating in the East Rand township of Katshehlong, have come under fire recently for committing atrocities.

Mandela spells out ANC changes in public service and economy

WIDESPREAD changes in the public service, the economy and land ownership are in store under an ANC government, according to the organisation's annual policy statement.

Delivering the statement on Saturday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said much had to be done to change the organs of government "so that they are representative of all our people. All levels of government must serve the people and operate in a climate of transparency, public accountability and moral integrity."

The economy had to be rebuilt to serve all the people and ensure rising standards of living for the poor.

Referring to the ANC's reconstruction and development programme, which has nearly been completed by an ANC/Cosatu/SACP thinktank, Mandela said: "These measures must ensure that the economy serves the interests of all our people, enabling us to raise the living standards of the poor. At the same time, it must attain high and sustainable rates of growth."

The ANC had to ensure that "within a relatively short time, our country emerges out of the crisis imposed upon it and becomes a true land of hope," he said.

"Thus we will begin to achieve, if—as we must—we begin to build new houses, give better education to the youth and raise the

BILLY PADDOCK

standards of living of especially the poor."

In view of massive unemployment, job creation had to get top priority. Similarly, programmes would be needed to ensure that those left behind because of apartheid got a chance to catch up and become competent workers.

"This is the true essence of a policy of affirmative action," Mandela said.

He said land could be redistributed without disruption. "We are convinced this can and must be done without threatening those who work the land today and help to feed the nation."

The prosperity for which all yearned would be brought about by the efforts of working people. Under the leadership of trade unions, they had a responsibility to help create conditions for job creation and the implementation of the economic restructuring programme.

Unions also had to help build a prosperous economy that would end unemployment, provide living wages for all, raise levels of productivity and international competitiveness and ensure proper participation by workers in decisions at work.

He called on business to play its part in building confidence in the future, and to join hands with government for progress, stability and economic growth, and fairness for all.

ANC official Zola Skweyrya said the organisation was collating the CVs of people, both within and outside the ANC, who wanted to take up posts in "the new SA public service".

The ANC had already sent people to Britain, Canada and the US for training in public service administration and to observe government at first hand.

The ANC was seeking the right people to train for key public service posts, including directors-general and advisers.

ANC's changes

The training would include secondment to the governments of Namibia, Zimbabwe and Botswana to see how "Third World governments" operated.

An ANC/Cosatu thinktank was planning policy for the new public service and looking at the role of the Commission for Administration, with a view to ensuring that all employee organisations be consulted in drafting new rules and conditions.

Skweyrya said the ANC-nominated pre-

Billy Paddock 10/11/94

From Page 1

miners of regions would be sent to the US and Canada to study how the premiers' and governors' offices were run. ANC members were being sent to the US and Germany to study constitutional courts.

Key public servants who had recently taken up new contracts would not be sacked. It was likely the top 3% and the bottom ranks would be targeted, enabling new policies to be implemented efficiently while those at the bottom were trained to take over.

To Page 2

No to NP posters

Sowetan

10/11/91

ELECTION POSTERS OF THE National Party and Democratic Party will be removed from all black townships, the Azanian People's Organisation said on Saturday.

HOUSE CAMPAIGN Azapo's committee to visit Bekkersdal:

About 500 Azapo Central Wits region members also decided at a meeting in Dobsonville, Soweto, that "hostile media" would be targeted and that an anti-election drive would soon be started.

The meeting vowed to remove any NP or DP poster found in black townships, saying that it was "undemocratic and opportunistic for oppressors to organise among the oppressed people of Azania" It was further decided that the

newly formed campaign committee would conduct "house-to-house voter education" in Alexandra and Bekkersdal (IIP)

From next week the committee will also be visiting Lenasia, Eldorado Park, Greater Soweto, Mohlakeng, Kagiso to introduce Azapo's anti-election campaign

The Azanian People's Organisation should let the electorate decide which party to support, National Party Johan-

nesburg and Soweto spokesman Daryl Swanepoel said yesterday

"Every person must fully enjoy the right to voluntary and free decisions to support a political party or organisation of his or her own choice."

Swanepoel denounced Azapo as a "rejected organisation with minimal following"

He added the NP was not fazed by its threats and would continue township campaigning — Sapa

Afrikaner homeland unrealistic - ANC

Sowetan 10/11/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

■ IMPOSSIBLE DEMAND Recalls

a great source of pain for blacks:

PATIENCE WITH THE Afrikaner ultra-rightwing would eventually make them realise their demand for a separate homeland was impossible, Mr Nelson Mandela said at the weekend

However, this did not mean the African National Congress would accept the establishment of a *volkstaat*, the ANC president said

"That will never happen. The creation of separate homelands caused a painful existence for Africans," he said

Mandela was addressing a Press briefing to mark the ANC's 82nd anniversary and which he said came during "the year of liberation for all South Africans"

"It took us more than three decades to

convince the Government that the country could not be divided into separate homelands. Today the South African Government has accepted with us to de-recognise these 'states'," Mandela said

As such, he said, he was hopeful of a solution through continued discussions with rightwing parties in the Afrikaner Volksfront and Freedom Alliance. He said by persisting with the demand for an own homeland the rightwing was isolating the Afrikaner community and thus was "dangerous"

"Patience, therefore, will ensure progress with the ultra-right"

This demand is one of the stumbling

blocks preventing the FA from participating in transitional structures and the coming April 27 election (11A)

Meanwhile, a three-way meeting between the ANC, Government and FA is being planned for either today or tomorrow in an attempt to bring the rightwingers, including the Inkatha Freedom Party, Bophuthatswana and Ciskei, back in the process

● A meeting between IFP president Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and State President FW de Klerk is planned for January 17 to discuss the party's decision to boycott the election, among other issues

ANC may win poll by two-thirds

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — A nationwide opinion poll released yesterday indicates that the ANC's support among voters has reached the two-thirds level for the first time since 1984.

This would allow the movement to draw up almost all aspects of the constitution without consulting any other party. A second survey found the ANC would have a narrow majority over the IFP in

Natal

Both surveys were commissioned by the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, which is headed by former Kwazulu cabinet minister Dr Oscar Dhlomo.

It was found that more than half the respondents favoured a centralised government, while support for federalism among IFP supporters was surprisingly only 40%. The poll also shows that Inkatha and

the Conservative Party's support bases are haemorrhaging while the National Party has not regained the large number of supporters it lost earlier last year.

The poll was conducted in October and November last year from a sample of 2 100 adults by MarkData and the Human Sciences Research Council under the auspices of the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy. The sample excluded respondents from the TBVC territories

ET 11/1/94 (114)

Local ANC people may not be elected

Political Staff

KEY Western Cape ANC figures will not sit in the regional or national parliaments unless the ANC does unexpectedly well in the region in the April 27 election

Those who may not reach Parliament include ANC finance spokesman Mr Trevor Manuel, former Western Cape assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr, sitting MPs Mr Jan van Eck and Mr Jannie Momberg, and constitutional expert Professor Kader Asmal

The constitution gives the Western Cape provincial parliament 42 members. If the ANC won 50% of the pro-

CT 11/1/94 (11A)
vincial vote — which, in terms of the polls, would be high — its 21 MPs in the regional parliament would be the first 21 on its regional list

The Western Cape will have 21 regional seats in the National Assembly. If the ANC won 50% of the vote, it would have 11 of these, excluding many on its list. Among them would be civil rights lawyer Mr Essa Moosa, Professor Albie Sachs, Mrs Melanie Verwoerd, Mrs Dorothy Boesak and Olympics spokesman Mr Ngconde Balfour

But there will also be 200 nationally-selected seats in the National Assembly and the ANC may give some to Western Cape members

Holomisa not on ANC lists

TRANSKEI's Major-General Bantu Holomisa is not on the ANC nomination list for the Eastern Cape, Border and Transkei, which were released yesterday

Gen Holomisa said yesterday he had never declared an intention to stand for elections

ANC leader Mr Nelson Man-

delah has said he would be unsurprised if Gen Holomisa "occupied high office" in a new South Africa. Gen Holomisa has previously hinted he may further his military career

The ANC list of more than 120 names includes former Transkei prime minister Miss Stella Sigcau and the president of the

Congress of Traditional Leaders of South Africa, Chief Patekile Holomisa

The 35 Transkei candidates to the Provincial Legislature included uMkhonto weSizwe cadres, priests, ANC and SACP members and government employees — Own Correspondent, Political Staff

ANC nomination accepted in spirit of 'reconciliation'

Andre de Wet

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

SUSPENDED Democratic Party MP Andre de Wet said today he had accepted an ANC nomination in the Eastern Cape in the interests of 'reconciliation and reconstruction'

He said he was sorry to leave the DP, but believed none of the old white-based parties had any chance of making an impact in the region

"The reality of the Border-Kee region is that parties like the DP have very little chance

"But I want very much to make a contribution to the region in the new South Africa, so it made sense to accept the nomination, he said

Mr De Wet was suspended by DP leader Zach de Beer yesterday

In a statement, Dr De Beer said "He is going to stand for a party which is in direct competition with us. This constitutes flagrant disloyalty to the DP"

He said a DP executive meeting would review the issue on Friday

Mr De Wet said the white population of the Border/Kee region accounted for only about 3,6 percent of the total and, by nominating him, the ANC had made it possible for him to represent this minority in a future regional government

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ANC president Nelson Mandela handed WHO Africa regional director Gottlieb Monekosso, left, a copy of the ANC's national health plan at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday. With them is ANC health and education chief Cheryl Carolus. Picture: GARTH LUMLEY

SA back in WHO soon, says Mandela

JACQUIE GOLDING

SA's readmission to the activities of the UN's World Health Organisation (WHO) was likely when a new government was elected, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday. *BIDA*

SA's re-entry into the international health community would be decided at the World Health Assembly in Geneva in the first week of May, it was announced at an ANC news conference in Johannesburg.

The organisation also said the government of national unity would continue to be given support in the health arena by the WHO. *11/1/94*

WHO regional director for Africa Prof Gottlieb Lobe Monekosso met Mandela yesterday and was presented with the organisation's draft national health plan.

Details of the plan, prepared by the ANC's health department with the support and technical assistance of WHO and Unicef, will be made public by Wednesday next week.

Monekosso, previously an academic physician from Cameroon, has been instrumental in ensuring that the WHO has continued to help anti-apartheid movements in SA.

Commenting on the national health plan, Monekosso said the plan embodied "equity

and justice for all South Africans".

During the briefing, Mandela drew particular attention to the deterioration of health services under apartheid and to the massive tasks that would face the government of national unity as it sought to make high quality health care accessible to all South Africans. *(11/1)*

Both men reaffirmed their commitment to promote co-operation among southern African countries in the field of health and both were confident that there were "enough resources in SA to deliver high quality health care to all".

The major problems lay in the planning, allocation and management of these resources, said Monekosso.

ANC health department official Cheryl Carolus told the news conference that it had also been agreed that the world body would train health service managers to implement a coherent health strategy, Sapa reports.

"The first of 10 managers will receive training in Geneva, Switzerland, and also serve attachments at health secretariats in southern African countries," Carolus said.

The SA government had its voting rights suspended by the WHO in 1964.

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ANC Youth League names new leaders

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC Youth League yesterday named Ms Lulu Johnson and Ms Mpho Lekgoro as successors of Mr Peter Mokaba, and Mr Rapu Malekana as president and secretary-general of the league, respectively

The new officials would assume duties at the league's three-day conference starting at Vista University in Soweto on Friday, said league spokesman Mr Parks Mankahlana

African countries set to give PAC marching orders

HUGH ROBERTON, Political Editor

MORE African countries, including Zimbabwe, are considering a ban on the Pan-Africanist Congress and its military wing, Apla, following the decision by Tanzania yesterday to prohibit operations by the two organisations on Tanzanian territory

According to well-placed diplomats, the PAC and Apla were warned by their African hosts more than a year ago that the Organisation of African Unity was unanimously behind a peaceful and negotiated settlement in South Africa and that any attempt to frustrate or derail the process would not be tolerated

Zimbabwe is now seen as the last major refuge for the PAC and Apla, but diplomats say it is under pressure from other African countries, and from Western capitals and political organisations in South Africa to take a firm stand in persuading the PAC and Apla to end their "armed struggle"

With Tanzania having taken action, Zimbabwe will be under even stronger pressure and, diplomats say, the government of President Robert Mugabe is believed to have warned the PAC and Apla that its benevolence is not limitless and that its policy is under review

While the PAC and Apla have been given some leeway, especially by Zimbabwe, to continue resistance to the terms of the settlement negotiated at the World Trade Centre, this was strictly on the understanding that they would use only peaceful means to do so and that they would move actively towards ending their "armed struggle"

Zimbabwe's relatively benign attitude to the two organisations was described by diplomats today as "merely the paying off of

some historical debts" — the Zimbabwean African National Union, led by Robert Mugabe had close ideological, military and diplomatic ties with the PAC and Apla throughout the Rhodesian bush war.

But Zimbabwe has played a key role in setting up negotiations between the South African government and the PAC and Apla aimed at ending the "armed struggle"

Diplomats say the St James church massacre and the killings at the Heidelberg Tavern were described today as "the last straw" which precipitated Tanzania's action to ban the two organisations

And a statement last week by PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille that the PAC would not unilaterally suspend its armed struggle was believed to have precipitated warnings to PAC and Apla representatives in African capitals that with South Africa firmly on the road to non-racial democracy there was no further reason for an "armed struggle"

Reuters reports from Dar es Salaam that Tanzanian foreign ministry officials summoned PAC representative to Tanzania Raymond Johnson and handed him a strongly worded government statement condemning recent violence blamed on the PAC inside South Africa

Foreign Ministry officials said that from now on the PAC would not be permitted to issue hostile statements or plot against South Africa from anywhere in Tanzania

12/11/94 (11A) (11B)

Tanzania bars Apla and PAC

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The PAC will consult its armed wing, Apla, about future operations following a ban by Tanzania against the two organisations operating in that country

Reuter reported yesterday that Tanzania had banned the PAC and Apla from using Tanzania as a launching pad for its attacks against South African targets.

Tanzania foreign ministry officials said the PAC and Apla would "from now on" not be permitted to issue hostile statements or plot against South Africa from anywhere in the country

PAC spokesman Mr Jaki Seroke confirmed the organisation had received a document from the Tanzanians, in which they expressed concern about reports that the organisation was orchestrating violence against civilians

He said the PAC would consult Apla about its future operations before making a decision

He would not say if Apla would move to another country

Sapa reports that PAC deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo denied the organisation was using Tanzania as a base for attacks

tolding a news confer- tion of journalists local man this year to die in carage in Kaitiung. the line of duty when a

NEWS

THE STAR / WEDNE

Health fees up 800% in Zimbabwe

Harare — Big increases in hospital and clinic fees in Zimbabwe have drawn bitter criticism but the government says it was forced to take the step to save the system from collapse. Charges went up by as much as 800 percent this week but people earning less than Z\$400 (about R160) a month still get free treatment.

Health Minister Dr Timothy Stamps said: "We are only asking people to divert some of the money spent on alcohol to their health." — Star Africa Service.

Motor strike ends

Toyota South Africa's manufacturing plants nationwide opened for production yesterday despite speculation about continued strike action by 19 000 National Union of Metalworkers of SA members.

The strike began last month when the motor industry deducted tax on ex gratia payments, a spokesman for the industry said yesterday. Numsa said the deductions were not part of the wage agreement signed at the National Bargaining Forum. — Staff Reporter.

'Ethnic thinking is wrong'

ANC rejects Right's bid for homeland

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC is prepared to address the concerns of the right wing, but will not accede to the demand for a separate white homeland, says ANC president Nelson Mandela.

His comments follow a statement by Conservative Party and Afrikaner Volksfront leader Dr Ferdi Hartzenberg, who said on Monday that the AVF had suspended further talks with the ANC.

Talks, which would have ended on January 20, were suspended because Mandela said categorically at the weekend that the ANC would not consider a separate white homeland.

Speaking yesterday after a meeting with President de Klerk at the Union Buildings, Mandela said the differences between the ANC and AVF could be address-

ed only through further negotiations.

He said he had informed De Klerk of ANC talks with the AVF as well as his meeting with Hartzenberg on Monday afternoon.

Mandela said the right wing was still influenced by a "master race mentality" and believed that it could dictate when negotiating with blacks.

During his meeting with Hartzenberg, Mandela said he had urged the CP leader to refrain from inciting those wanting a separate homeland.

Mandela reiterated his statement to Hartzenberg that the right wing should avoid isolating itself and becoming the target for the anger of the rest of the country. The ANC leader acknowledged that the right wing's demand for a separate homeland was "genuine but mistaken".

The ANC's constitution was hostile to any form of ethnic thinking, Mandela said.

PAC and Apla barred from Tanzania

BIDON 12/1/94
WILSON ZWANE

THE PAC will consult its armed wing, Apla, about future operations after a Tanzanian ban barring the two organisations from the East African country.

Reuter reported yesterday that Tanzania had banned the PAC and Apla from using it as a launchpad for attacks in SA. Tanzania's foreign ministry summoned the PAC's Dar es Salaam representative, Raymond Johnson, and strongly condemned recent attacks on SA civilians, for which the PAC and Apla had been blamed.

Officials said the PAC and Apla would no longer be permitted to issue hostile

statements or plot against SA. "Tanzania condemns the violence against innocent citizens in SA," the government said, adding that Tanzania supported and was "closely monitoring the progress of the democratic process in SA". (11A) (28)

PAC spokesman Jaki Seroke confirmed that a document had been received from Tanzania. The PAC had responded, saying statements had been issued from its Johannesburg headquarters since September.

Seroke would not say whether Apla

would move to another country. The PAC had suspended its armed struggle pending the outcome of negotiations with government. But he stressed that the PAC had a good relationship with Tanzania.

Sapa reports that PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo denied the organisation was using Tanzania as a base for attacks, saying it was not close to SA.

Government spokesman Dave Steward welcomed Tanzania's announcement. "We would certainly welcome any decision by any neighbouring state directed towards the peaceful resolution of disputes in SA."

Mandela rebukes right for voicing impatience

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected right-wing demands for a white homeland and said it was he, who had spent 27 years in jail, rather than CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg who should be expressing impatience over the matter. **B/S on 12/1/94**

Mandela was speaking at a news conference after meeting President F W de Klerk and was responding to a statement by Hartzenberg that the Afrikaner Volksfront had broken off talks with the ANC following weekend comments by Mandela.

The ANC was prepared to address right-wing concerns, he said, but emphasised the Volksfront was still influenced by a master-race mentality. **12/1/94**

This was not the end of talks between the ANC and the far right, said Mandela. The ANC remained open to talks with all.

Mandela said further discussions could be entertained if the right wing could present a map indicating an area where the majority of residents were in favour of a volkstaat and agreed that those who were not in favour would retain the full rights and privileges of SA citizenship.

At the joint news conference, De Klerk and Mandela said they had discussed the need for further negotiations with the Freedom Alliance.

De Klerk said government was studying alliance statements and its response to demands from government and the ANC that it commit itself to taking part in interim structures on condition that agree-

**BILLY PADDOCK
and ADRIAN HADLAND**

ments are reached in talks. The ANC will also study this response today at its national executive committee meeting.

De Klerk reiterated that government and the ANC wanted the Freedom Alliance to be part of the country's constitutional settlement. **(11A)**

He dismissed allegations that government hoped for electoral gains by the exclusion of the alliance.

However, Freedom Alliance executive chairman Rowan Cronje later accused government and the ANC of not dealing with issues of substance in talks but wasting time on procedural matters.

"We have given an unequivocal commitment that we will participate in the elections and the interim structures if we reach agreement on changes to the interim constitution of 1993," he said.

However, both government and the ANC were insisting on the alliance giving a commitment to take part before they were prepared to discuss the changes.

Cronje pointed out that none of the parties at the World Trade Centre negotiations had had such strictures applied to them.

Meanwhile, Ciskei military leader Brig Oupa Gqozo said yesterday he had no intention of cutting ties with the Freedom Alliance.

1 800 UN observers

WASHINGTON — UN Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali is to recommend the dispatch of between 1 800 and 2 000 UN observers to monitor SA's elections in a report to the UN Security Council due by the end of the week, diplomats said.

The report, based on an assessment mission undertaken at the request of the TEC, is understood to call for the observers to be phased in over the next three months. The full complement would be in place by early April, three weeks before voting.

The UN contingent is expected to be supplemented by 312 observers from the EC, 70 from the Commonwealth and up to 50 from the OAU. They would be coordinated by the UN, but

SIMON BARBER

each group would probably issue its own findings on the election.

Individual countries would be sending official delegations as well as representatives from non-government organisations.

Gay MacDougal, of the US Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, who has been working closely with the ANC, is liaising with non-government organisations in the US, Europe and Scandinavia.

She predicted the US and non-government organisation delegations would number up to 600. These would be accredited by the Independent Election Commission and subject to its code of conduct.

SAP union slams pay rise

ERICA JANKOWITZ

THE SA Police Union (Sapu) yesterday denounced the SAP for granting 18% increases to top officers while lesser ranks received 3,4% despite dangerous working conditions.

The union said it would no longer accept unpaid overtime.

If its demands were not met, the union would "have to obtain a mandate from its members", Sapu national secretary Maj Peter-Don Brandt said.

□ Sapa reports that Sapu called yesterday for the immediate resignation of Law and Order Ministry spokesman Capt Craig Kotze, accusing him of using the police as a springboard to attack political opponents.

We will win an outright majority, claims ANC

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress is convinced it will win an outright majority in the coming election and become the single largest political party in the country

It claimed this in a statement criticising conclusions reached following an opinion poll conducted by the Human Sciences Research Council-Multi-Party Democracy.

The ANC said the conclusions were misleading primarily because the category of people who did not know the political party they would vote for were treated as if they did not exist.

The figures would be "fundamentally different" had the surveys taken into account.

● The category of people who did not know what political party they would vote for.

ARG-BM194 (11A)
● That the TBVC territories were ignored

● The number of ANC supporters without identity documents

● The number of possible spoilt papers,

● The large discrepancy between the findings of this and another survey by the same organisation focusing on the PWV region.

"The ANC remains convinced that it will win an outright majority and become the single largest political party in the country

"In this regard the use of surveys that do not recognise the real challenge of ID acquisition and voter education, that remain an obstacle to a free and fair election, are unhelpful and misleading," the ANC statement said. — Sapa.

Apla begins to feel the chill

HANS-PETER BAKKER of The Argus Africa News Service reports from Johannesburg

11A
ARLT 13/1/94

THE warning by Tanzania that it would no longer tolerate Apla's war-like attitude to South Africa's transition to democracy is a severe political blow as well as a military setback for the organisation that has vowed to continue its armed struggle no matter what the human cost.

The military wing of the Pan Africanist Congress has claimed responsibility for a string of racially-inspired attacks on civilian targets. Most recently, anonymous telephone callers claiming to represent Apla, assumed responsibility for an attack on the Heidelberg Tavern in Cape Town in which four people died and six were injured.

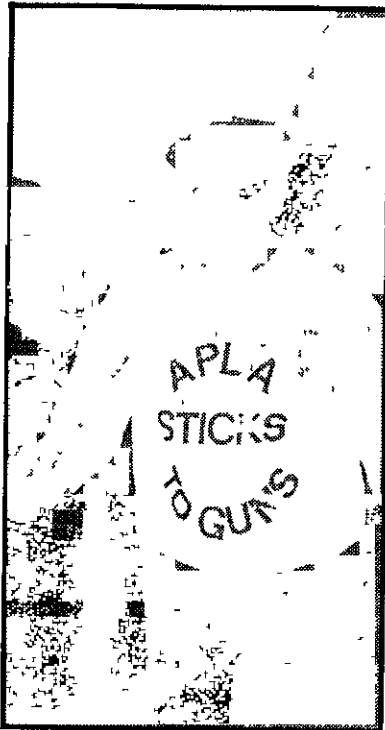
The continuation of Apla's armed struggle at a time when negotiations were leading to a fully democratic South Africa has brought condemnation from several quarters — most significantly from previously solid supporters.

The Organisation of African Unity, which helped to direct the liberation struggle in South Africa through its Liberation Committee in Dar es Salaam and which has backed — and funded — the PAC in the past, has been increasingly critical of the organisation's hard-line attitude to negotiations and to the violence perpetrated by Apla in its name.

Zimbabwe too is reported to have made it abundantly clear that it would not allow its territory to be used as a launching pad for Apla attacks and that the organisation's presence in Harare could only be a diplomatic one.

Apla cadres who, with Umkhonto... Sizwe soldiers, are reported to be receiving training by the Zimbabwean Defence Force on how to run a conventional army have been urged not to take part in any further attacks in South Africa.

The announcement that Tanzania



STICKING TO HIS GUNS: An Apla supporter on the march in Guguletu last September

will no longer tolerate the issuing of hostile statements or plotting against South Africa must be a severe blow to the organisation.

For nearly 30 years Tanzania has been the PAC and Apla's most important haven. It is not known exactly how many cadres live there. The South African Police estimated that Apla had about 2 700 members abroad, most of whom live in Tanzania. The Goldstone Commission, investigating the causes of political violence in South Africa recently said there were as many as 15 000 Apla members in Tanzania.

The announcement by Tanzania's

Department of Foreign Affairs does not detail what it plans to do with the cadres, military bases and arms of the Apla troops in the country, nor how it will act against people like Apla's chief commander Sabello Phama who shocked many South Africans when he said it was acceptable "to lose five million people in the liberation struggle" and when he said his organisation aimed to kill white children because it wanted to hit the whites where it hurt most.

PAC and Apla spokesmen have expressed their surprise at the banning order, but it should not have come as a surprise. It was only a matter of time before a growing friendship with the South African government and international condemnation of the terror attacks were to lead to the banning order as Apla became an embarrassment for the Tanzanian government.

High-level contacts between Tanzania and South Africa were first reported early last year. The South Africans raised the issue of continued Apla violence and the use of Tanzania as a rear base. In record time the two formerly sworn enemies agreed to exchange embassies. For Apla the writing was on the wall.

The expressions of surprise are, however, an indication of just how confident the organisation's leaders were of their standing with the Tanzanian government — and how great a shock the turnabout must be to them.

In response to last year's official visit to Dar es Salaam, Apla spokesman Romero Daniels, warned the South African government to keep away from Tanzania or face the consequences.

According to Daniels "the (South African) regime is only up to its dirty tricks of harrassing and destabilising African countries north of

the Limpopo"

A confident Daniels said "We have our roots here and Pretoria cannot have things their way. Their time is over."

● Robin Drew of The Argus Africa News Service in Harare reports that Zimbabweans have joined in the condemnation of the PAC for the acts of terror committed in South Africa by Apla.

Backing the action of the Tanzanian government which banned the organisation from using its territory as a base for attacks, Zimbabwean newspapers today demanded that the PAC stop wrecking the peace process in South Africa.

The Herald, which usually reflects government thinking in foreign matters, said "senseless violence at this time puts the PAC on much the same level as the militant extreme rightwing in South Africa."

It said "We have to hope that Tanzania's ban will act as a salutary lesson to the PAC, persuading the organisation to conduct itself in such a manner as to force no other nation to take similar steps against its representatives, as they surely will if it continues on its present violent course."

The independent Financial Gazette said Zimbabwe could not afford to be identified with a party that is committed to sabotaging nascent democracy in South Africa and Tanzania had shown Zimbabwe what to do.

"The message to the PAC should be unequivocal. Stop wrecking the peace process or move elsewhere," said the Financial Gazette.

The Daily Gazette said the time had come for Zimbabwe to switch horses and throw its weight behind the ANC instead of the PAC which, it said, the ruling party and President Mugabe had long preferred.

PAC denies it has been kicked out . . .

Argus Correspondent
THEMBA MOLEFE

THE PAC says it has not been prohibited from operating in Tanzania where its external headquarters are based, but has been urged to stop military statements in the country.

The PAC's national office in Johannesburg said a communique from the Tanzanian government to the organisation's chief representative Mr Raymond Johnson in Dar es Salaam had been distorted by the

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the letter was in line with the position adopted by the frontline states after the PAC and ANC were unbanned in February 1990.

To encourage dialogue and a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Zimbabwe was the first of the frontline states to ban Apla from issuing communiques from its soil.

President Robert Mugabe had close ties with the PAC and Apla throughout the Rhodesian bush war. Zimbabwe has played a key role in

setting up negotiations between the South African government and the PAC and Apla, aimed at ending the armed struggle.

It was in that light that the Tanzanians have acted, said Mr Nemadzivhanani.

"It is not true that the PAC has been banned nor has Apla been kicked out of Tanzania. The statement from our chief representatives relayed a message similar to that of Zimbabwe earlier," said Mr Nemadzivhanani.

Meanwhile, Sapa-AP reports that the secretary-general of Tanzania's

ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi Party, Mr Horace Kolimba, told a news conference in Harare "We will not allow Tanzania to be used as a base for hostile actions and we cannot allow military training camps in the country anymore."

He explained that Tanzania did not want to be seen as "complicating things" in South Africa.

Mr Kolimba, who is also Minister of State for Economic Planning, denied that the move against the PAC had anything to do with Tanzania's hopes for its future economic relations with South Africa.

Japan urges clarity on policies from ANC

JOHANNESBURG — A Japanese diplomat urged the ANC and other major political groups to detail future economic policies as soon as possible in order to clarify corporate options in South Africa

Kyoji Yoshino, second secretary for Trade and Economic Affairs at the Japanese Embassy, said a survey last October of Japanese corporate activity in SA revealed anxiety on this issue

There were currently 30 Japanese companies with branches in SA, and most were optimistic about future two-way trade, he told a conference on SA's relationship with GATT

But, he added "These companies are as yet cautious about investment into SA, accompanied by a risk that is not too small"

Nineteen firms were anxious about future economic policy, he said, adding "These companies cannot help

ET 13/1/94 (11A)
but feel uneasy about the concepts of nationalisation, wealth tax and affirmative action"

Factors dissuading investment included the unstable political situation and violence, which were mentioned by 23 companies, he said

No Japanese company had returned to SA following the removal of sanctions except for Denko which last October opted to participate in a ferrochrome manufacturing operation

Nine companies were looking at plans to invest, but nothing was likely to materialise before the elections

"In the event of an adverse political situation, these companies will not hesitate to give up these plans," he said

Other constraints on potential investment included the frequency of strikes, a lack of skilled labour, and foreign exchange controls — Reuter

Report distorted by Press — PAC

Sowetan 13/11/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE Pan Africanist Congress says it has not been prohibited from operating in Tanzania where its external headquarters are based, but has been asked to stop military statements from the country

The PAC's national office in Johannesburg yesterday said a communique from the Tanzanian government to the organisation's chief representative Mr Raymond Johnson in Dar es Salaam had been distorted by the Press

PAC national organiser Mr Maxwell Nmadzivanani told *Sowetan* the letter was in line with the position adopted by the Frontline States after the PAC and African National Congress were unbanned in February 1990

Negotiated settlement

To encourage dialogue and a negotiated settlement in South Africa, Zimbabwe was the first of the Frontline States to ban the PAC's Azanian People's Lib-

FRONTLINE STATES Directive

in line with earlier agreement:

eration Army from issuing communiques from its soil

President Robert Mugabe had close ties with the PAC and Apla throughout the Rhodesian bush war (11P)

Key role

Zimbabwe has played a key role in setting up negotiations between the South African government and the PAC and Apla, aimed at ending the armed struggle

It is in that light that the Tanzanians have acted, said Nmadzivanani

"It is not true that the PAC has been banned nor has Apla been kicked out of Tanzania

"The statement from our chief representatives relayed a message similar to that of Zimbabwe earlier," said Nmadzivanani

Press reports suggested that the Tan-

zanian Government had banned the PAC following the Heidelberg Tavern shooting which it saw as the "last straw"

Meanwhile, *Sapa-AP* reports that secretary-general of the ruling Chama cha Mapinduzi Party, Mr Horace Kolimba, told a news conference in Harare "We will not allow Tanzania to be used as a base for hostile actions and we cannot allow military training camps in the country anymore"

He explained that Tanzania did not want to be seen as "complicating things" in South Africa

Kolimba, who is also Minister of State for Economic Planning, denied that the move against the PAC had anything to do with Tanzania's hopes for its future economic relations with South Africa, where Nelson Mandela's rival ANC is expected to win elections in April

ANC 'to register'

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress will formally register as a political party this month to contest SA's all-race elections on April 27

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday the Electoral Act passed by the country's last white parliament required political groups to register at least 90 days before an election

"In terms of the Electoral Act, we will register as a political party before April 27," Mr Niehaus said

He said the registration would not force the ANC to restructure, as it was already structured along the lines of a political party

But he said the ANC would not abandon its "character of a liberation movement" founded (in 1912) to fight for majority rule and an end to white domination

The ANC is widely expected to emerge as the majority party in the April poll and dominate a government of national unity
— Sapa-Reuter

CTU/1/94 (11A)

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— PAGE 2



Apla 'may end armed fight'

Own Correspondent

DURBAN — There was a possibility that the PAC's armed wing would end the armed struggle, a senior representative of the organisation said here yesterday shortly after a closed meeting with visiting Indian Deputy Foreign Affairs Minister Mr Salam Khurshid.

The PAC's Dr Selva Saman said talks with various political players looked promising and the ending of the armed struggle was possible.

The organisation was barred this week from using its headquarters in Tanzania as a launching pad for violent attacks in South Africa and has now come under fire from another former supporter, Zimbabwe.

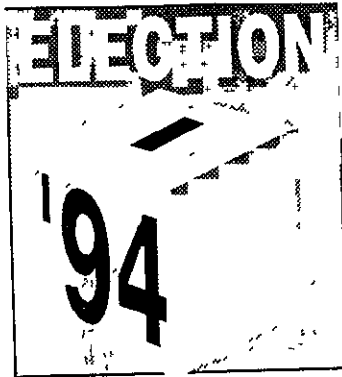
● Having it both ways — Page 4

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of my horses and I





PF pledge on poll ⁽¹¹⁸⁾ renewed _{4/27/94}

JOHANNESBURG — Patriotic Front leaders have again committed themselves to contesting the April 27 election under the leadership of the African National Congress.

"The need for unity was stressed to achieve the expected resounding victory in the elections — a victory that would be in the interest of all the people of South Africa," claimed a statement issued after a meeting in Johannesburg.

The meeting — attended by the ANC, the Intando ye Sizwe Party of Kwandebele, the United People's Front of Lebowa, the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress, Transkei, Venda, the Labour Party, the Communist Party and Gazankulu's Ximoko Progress Party — accused the government of being expert at promoting violence.

The ANC national executive committee was mandated to ensure adequate representation of all Patriotic Front organisations on its election list.

The Venda and Transkei governments agreed they would not be part of the nominations process but that individuals in their administrations could be approached for inclusion on the list — Sapa

Disgruntled supporters desert Azapo

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Disillusionment with the Azanian People's Organisation decision not to take part in the April 27 election is driving some of the organisation's supporters to the bosom of its political opponents.

Sources inside Azapo said the organisation, which has a proud anti-apartheid history, had seen some of its key strategists and members turning their backs on high-profile roles in the Black Consciousness organisation or leaving it to join its opponents.

Resignation

The sources, themselves members of Azapo's extended central committee, pointed at the resignation towards the end of last year of advocate Mojanku Gumbi from her position as head of the organisation's legal and constitutional affairs secretariat, and local government and civic secretariat deputy head Shiko Ramaselela's defection to the fledgling African Christian Democratic Party (ACDP)

The sources said that although Gumbi remained a member of Azapo, her resignation letter was handed in on the eve of the departure of Azapo's central committee members for Harare for a consultation with the Zimbabwe-based Black Consciousness Movement of Azania on the forthcoming election.

"She (Gumbi) said it was becoming increasing-

ly difficult for her to defend herself against the internal and external environment," said one source.

Azapo deputy president Pandelani Nefolohodwe yesterday confirmed Gumbi's resignation.

He said Azapo did not know about Ramaselela's defection until they saw his picture with other ACDP members in last week's Sunday Times.

However, he denied there was an exodus of Azapo members to other parties and organisations.

The sources said although the majority of Azapo's rank-and-file membership was in favour of a boycott of the election, most members of the central committee — which had decided to send a delegation to the World Trade Centre when multiparty talks resumed on April 1 — wanted the organisation to contest the election.

Reconsidered

The leadership quickly reconsidered its participation in negotiations when a group of youths went to the house of the man who was to lead the organisation's delegation to the talks and threatened him.

The sources said the Azapo leadership was held captive by the membership, and that this had been demonstrated by the fact that most of the organisation's recent statements were made by unknown local and regional leaders.

2

BUSINESS DAY, Friday, January 14 1994

Fresh bid to draw alliance into poll

B. Day 14/1/94

ANC, government and Freedom Alliance chief negotiators will meet informally in the next few days to try to arrange a new round of talks aimed at drawing the alliance into participating in the election.

This decision comes after a strong statement from Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi that he will use everything in his means to prevent the ANC coming to power.

The three sides have set January 24 as a deadline to reach agreement on changes to the constitution that will satisfy the alliance's demands.

However, three days of talks at the end of last year came to nothing as the sides thrashed out procedural matters, with the ANC trying to extract a commitment from the alliance that it would take part in the TEC and the elections.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said yesterday the Freedom Alliance was still committed to further talks but said government and the ANC "must stop playing with words and start discussing substantive matters". His words echoed those of Buthelezi who told the KwaZulu legislative assembly caucus on Wednesday that further negotiations were a waste of time.

He said the KwaZulu government and Inkatha "will not tolerate their (ANC) march to the seizure of power either through the ballot box, or through mass action, rolling mass action, or through revolutionary violence".

Two options were available: to continue negotiating for another six weeks until the rejection of the alliance's demands; or "we

BILLY PADDOCK

call their bluff and say enough is enough". In both cases Inkatha would end up in the same position (Sapa) (S) (IA)

"Our position is very clear. . . . We can no longer afford to waste three or four weeks on useless exercises which we know cannot deliver," Buthelezi said.

Meanwhile, Bophuthatswana's internal affairs department has launched a voter education programme in the territory amid speculation that President Lucas Mangope will contest the election as premier for the northwest region, despite the fact that Bophuthatswana has not yet committed itself to taking part in the election.

An internal affairs ministry spokesman said yesterday the programme was being conducted by Q-Projects.

However, Q-Projects co-ordinator Deanne Galbraith denied this, saying the matter was too sensitive. She would acknowledge only that the organisation was involved in democracy education.

The ANC's nomination for premier of the northwest region, Rocky Malebana-Metsing, exiled from Bophuthatswana after the abortive coup, said he was looking forward to contesting the election openly and freely with Mangope.

He said he had it on good authority that Mangope was to contest the April 27 election. "He is starting to acknowledge that he has no option but to reincorporate".

The ANC had registered and helped more than 85 000 Bophuthatswana residents to get SA ID books in the past two months. "That is only in the western Transvaal section of the northwest region."



Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, left, the Patriotic Front summit in Johannesburg

CP councils spurn summit

GAVIN DU VENAGE

THE CP-aligned Transvaal Municipal Association will not take part in next week's local government summit that is to be addressed by ANC president Nelson Mandela and President F W de Klerk. B. Day

Government sources said yesterday the association's decision had "come as quite a surprise". The association had been active in local government negotiations and had helped fashion an agreement that was acceptable to right-wingers at least until local government elections later this year 14/1/94.

Earlier yesterday the Local Government Negotiating Forum, of which the association is part, said it regretted the decision. It said it had been notified that the right-wing council of Akasia, north of Pretoria, would not attend the summit. Sapa reports that the Akasia town council said it did not recognise the forum.

Deputy Local Government Minister Yakoob Makda said the decision would result in residents being uninformed. However, sources said information would be disseminated by radio and in local publications, but not through municipal offices "where it might get lost" (S) (S)

It was decided last year to call the summit to launch a publicity campaign informing the public about local government restructuring.

The forum said it needed public affirmation by national leaders of the changes, which were secured only after compromises by both government and the ANC.

GOLD FIELDS PROPERTY COMPANY LIMITED

Preliminary Announcement of Results

	Year ended 31 December	
	1993	1992
	R000	R000
Revenue		
Income from rent and sale of property	9 945	8 219
Surplus on realisation of investments and fixed assets	2 045	2 124
Interest earned, gold royalties and income from other sources	816	1 648
Income from investments	1 205	1 308
	14 011	13 299
Expenditure and amounts written off	5 401	3 910
Administration and general	3 508	3 075
Interest	1 883	645
Amounts written off investments	10	190
Profit before tax	8 610	9 389
Tax . . .	2 663	3 356

4833,7	2060,0	3380,0	10,20	5,0939	1,7370	0,2316	4,2825	0,2938	3,3988	1376	1312,27	8,10
↑	↓	↑	NO MOVE	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓	↑	↓	↓
4958,4	2158,4	3372,0	10,20	5,1049	1,7490	0,2329	4,3170	0,2942	3,4028	1387	1322,83	8,10



Labour Party leader Allan Hendrickse, left, ANC president Nelson Mandela and Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike at the Patriotic Front summit in Johannesburg yesterday. Picture ROBERT BOTHA

CP councils spurn summit

GAVIN DU VENAGE

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Patriotic Front renews its backing for ANC

JACQUIE GOLDING

Venda would not be allowed to stand for nomination. **(HFD)**

But both governments agreed they would allow individuals in their administrations to be approached by the ANC for inclusion on the list.

Mandela said the question of representation on the ANC list had irked some homeland administrations "Certain homelands have asked for representation of 40 members on our national list. They have raised certain problems," he said.

"We, too, have pointed out that there are many other constituencies that want representation on our list. We have to be careful. There are so many who want certain quarters like the ANC Youth League, women and Cosatu."

A conference to draw up the final lists would be held this weekend

PATRIOTIC Front leaders yesterday recommitted themselves to fighting the April 27 election under the leadership, logo and banner of the ANC

At a Patriotic Front leaders' summit in Johannesburg, at which a joint election strategy was formulated, ANC president Nelson Mandela said elections would be fought with a "strong front to ensure a resounding victory"

He emphasised the Patriotic Front meeting was conducted in a "spirit of accommodation" where "informed decisions" were vital.

The meeting was attended by the ANC, SACP, Labour Party, the Transvaal/Natal Indian Congress and the leaders of Lebowa, Venda, Transkei and KwaNdebele.

The ANC's NEC was yesterday mandated to ensure adequate representation of all Patriotic Front organisations in the elections, although the military leaders of Transkei and

NATAL Pm 14/1/94

Local logic

(11A)

The weekend election of ANC deputy secretary-general Jacob Zuma as the organisation's candidate for the Natal regional premiership must be seen as a victory for moderates in the organisation. It is also likely to result in the ANC's national executive and Natal region moving closer together.



Zuma

Cape Town University's Robert Schrire says "This is a particularly significant move because it will bring Natal back into the mainstream of ANC politics." It also emphasises again the importance placed by the ANC on regional assemblies, with the popular Tokyo Sexwale nominated to head its PWV list.

Schrire explains that regional leaders in Natal, like Midlands leader Harry Gwala, have developed a fair measure of autonomy, "waging their own particular regional quarrels and conflicts. The result now will be to end the situation where the tail is wagging the dog. The other side of the coin, of course, is that Zuma's stature as a political heavyweight and man of substance at a national level means a growing influence of the region on the broader thinking of the organisation."

Zuma was thought not to be the favourite of the Natal business community; its first choice in the ANC would probably have been southern Natal regional chairman Jeff Radebe, who is regarded as a moderate — especially when compared with the Stalinist Gwala. But Zuma is also a moderate and he has the political weight for the job of regional premier — assuming that the ANC wins a

CURRENT AFFAIRS

majority in Natal, which now seems possible (see Opinion Poll) and will be made even more likely with Zuma's nomination.

Zuma received 149 votes, followed by Radebe's 132 and Gwala's 114 from about 400 ANC delegates at a special weekend congress at the University of Durban-Westville.

The organisation is unwilling to disclose its nominations to the national list. Says a spokesman "These lists are not final until

Pm 14/1/94

they have been ratified by the national nomination conference in Johannesburg on January 16." Other ANC sources say there are no big surprises or celebrity nominations, in contrast with some other regions, though former Durban mayor Margaret Winter is believed to be on the list. (11A)

Zuma, who believes Natal has a key role to play in the balance of forces in politics, has been at the forefront of peace talks with

Inkatha and is understood to enjoy considerable rural support in Natal. He has developed a close relationship with Inkatha chairman Frank Mdlalose and is held in high regard by some Inkatha officials.

Zuma's involvement at regional rather than national level could play a key role in promoting reconciliation in Natal and in ensuring that the region plays an appropriate role under the new constitution. ■

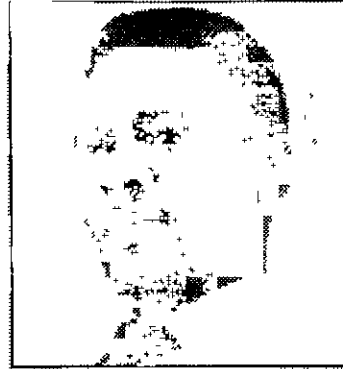
ANC youth to redefine role

Vuyo Mvoko

FAR from being disbanded, township self-defence units should be upgraded into a permanent corps, believes the man tipped to succeed Peter Mokaba as African National Congress Youth League chief

ANCYL deputy president Lulu Johnson this week said SDUs were necessary because township residents had no confidence in the "helpless and hopeless" security forces.

Johnson has been nominated unopposed to succeed Mokaba as president at the ANCYL national congress in Johannesburg this weekend. His view on SDUs contradicts a statement by ANC PWV secretary Obed Bapela who said this week the units might be disbanded when the National Peace Keeping Force was in place



Johnson... Mokaba's successor

The self-effacing and slow-speaking Johnson — a marked contrast to the fiery Mokaba — said the Youth League would be grappling with its future role at the conference. This would involve a move from "oppositional politics"

Also on the conference agenda is a "development, reconstruction and defence" programme. Johnson said the league had already held talks with business about employment training and educational opportunities

(1/A) WMI4-20/1/94

IT has been suggested, and only half in jest, that the troublesome Pan Africanist Congress of Azania slogan, "one settler, one bullet" should be changed to "one foot, many bullets" — the foot in question being its own

At the time of FW de Klerk's inevitable bow to history in 1990 the PAC was ideally placed to build on the gains it had made in the late 1980s and emerge as a strong, viable alternative to the African National Congress in the competition for the majority vote. That the prospect of such a scenario has long since emigrated to Transkei is new evidence of the PAC's uncanny ability to turn even the most favourable set of circumstances into unco-ordinated chaos

The PAC spent the first two decades of its existence in a near permanent state of disorganisation where various factions of the movement spent far more time fighting each other than they did confronting the apartheid regime. All that seemed to change in the early 1980s and as the decade drew to a close the PAC has apparently shed its troubled past and was poised to emerge as a powerful challenger to the ANC. Much of the credit for the transformation lay with the exiled leadership of the PAC, more particularly with chairman Johnson Mlambo, international affairs chief Ahmed Gora Ibrahim, administrative secretary Joe Mkhwanazi, and United Nations representative Lesawane "Sam" Makhanda

Conditions on the ground inside South Africa had also played a role. While it would be too strong to suggest that there was a widespread disillusionment with the ANC, the failure of Umkhonto weSizwe (MK) to take full advantage of the insurrectionary climate of the mid-1980s began to lead important elements within organised black youth movements to explore alternative avenues for confronting apartheid

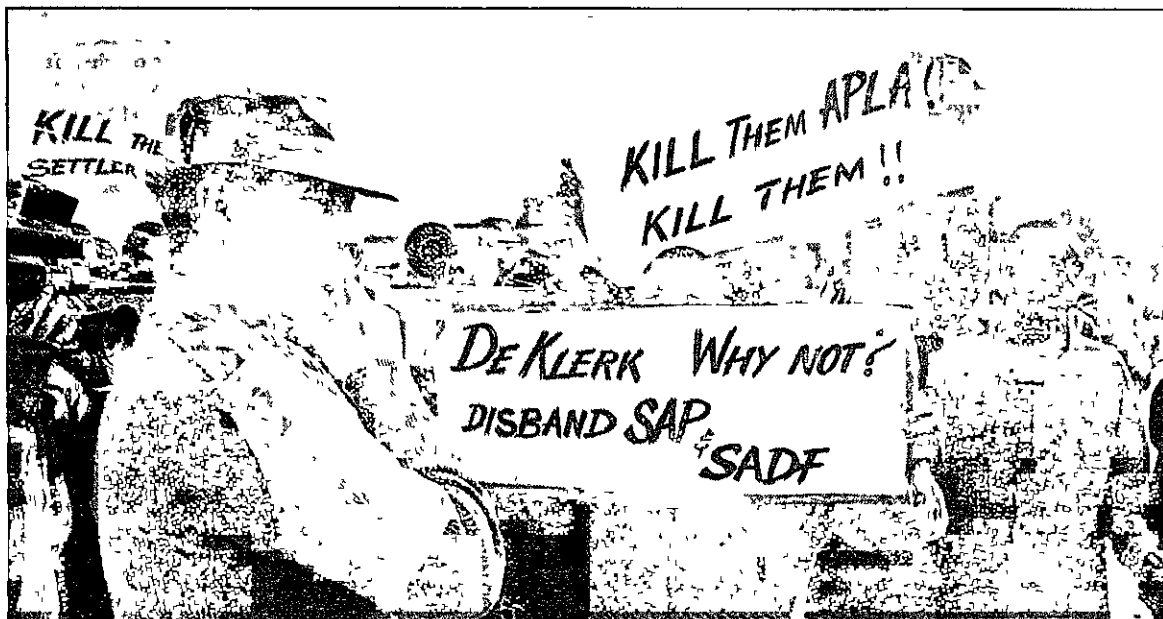
There was little doubt as the 1980s drew to a close that grassroots support for the PAC was growing at a rate unprecedented since the early 1960s. It was equally clear that once the ANC began to negotiate with the government — and all the signs pointed to such talks — that the PAC could, by a combination of skilful organisation and a clearly articulated strategy, adopt an outbidding position which would drain ANC support by the thousands

The cards were stacked in favour of the PAC but there was a joker in the pack. Without solid organisation

Cards favour PAC, but it still pulls the joker



WMM 14-20/1/94 (11A)
The PAC could have emerged as a strong contender against the ANC, but once again it managed to turn favourable circumstances into unco-ordinated chaos, writes **Gary van Staden**



Apla supporters versus the police ... As the PAC shrank, so its impatience grew

PHOTOGRAPH GUY ADAMS

and clearly defined tactics the PAC would eventually be forced to the negotiation table on the terms of its opponents due to the significant power disparity which disadvantaged the PAC in relation to both the ANC and the government. All of this was apparent and documented as long ago as 1990 yet the PAC still managed to pull the joker

The keys to the political kingdom lay in the concepts organisation and strategy and it soon became clear that the PAC had neither. The return of its exiled leadership was delayed too long and was too low key when it finally happened, no grassroots organisation in support of the outbidding position materialised reducing it to empty words which no one needed to take seriously. The PAC's "strategy" — such as it was — changed more often than the Highveld weather in thunderstorm season and contained far more rumbling than lightning. The inevitable consequences of this intransigence and the disorganised approach was that the ANC was given far greater freedom to negotiate that even its

most optimistic projections had suggested while dissatisfaction and dislocation spread through the ranks of those who thought the PAC could save them from the unpalatable deals being made between the ANC and government

The PAC added further fuel to the bewildering confusion of its supporters by failing to implement clear policy guidelines in the potentially explosive mix of continued armed struggle and rising racial intolerance among its recruits. Two things began to happen at once. First, much of the support it had gained in the late 1980s and during the early months of the negotiation process began to drift back to the ANC or, far worse, into a kind of political and ideological limbo — the twilight zone of "one settler, one bullet" and surrogate "membership" of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) but now without any political controls or responsibility for actions

The second thing to happen was that as the PAC support base shrank, its intolerance, impatience and general anti-white sentiments

grew. But by now the PAC had been so weakened that its leadership refused even to attempt to reverse the rising trend of thinly disguised racism posing as Africanism for fear of offending what little support it had left. Even as Mangiliso Sobukwe, the father of South African Africanism, was turning in his grave at the betrayal of his ideals which produced the St James Church massacre, the PAC leadership refused to act

While it raised valid points, at no stage in the debate which surrounded the St James massacre, or any of the incidents for which Apla claimed responsibility before or after, did the PAC leadership take the simple step of reaffirming its Africanist principles which condemn all and any racism. Its political weakness added to the rapidly disintegrating control the PAC leadership could claim to exercise over both Apla and its supporters. The situation has reached the stage where it would be pointless to discuss a suspension of its armed struggle with

the political leadership of the PAC because it no longer exercises any real control over Apla or, even less, over disaffected individuals who claim Apla and PAC membership and act in their name

The recently demonstrated inability of the PAC leadership to deliver on a moratorium on armed struggle while the issue of a "general ceasefire" is negotiated, suggests that the PAC leadership's control does not extend further than the door of their collective office

And if PAC "control" over its armed wing and activities has collapsed, the position in regard to its political mobilisation efforts seems, if anything, to be worse. The organisation has a critical shortage of funds and faces the prospect of what little it gets from international organisations drying up fairly soon. The prospects of funds from other international sources are remote, partly due to the fact that murdering United States Fulbright scholars and then dancing and singing at the trial of her alleged killers is not designed to open Western wallets, and partly because the wallets of most traditional PAC supporters contain little more than a few hungry moths

Lacking money, organisational skills and any clear policies beyond those produced by a conference in 1960, the PAC will be mauled at the polls come April 27 and will be lucky to gain enough support to meet the five per cent national minimum for representation. Only the Western Cape will produce any real regional representation and then no more than about 10 per cent. Its support levels may be a few percentage points higher but the PAC lacks the skills required to convert this support into votes and consequently, representation

The only good news for the PAC is that despite having blown its chances this time around, history, economics and the reality of governance for the ANC will conspire to produce another in 1999. The new government is not going to be able to meet the expectations of all the people by 1999, the gaps are too wide for that, and this failure will create conditions for the emergence of a new opposition, perhaps even with links to organised labour. The PAC, if they still exist, should be able to exploit the gaps which the ANC and others will leave over the next five years — but then again, history suggests, don't hold your breath

■ Gary van Staden is a political analyst with Kaplan and Stewart Inc., Stockbrokers and senior researcher (PhD), University of Leicester, UK

Boesak may face Jordan challenge

CT 15/1/94

Political Staff

(11A)

REPORTS that the ANC's information chief Dr Pallo Jordan may challenge Dr Allan Boesak for the ANC nomination for the premiership of the Western Cape are not taken seriously in the organisation

No one within the ANC in the Western Cape or its national headquarters could confirm or deny that Cape Town-born Dr Jordan would stand

A statement by Dr Jordan that Dr Boesak's credibility in the coloured community "is not terribly high" could be damaging for the ANC

The Weekly Mail quoted sources saying Dr Jordan was a serious contender for the Western Cape premiership and this might put a damper on Dr Boesak's ambitions

Dr Jordan could not be contacted yesterday

Eyes on parliament

Workers and women's interests top of Zou's socialist agenda

11A
ARGUS 15/11/94

■ Meet Zoliswa Kota, the regional executive member of the South African Communist Party and ANC activist who collected the most votes in the ANC's local Provincial Legislature nomination list.

VUYO BAVUMA

Weekend Argus Reporter

ZOLISWA Kota may be a stranger to newspaper headlines, but to her peers she has all the leadership qualities to redress the apartheid wrongs in the new South Africa

In fact, she has emerged as one of the most important people in local politics after she topped the ANC's provincial legislature nominations — with 197 votes — and also in the top 10 in the national assembly nominations

This means she could be well on her way to being your MP

Besides carrying the burden of ensuring the voice of women is heard in the corridors of power, the former United Democratic Front activist, popularly known as Zou is also concerned about the workers' plight

Small wonder, for the 36-year-old Zou is a diehard member of the South African Communist Party who cut her socialist teeth in Cuba where she taught English at a high school for four years

Interviewed this week at the regional headquarters of the ANC where she works as a head of the movement's election machine, Zou spoke about her life in the struggle and hopes for the future

The UCT third-year sociology student, who regards herself as a Western Cape product, wants to ensure that the aspirations of women and the poor are realised

"In free countries women are used as statues. But now we are going to ensure women are equal partners in restructuring

"Some people claim that the expectations of women are high, but I don't see anything unrealistic about demanding a basic house, proper health and education facilities," she said

But this did not mean that an ANC government would provide all these things "overnight" after April 27

Like many township activists, Zou's involvement in politics took place while she was young — her father, the late Rev Mr Marawu, was also in the struggle

She went into exile in 1985 after she found it increasingly difficult to pursue her dual roles as an underground ANC operative and the high-profile UDF secretary position

Recalling when she left the



Picture BRENTON GEACH
Weekend Argus

□ ZOLISWA KOTA: "In free countries women are used as statues. But now we are going to ensure women are equal partners in restructuring"

country, she said "I was disguised as a makoti (a newly-married Xhosa girl) and dressed in traditional gear. I was with my colleague who acted as my husband.

"The officers at the border did not even look at my passport and waved us through"

Zou went to the ANC headquarters in Lesotho, but she and her comrades were forced to leave the tiny mountainous country in 1986 after ANC-leaning government of Chief Leabua Jonathan was overthrown in a coup

"We spent a night at the Lesotho airport which was surrounded by the SADF. We were very angry at the blatant harassment and the disregard of Lesotho's sovereignty

"We went to Zambia where we were welcomed by ANC chairman Oliver Tambo. We were asked whether we wanted to join the military or pursue education — I chose to undergo the training"

After that Zou went to Cuba where she taught English at a Spanish high school until 1991

She returned to the country in March 1992 — to continue the struggle.

What does she think about the future?

"We are concerned about the threats against peace and stability in our country. Without these factors, we can't have a stable economy so that we can tackle the problems created by apartheid

"Another source of problems could come from the people who are bent on not accepting the outcome of the democratic elections. But with the backing of the mass and our developed peace structures, we'll overcome the stumbling blocks," she said

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14 held on East Rand

JOHANNESBURG — Fourteen people, including seven self-defence unit members, have been arrested in Daveyton on the East Rand in connection with several crimes, including attacks on policemen and the murder of civilians.

A Red Cross team was forced to withdraw from the East Rand township of Kattlehong on Monday afternoon after one of its vehicles was stoned and a volunteer was slightly injured.

A minibus taxi driver was shot

dead by a passenger who held him up on the Swartkoppies road near Alberton yesterday.

Four more people were killed and four wounded in separate incidents in East Rand townships on Monday.

One of the dead was a man killed in Kattlehong when police returned fire after gunmen opened fire with automatic weapons.

● At least five people were killed in violence in Natal on Monday, police reported. — Sapa

Police plan patrols to defend buses

Crime Reporter

POLICE are to step up patrols along bus routes in Khayelitsha and will overfly routes in the police helicopter from this morning to counter attacks on buses.

This was said by police spokesman Colonel Raymond Dowd following a meeting between senior police and Golden Arrow officials last night following the ambush of Golden Arrow buses in Khayelitsha on Monday in which a driver and three passengers were wounded.

Col Dowd said police would also set up sporadic roadblocks to search for illegal firearms.

The measures were aimed at restoring the commuter service, he added.

Historic ANC, NGK meeting in Pretoria

Political Staff

MR Nelson Mandela yesterday led a senior ANC delegation in an historic meeting with leaders of the Nederduits Gereformeerde Kerk at the Synodical Centre in Pretoria.

The NGK delegation, comprising the moderation of its general synod, was led by Professor Pieter Potgieter.

In a joint statement the ANC and NGK said "The delegates discussed the general political situation in South Africa and exchanged views about the contribution both organisations can make towards peace and stability in South Africa."

Meiring faces

By BARRY STREEK
Political Staff

THE Administrator of the Cape, Mr Kobus Meiring, will battle to win the National Party nomination for the premiership of the Western Cape province, party insiders said yesterday.

The other candidate for the position, Mr Hernus Kriel, the Minister of Law and Order, is said to have considerable sup-

port within the Western Cape and some senior party in the re-

The NP will vote on its Western Cape primary 29 and the re-

announced on Feb. Mr Kriel is expected party's metropolitan Meiring will be on but he may not top

ANC 'will
invest to
(11A) OCT 15/1994,
meet needs'

JOHANNESBURG. —
The ANC's reconstruction and development programme would be the basis of a legislative programme for a new government at all levels, ANC election candidate Mr Jay Naidoo said yesterday

"A government that invests heavily in infrastructure," he said, "will meet the needs of our people and stimulate economic growth"

The programme seeks to redistribute over the next five years a substantial amount of land to landless people, build over one million houses, provide clean water and sanitation to all, electrify 2,5 million new homes and provide access to affordable health care to everybody.

ANC economics head Mr Trevor Manuel said the emphasis would be to promote more efficient government spending through better social expenditure and state capital investment. —
Sapa

PAC to call off armed fight?

CIP news 16/11/94

THE PAC's national executive committee was locked in an emergency meeting yesterday amid rumours it could halt its participation in the armed struggle (IIF) of

Yesterday speculation was rife that the organisation, reeling from several blows this week, would today formally announce the termination of the armed struggle by its armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army.

PAC secretary general Benny Alexander and media spokesman Barney Desai declined to comment, saying they had been "gagged by the president (Clarence Makwetu)"

The PAC and Apla were this week barred by Tanzania - where their headquarters are - from making any hostile statements or plotting against South Africa from that country

The Tanzanian decision was quickly followed by strong criticism from the Zimbabwean newspaper, *The Herald*.

ANC's new youth boss has jail credentials

JOHANNESBURG — Lulu Johnson, a man described by commentators as a "quiet revolutionary", will replace firebrand Peter Mokaba as president of the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL). (11A) ARG 11/14

Nominated yesterday by nine of the league's 14 regions as president, Mr Johnson received wide support during a vote by delegates to the league's annual congress, held in Soweto.

A former student leader, 29-year-old Mr Johnson's career was forged in the hotbed of resistance politics in the eastern Cape, where spells in police detention were regarded as essential to establish one's credentials.

Like many black youths, Mr Johnson was thrust into politics in 1976 during the "Soweto uprising", when black students clashed violently with police during protests against Afrikaans being the medium of instruction in schools.

Only 15 at the time, he cut his teeth in underground anti-apartheid organisations, spending almost three years in jail for his trouble.

But with apartheid in its death throes and South Africa moving rapidly towards democracy, Mr Johnson sees his role as youth leader differently to that of his predecessor.

He said that after the April 27 all-race election, the ANC's youth would have to focus on socio-economic issues.

"They have a responsibility to ensure that we have a meaningful freedom," he said.

Whereas Mr Mokaba — who at 36 was no longer eligible for re-election — fought for political freedom, Mr Johnson said he believed the post-apartheid youth would have to fight for the reconstruction of South Africa — Sapa-AP.

Apla fighters suspend armed struggle

□ PAC refuses to join TEC until all armed groups are under joint control

**KAIZER NYATSUMBA
Political Staff**

JOHANNESBURG — The Pan Africanist Congress has suspended its armed struggle after an escalation of attacks on whites by alleged members of the Azanian People's Liberation Army

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told a Press conference here yesterday that the Apla leadership had begun in forming fighters throughout the country of the decision taken by the organisation's national working committee (NWC)

However, the organisation said it would not take part in the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) and its National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) until all armed formations, including the South African Defence Force and the police, were under effective joint control

The announcement came only a few days after the Tanzanian government — the PAC's staunchest supporter over the years — ordered the organisation to stop using Tan-

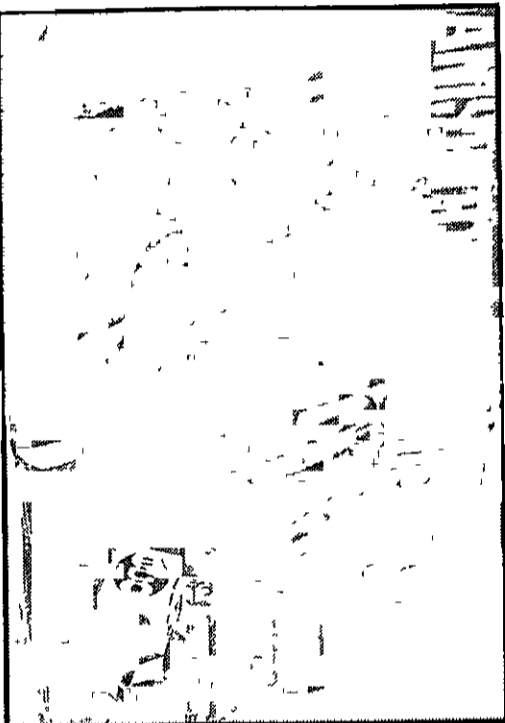
zanian soil to plan attacks on South Africa or to make hostile statements against this country

This move, which took the PAC leadership by surprise, was applauded by Zimbabwe's pro-government Herald newspaper, which warned the PAC that other African governments might take similar action if it continued with its armed struggle

President Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe, also a close PAC ally over the years, was the first to place a similar ban on the PAC and subsequent military statements from Harare had to be re-routed through Dar-es-Salaam

However, Mr Makwetu — who was mandated by the PAC's congress in Umtata last month to negotiate a suspension of the armed struggle — yesterday denied the two countries' statements had influenced the organisation's decision

He said the PAC's national executive council had taken the decision last September but it had to be ratified by the na-



STRUGGLE OVER: PAC president Clarence Makwetu announces that the Azanian People's Liberation Army is to suspend its armed actions

tional congress before it was implemented by the NWC

"The PAC and Apla have diligently pursued the armed struggle, not for its own sake but with the specific goal of attaining liberation and peace," he said

form all Apla fighters seated "all over the country and mostly in the bush" — of the decision, and it was therefore possible some might launch some attacks before they were contacted

Mr Makwetu gave warning, however, that Apla reserved the right to defend Africans if they were attacked, "as it has heroically done since 1961"

The PAC, he said, had taken this decision to show its commitment to peace, which was essential to ensure a free and fair election on April 27. He would soon register to take part in the elections

Mr Makwetu said he now expected the government "and other armed formations waging war against the African people to respond in kind if they have the same commitment to peace and to our nation"

The PAC, he said, would continue to negotiate with the government to reach a mutual cessation of hostilities, and to win an amnesty for Apla and PAC fighters still in jail and in exile

He said the PAC had been negotiating the end to hostilities with Pretoria but the government had dragged out the talks and found excuses to continue killing Africans and to destabilise the PAC through armed raids on the organisation's offices and members

"Because of our commitment to peace and free and fair elections, we are taking away the regime's excuse and taking the initiative to create a climate to allow for further negotiations," said Mr Makwetu

The ANC was the first organisation unilaterally to suspend its armed struggle. It did so on August 6 1990 as part of the Pretoria Minute of the PAC's decision leaves the Azanian National Liberation Army, the armed wing of the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania, as the only guerrilla army still committed to war

The government and the ANC welcomed the PAC's decision, with Law and Order Minister Herrus Kriel saying the organisation had finally realised that violence and democracy did not mix

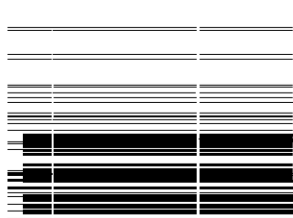
**FW and ANC
welcome
'wise' decision**

JOHANNESBURG — President De Klerk has welcomed the Pan Africanist Congress's announcement that it had suspended its armed struggle, saying the decision would be conducive to bilateral negotiations

"I think it's a wise decision," Mr De Klerk said on the CCV programme *Newsline* "That now, to my mind, prepares the table for further negotiations between us as a government and the PAC with regard to practical matters," he said

Mr De Klerk said he hoped the decision would be adhered to by cadres of the Azanian People's Liberation Army, the PAC's military wing

Law and Order Minister Herrus Kriel said "This is a welcome development. It was high time the PAC and Apla realised that violence and democracy do not mix. You cannot achieve democracy through violent means." African National Congress spokesman Carl Niehaus said the ANC welcomed the PAC's announcement.





Picture: DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

THUMBS UP: Elna Boesak, wife of ANC regional-chairman Allan Boesak, joins supporters in congratulating her husband on his election as the ANC's candidate premier for the Western Cape.

Candidate premier Boesak seeks unity

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent



ANC candidate premier for the Western Cape Allan Boesak lost no time in spelling out his priorities for the region after winning the candidacy in a 136-120 vote against veteran activist Dullah Omar

Winning the regional election for the ANC was his immediate priority, but he believed the key was uniting Western Cape voters behind the movement's reconstruction and development programme as a blueprint for peace and prosperity in the region

He was speaking at the Peninsula Technikon after the ANC's candidate-premier election conference yesterday

Earlier he was carried to the stage on the shoulders of chanting supporters when the result was announced

Mr Omar was the only other contender. There was one spoilt paper among the 257 votes cast

Branch delegates and representatives of the ANC's partners in Cosatu, SA Communist Party and Patriotic Front, including the Labour Party, were eligible to vote

The elections were conducted by the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa

There were seven nominees in all, but five withdrew. They were Tony Yengeni, Trevor Manuel, Cheryl Carolus, Reggie September and Brian Bunting

Dr Boesak said the ANC's reconstruction and development programme had to be more than a mere campaign slogan

"We have not worked on it simply to attract votes. We are saying the lives of people have to change. And we can only make sure this happens if we win

"Once we are in government in the Western Cape this programme will be the thrust of our policy"

Non-racialism was also a key concern

and the ANC would work at "making the Western Cape a new kind of society", he said

Dr Boesak acknowledged that it was "a hard battle to convince people to make the ANC their political home", but he was confident that in spite of the efforts of the National Party, the ANC would win the Western Cape

This would require dedication and hard work from within the ANC ranks, said Dr Boesak

Frequent bursts of chanting and applause reflected the buoyant mood of conference delegates, spiritedly expressed in an ANC campaign song which asks "Wie het vir Kriel gesê om in Boesak se pad te lê?"

The song — *Who told Kriel to stand in Boesak's way?* — was a reference to speculation that Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel is likely to be the NP's candidate premier for the Western Cape

Star 17/11/94

ANCYL likely to keep its autonomy

(11A)

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC Youth League (ANCYL) is likely to retain its autonomy from the ANC, reserving the right to criticise the parent body whenever a need arose, according to delegates attending the league's 18th national congress at the weekend

The congress, which ends today, had to decide whether the ANCYL's relationship with the ANC needed to change now that the ANC was three months away from power, but a commission dealing with the issue suggested that the status quo should remain

This is likely to be unwelcome news to the ANC leadership, which had hoped the ANCYL would see itself as another part of the organisation

Opening the congress at Vista University on Friday, Nelson Mandela said the ANCYL had to stop "being a duplicate of the ANC" and start attending to problems of the youth, such as education, Aids and drugs

This and other issues will be finalised by the congress's plenary session before the four-day congress ends today

Meanwhile, soft-spoken Lulu Johnson (29) was unanimously elected to succeed Peter Mokaba as ANCYL president

ANC to hold conference for business leaders

Upliftment plan under spotlight

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC is to put its recently unveiled draft reconstruction and development programme (RDP) to the country's business leaders at a special conference in March — a month before the election that could see the programme becoming the core of the new government's policy

Also invited to the conference will be representatives of other southern African governments

The decision to hold the conference is an indication of the ANC's determination to get business on board as it confronts one of its greatest challenges as a new government, meeting the aspirations of its supporters

The RDP — the first attempt by the ANC to present a coherent social upliftment plan — will first be discussed this weekend at an ANC conference in Johannesburg. It will then be discussed by committees dealing with aspects of the plan before being presented at the conference

The plan is scheduled to be implemented over the next five years to improve the quality of life of most South Africans

Star 17/11/94
A MONTH before the election the ANC will hold a special conference to discuss its reconstruction programme

The RDP contains proposals for a mixed economy and aspires to achieve a balance between "government intervention, the private sector and the participation of civil society"

The programme is, in part, an acknowledgement by the ANC of the enormous aspirations it would face as a new government. It is also an attempt to identify priorities in a social upliftment strategy

However, the ANC faces a challenge to achieve consensus around the strategy

The plan also has several incomplete aspects the actual costs of implementing the strategy are still to be calculated and ways of stimulating the economy, especially small and medium enterprises, are still to be worked out

To facilitate the implementa-

tion of the RDP, the ANC has proposed setting up a commission of reconstruction and development attached to the office of the State President as well as a reconstruction fund

The primary source for funding the RDP is existing State resources which will be redistributed on a nonracial basis to rectify the result of decades of apartheid policies

Detailing the financing of the RDP, the ANC document said the national Budget would be restructured, new funds mobilised, and "a more progressive, fair and transparent" tax structure established

"The democratic government cannot fund the RDP without support from the private sector. Financial institutions must assist, both by funding individual programmes to meet basic needs and by improving their services to small-scale producers and the black communities," the document said

Foreign funding should be used only for elements of the programme that could potentially increase the country's capacity for earning foreign exchange

▶ See Page 11

PAC to lay down arms

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Pan Africanist Congress says it has suspended its armed struggle, which has seen a recent escalation of attacks on whites by alleged operatives of the Azanian People's Liberation Army

PAC president Clarence Makwetu told a Johannesburg press conference yesterday that the Apla leadership had begun informing Apla cadres throughout the country of the decision

However, the organisation said it would not take part in the Transitional Executive Council and its National Peace-keeping Force until all armed formations in the country — including the SADF and the SAP — were under effective joint control.

The announcement came only a few days after the Tanzanian government — the

PAC's staunchest supporter over the years — had banned it from using Tanzanian soil to plan attacks on South Africa or make hostile statements against it. (IIP)

This move, which took the PAC leadership by surprise, was applauded by Zimbabwe's pro-government Herald newspaper. Zimbabwe's President Robert Mugabe, also a close PAC ally, was the first to place a similar gag on the PAC

However, Makwetu — who was mandated by the PAC's mid-December congress in Umtata to negotiate a suspension of the armed struggle — yesterday denied that the two countries' statements had had any influence on the decision

He said the PAC's national executive council had taken the decision in September, but it still had to be ratified by the national congress before being implemented

"The PAC and Apla have di-

gently pursued the armed struggle, not for its own sake, but with the specific goal of attaining liberation and peace. Apla's armed struggle has helped push this country to the historic moment the African people have now reached

"We salute this valiant army of the African people," Makwetu said

He added that everything possible was being done to inform all Apla cadres — scattered "all over the country and mostly in the bush" — of the decision, and it was therefore possible that some might still launch attacks before they had been contacted

Makwetu warned, however, that Apla reserved the right to defend Africans if they were attacked, "as it has heroically done since 1961"

The PAC, he said, had taken this decision to show its commitment to peace, which was essential to ensure a free and

► To Page 3

PAC 'peace move'

◀ From Page 1

fair election on April 27

He revealed that the organisation would soon register to take part in the election. (IIP)

Makwetu said he now expected the Government "and other armed formations waging war against the African people to respond in kind if they have the same commitment to peace and to our nation"

The PAC, he said, would continue to negotiate with the Government to reach a mutual cessation of hostilities and to win amnesty for Apla and PAC cadres still in jail and in exile

He said the Government had dragged out the talks and found excuses to continue killing Africans and destabilising the PAC through armed raids on the organisation's offices and members

The PAC's decision

now leaves the Black Consciousness Movement of Azania's Azanian National Liberation Army as the only guerilla army still committed to an armed struggle.

Both the Government and ANC welcomed the PAC's decision

Law and Order Minister Hennis Kriel said the Africanist organisation had finally realised that violence and democracy did not mix.

Sapa reports that President de Klerk said yesterday the decision would be conducive to bilateral negotiations

"I think it's a wise decision," De Klerk said on CCV's *Newsline* programme

"That now, to my mind, prepares the table for further negotiations, between us as a government and the PAC with regard to practical matters," he said.

New policing strategy mooted

FW, Mandela finalise peace plan details

BIDOM 17/11/94

BILLY PADDOCK

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and ANC president Nelson Mandela meet at the Union Buildings in Pretoria today to finalise details of "the most comprehensive peace initiative" government and the ANC have devised in the hope of stemming township violence.

Both camps are keeping the meeting, the second in a week, under wraps. They refused to discuss details of the plan, which they said was too sensitive at this stage.

Mandela and De Klerk have issued instructions to their negotiating teams to keep details confidential until the plan is finalised. (11A) (S)

Two key sources confirmed the meeting but warned that the final version of the plan "is not a dramatic humdinger that is going to solve the violence in one quick-fix, brilliant manoeuvre".

They refused to divulge details, saying: "Too much is resting on this. We have to ensure nothing gets in the way of the full agreement both parties are committed to setting up for the immediate period and on into the phase after elections."

The plan discussed by the two leaders last week was also discussed in Cabinet and at the ANC's national working committee and its national executive committee meetings last week.

The sources said the plan was a step-by-step initiative. It relied on building trust and co-operation between government, the ANC, the SAP, the SADF, Umkhonto we Sizwe, the self-defence units and the internal stability unit. Community co-operation would also have an important role.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel

has acknowledged that the internal stability unit needs to be reviewed. The possibility of incorporating members of other militias is being discussed. The peace talks have led to calls for the unit's withdrawal being put on hold.

STEPHANE BOTHMA reports that Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said yesterday the number of internal stability unit members deployed in East Rand townships could soon be reduced. Government was considering alternative policing strategies in the area.

"We are considering the possibility of assigning certain tasks — not related to normal policing — to the SADF," he said.

Inkatha Freedom Party Transvaal leader Themba Khoza said the party would strongly oppose such a move, Sapa reports. He said Inkatha had made numerous complaints about soldiers being deployed in the area after "losing 10 of its members in December last year, when 3 000 bullets were fired at civilians in a single incident".

Inkatha MP Hennie Bekker said the proposal to reduce the unit's East Rand presence would be viewed as the "final abdication of the NP and government to the ANC/communist alliance".

In a separate development, Inkatha Transvaal deputy chairman Humphrey Ndlovu said his organisation would not take part in West Rand peace talks brokered by the SA Council of Churches.

WILSON ZWANE reports that the proposed talks are aimed at reducing tensions

□ To Page 2

Peace plan

BIDOM

17/11/94

□ From Page 1

in the West Rand township of Bekkersdal. A boycott of businesses in neighbouring Westonaria was called by the ANC and Azapo last month in protest at the presence of the internal stability unit and SADF troops in the township. (S)

Ndlovu said the SACC was prejudiced against Inkatha, whose members it did not regard as human beings. He added: "Churches affiliated to the SACC refuse to bury Inkatha supporters and to allow Inkatha to use their buildings for meetings."

Because of this "bias", Inkatha was not taking part in talks. (11A)

SACC spokesman Bernard Spong said Ndlovu's statement was to be regretted as the SACC was impartial.

□ Also at today's talks, Mandela and De

Klerk and their respective chief negotiators, Cyril Ramaphosa and Roelf Meyer, will discuss negotiations with the Freedom Alliance and ways of drawing Inkatha into a settlement.

De Klerk is insistent that the final deadline for changes to the constitution is next Monday. He has to sign the constitution into law by the end of January to meet the 90-day deadline before elections.

De Klerk will meet King Goodwill Zwelithini this afternoon at the king's request to discuss the role of a Zulu kingdom and KwaZulu under the new constitution. It is understood that De Klerk is likely to tell him that regions will have the power to draft their own constitutions.

PAC suspends Apla's armed struggle and gets ready for elections

THE PAC yesterday unilaterally suspended the armed struggle conducted by its armed wing Apla for the past 20 years. However, the organisation said it could not rule out further Apla attacks as it would take some time to communicate the decision to all cadres. It also reserved the right to defend itself if attacked. PAC president Clarence Makwetu said the decision had been taken independently of peace talks held over the past few months with government.

TIM COHEN

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SADF should be under the command of a multiparty force Apla would not disband until these goals had been reached. The matter was likely to be taken up in talks with government soon.

"The PAC is announcing this moratorium to show our commitment to peace, which is essential to ensure free and fair elections on April 27," Makwetu told a news conference at the PAC's Johannesburg offices.

The PAC had been negotiating a mutual cessation of hostilities with government, but because of its own sinister agenda, the regime has been dragging out the negotiations and finding excuses to continue killing our people and destabilising the PAC through armed raids on our offices and members. The PAC was therefore taking the initiative to create the climate for further negotiations to reach a mutual cessation of hostilities.

"The PAC will pursue negotiations with the regime to reach an amnesty for Apla and PAC cadres still in the regime's notorious jails and those still in exile," he said.

The decision was taken by the PAC's national working committee in the light of the pronouncements taken at the PAC's annual conference in Umtata in December.

Sipa reports that Law and Order Minister Hermus Kriel welcomed the PAC's announcement on suspending the armed struggle. "It was just time that the PAC and Apla realised that violence and democracy do not mix," he said.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said the organisation also welcomed the move.

(IWA)

NEWS Weekend poll

ANC still to decide on list of nominees

Sowetan 17/1/94

(11A)

By Donwald Pressly

Political Staff

A grand rainbow coalition will be the hallmark of the ANC national list for the national assembly - including estranged pair Nelson and Winnie Mandela - when it is announced later this week.

This follows the national list conference in Johannesburg at the weekend.

The results of the selections will be known only after the NEC has ensured that sufficient women and people of all colours are on the list, ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said yesterday.

He said the final results of the polling by about 500 delegates selecting 200 names from a list of 415 could not be released. Should the ANC win 60 percent of the vote, it will be entitled to 120 national list seats in the new assembly and 120 for the provincial lists for national assembly. Weekend polls show the ANC commands up to 65 per cent of the national vote, with its nearest rival, the National Party trailing with 16 per cent.

He would only confirm that Mr Mandela, as ANC leader, would head the national list.

However, top national contenders are expected to include Mr Thabo Mbeki, tipped to be vice-president, and ANC secretary general and TEC member, Mr Cyril Ramaphosa.

Among other personalities known to have done well in the polling are two defeated Natal premierships candidates - southern Natal chairman Jeff Radebe, and Midlands leader Harry Gwala. The two men lost the Natal top slot to deputy secretary general Jacob Zuma last week's elections.

The national list

ANC southern Natal spokesman Dumisani Makhaye said Mr Radebe appears on all three of the ANC's election lists - the national list, the regional list for national assembly, and the provincial list for provincial assembly.

It will be for the ANC national executive to decide on which list he - and others such as PWV leader Tokyo Sexwale who appear on more than one list - will appear.

Gwala, a hardline Stalinist, also received strong support for the national list as did Mr Peter Mokaba, former youth league president, and Mr Tony Yengeni, radical Western Cape executive member.

However, Gwala has made it known that he would prefer to serve in Natal. He is expected to have the number three slot on the regional Natal list. He could therefore be elected to the new Senate.

ANC sources speculated that Prof Fatima Meer, prominent in the Natal Indian Congress and member of the SABC board, would have a strong chance of gaining a top slot.

She will join several 65 other women on two lists for national assembly including Mrs Mandela, president of the Women's League and her predecessor Mrs Albertina Sisulu, former league secretary Baleka Kgositsile, as well as late ANC president Oliver Tambo's wife, Adelaide.

The NEC will, according to Mr Makhaye, ensure that that the various elements of the Patriotic Front and its tripartite alliance partners - the SA Communist Party and the Congress of SA Trade Unions - are adequately represented.

It is not known how well the Labour Party representatives fared in the weekend polling. However, Durban Suburbs MP and LP national chairman Luwellyn Landers is almost assured of a good position.

Former Natal Midlands deputy leader Dr Blade Nzimande, a Natal University academic, Prof Subusiso Bhengu, formerly of Natal but now Rector of Fort Hare University,

On the national list, Prof Stan Sangweni, a Pietermaritzburg academic, Dr Nkosazane Zuma, medical doctor and wife of Mr Jacob Zuma, Mr Mewa Ramgobin, former treasurer general of the United Democratic Front are also strong contenders.

Prof Bhengu was the first secretary general of Inkatha before he joined the ANC in the late 1970s.

Makhaye, a Cuban-trained political scientist and a former MK Natal command member, is also likely to gain a top national slot.

The NEC was still meeting late last night to collate the results of the elections with the assistance of the Independent Mediation Services of South Africa.

Lulu succeeds firebrand Mokaba

Sowetan 17/1/94

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

THE African National Congress Youth League has a new president — Mr Mlungisi "Lulu" Johnson

Johnson (30), a former president of the Congress of South African Students, succeeds firebrand Mr Peter Mokaba, who has taken up a tourism portfolio with the ANC.

Also elected unopposed into the ANCYL executive committee were, Mr Bheki Nkosi (deputy president), Mr Mpho Lekgoro (general secretary), Ms Fiebie Potgieter (deputy general secretary) and Mr Ignatius Jacobs (treasurer).

Nominations for the additional 10 members were due to be held late yesterday during the third day of the league's national conference at the Soweto campus of Vista University

While there is mounting pressure on the youth league to look more at youth-related issues like rampant crime, drugs and Aids rather than politics, Johnson

said that the league had a "twin task"

By implication, the league could not be expected to abandon political activism

(11A)
"By its very nature, the youth league is a political formation and it cannot do otherwise. It will continue carrying out political actions," he said

One of the key recommendations that emerged during the conference was the proposal for a Youth Act to be embodied in the new constitution

According to the conference, this will pave the way for the formation of a youth ministry in the government of national unity that will deal specifically with youth related matters.

Meanwhile, conference resolutions on the forthcoming national general election, violence, education, the Self Defence Units (most of whom are staffed by ANCYL members) and the ANC's reconstruction and development programme are expected to be announced when proceedings end later today

NEWS 'Young lion' Peter Mokaba steps down • Police investigate threatening letters

Youth told: embrace education

By **Lulama Luti**
Political Staff

■ **WORDS OF WISDOM** Mandela speaks at ANCY Youth League conference:



ANC members sling outside the Soweto Vista campus on Friday before the start of the ANC Youth League conference. PIC MBUZENI ZULU

ONE OF THE GREATEST challenges facing the youth in South Africa today is the ability and the determination to compete successfully with their counterparts throughout the world, says African National Congress president Nelson Mandela.

Addressing the second annual conference of the ANC Youth League (ANCYL) in Soweto on Friday, Mandela said without education South Africa's youth were doomed.

"As ambassadors of this country, you will meet the youth of other countries whose educational systems have liberated them and who are highly competitive

"(In order to compete fairly with them) we want a youth that is properly informed and properly equipped

"You must stop being a duplicate of the ANC. You must have your own programmes which will promote youth issues" *Sowetan*

Poor results

Commenting on this year's black matriculation results, Mandela said they were scandalous and lashed out at the "apartheid system" as being responsible for the poor results

He said while his organisation was committed to improving the quality of socio-economic status of the majority

of the people, this could not be achieved overnight

"We will not be able to resolve these problems within two or three years. This presents another challenge on you to educate people not to have high expectations" *17/1/94*

Outgoing ANCYL president Mr Peter Mokaba said the league's task ahead was to rid itself of the criminal element in its midst

He said these elements should not be allowed to tarnish the image of the Youth League

Meanwhile, ANCYL deputy president Mr Lulu Johnson is widely tipped to take over from Mokaba as president

Apla



Clarence Makwetu

suspends its war

Sowetan 17/1/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS has suspended the armed struggle and the Government is relieved (1/19)
The organisation's military wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla), has "started informing its cadres throughout the country of this decision" PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu said yesterday

An announcement is also expected today or tomorrow of a summit between Makwetu and State President FW de Klerk

PAC and Government chief negotiators Mrs Patricia de Lille and Mr Roelf Meyer had preliminary discussions on Friday

Makwetu told the Press conference that the PAC would negotiate with the Government to reach a mutual cessation of hostilities and to secure amnesty for Apla cadres in jail and in exile

"We will also continue to negotiate with the regime and other parties to get all the armed

formations in this country, including the South African Defence Force and the South African Police, under joint control. Apla will not disband until these goals have been reached."

Makwetu said the decision to "unilaterally place a moratorium on the armed struggle" had been taken by the PAC's national working committee in the light of the promulgation of the Electoral Act and decisions reached at the organisation's annual conference in December.

A unilateral decision had been taken because the Government was dragging out negotiations with the PAC and finding excuses to continue killing PAC members and raiding its offices, he said

"Because of our commitment to peace and free and fair elections, we are taking the initiative to create a climate to allow for further negotiations"

Makwetu said he could not rule out any further Apla attacks as it would take some time before all Apla cadres were informed of the decision

● See pages 2 and 8.

Apla



Clarence Makwetu

suspends

Sowetan 17/1/94

its war

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

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● See pages 2 and 8.

Armed struggle not over — Apla

PRETORIA — The Ministry of Law and Order has called on the Pan Africanist Congress to clarify statements made by its armed wing, Apla, which the Ministry says contradict the PAC's recent announcement of a moratorium on violence

The Ministry was reacting to the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army's statement that it would not suspend its armed struggle

On Sunday PAC president Clarence Makwetu announced the organisation had suspended the armed struggle it had been waging through Apla

Callers claiming to be Apla com-

manders telephoned Sapa yesterday saying it was premature for Mr Makwetu to announce a moratorium on Apla's armed struggle

Ministry spokesman Craig Kotze said today "it can only be hoped that the PAC, which has publicly claimed responsibility for its military wing Apla, is not implementing the cynical policy of talking peace while waging war on innocent civilians and policemen".

Mr Kotze called on the PAC to "clarify" a suspected Apla attack on a satellite police station in Durban yesterday in which three men were killed and another critically wounded — Sapa

MICHAEL MORRIS
Political Correspondent

ALLAN Boesak believes he will be Prime Minister of the Western Cape after April 27 but only if the ANC mounts an effective campaign to block what he expects will be a fierce challenge from the National Party

A day after his election as the ANC's candidate premier for the region, Dr Boesak said in an interview that an ANC loss in the Western Cape was unthinkable, but victory should not be taken for granted

Predicting a concentration of National Party resources in the Western Cape, he said "I have always been convinced, in spite of the early polls showing poor support for the ANC, that we would take this region, but only if we worked hard I have no illusions about that"

He believed the NP would need to win at least one region to boost its credibility in a future government, and the Western Cape was likely to be the target

But he added "I cannot conceive of a situation where the ANC wins every other region and loses the Cape So far the polls show remarkable growth in our support Our campaign is geared to improve that"

The Western Cape was particularly significant to the ANC

"I have come to realise that the key test for the ANC as a non-racial movement that can attract support from all communities and unite people will be here in the Western Cape

"Our chances of successfully 're-making' society based on non-racialism will depend very much on what happens here and I think that if we pull through here, we will be able to set examples that other regions will not be able to

"Part and parcel of this is uniting people from all communities and instilling pride in a shared South Africanism

"These things are as important now, during the election campaign, as they will be after the election As a Western Cape administration in the future, these things will be central to ANC policy"

Dr Boesak emphasised the importance of the movement's reconstruction and development programme as a key feature of its election campaign which would, if the ANC won the region, be the thrust of its post-election policy in the Western Cape

"This is a policy aimed at tackling poverty in the rural areas and deprivation in the urban areas It focuses on housing, job creation and services

"Fundamental to it is that the basis of redistributing wealth is the creation of a job

"This programme is one of the pillars of our election campaign, but we are being honest about, We are making it clear that it is going to take some time to achieve

"I'm not kidding people about how long it will take to create jobs I believe that one of the most important elements of this will be a shift in emphasis from large to small concerns We must improve the access of small businesses to finance and services We must make it easier for individuals to make a contribution economically"



Picture DOUG PITHEY, The Argus

VICTORY WAVE: ANC regional chairman Allan Boesak is lifted shoulder-high by supporters after being chosen as the movement's candidate premier for the Western Cape

This had been the recipe for success in Pacific Rim countries, and elsewhere

"You do not have to hand out money from the State to unleash the potential The State can make contributions, but it should not be unduly involved"

He was planning a round of meetings with the Western Cape business community to discuss the practical implications of a development policy to make the regional economy prosperous and strong

"I want to sit down and talk to them about the possibilities

"I am bubbling over with excitement at the possibilities for this region

"There is no single region in the country that has the potential that we have here We need to look at the things we agree on and then get cracking

"There are bound to be differences, but if we can work together on the things we agree on, this will bode well for our future"

As a region, the Western Cape was very much a part of the greater South Africa "but in an important sense we

will be pretty much on our own"

"In the end, it will be up to the people of the region as a whole to make a success of it," Dr Boesak said

While noting that whites had been privileged in the past, he believed they knew in their hearts that "something was fundamentally wrong"

"I think there is an increasing recognition among the white community that while they had privileges, they had no peace of mind

"And I think the willingness to contribute, and the optimism — in the Western Cape particularly — provides a sound basis for an understanding that if we are to make a success of the future, it must be through working together as different cultural groups, as the government and the private sector," he said

He added "This region is rich enough for all of its people to live in a way that emphasises their human dignity"

On his own political future, Dr Boesak said he would ultimately consider a national role only if he believed it would enable him "to make a difference to people's lives"

**'Premier-to-be' Boesak
bubbling over with zest**

APR 18 1994

11A

Attacks will go on, says Apla

Star 18/11/94

The Azanian People's Liberation Army will continue its liberation struggle until its demands have been met, a caller claiming to be Apla internal commander Karl Zimbiri told Sapa yesterday evening.

Zimbiri, who indentified himself to Sapa using a pre-arranged code, said regional and sectional commanders as well as ground forces of the PAC's armed wing had met in Bloemfontein for five hours yesterday.

"We want it to be known that we are not uncontrollable," he said.

Asked whether the three men killed in an attack on a

police station in Durban yesterday were Apla members, he said he did not want to make any claims and "leave this to the media's imagination".

While he respected PAC president Clarence Makwetu's decision to end the armed struggle, it was premature as Apla's negotiations with the SADF had not been concluded.

"We will strike tomorrow and today .. we are always on the offensive (UA) (U.S.J.)"

Zimbiri said the ball was in the SADF's court. Apla would not surrender its arms to the "minority De Klerk settler regime" until its demands had been met. — Sapa.

Attacks will go on, says Apla

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focus on ~~the~~ PAC

THE PAN AFRICANIST CONGRESS has suspended its military offensive against the Government, but this means the beginning of serious political bargaining to achieve democracy, say its leaders

When it was formed on April 6 1959 the PAC had political goals and pursued its objectives and views that blacks — Africans — should be in control of their own liberation struggle, and should not be prompted by white liberals, including communists

The Africanists rejected the Freedom Charter (adopted by the African National Congress as its guiding document) mainly because of the guarantees it contained for minority rights

The PAC and ANC were banned on April 8 1960 following a massive crackdown and the declaration of a state of emergency

After the banning, the PAC went underground. The leadership was taken over by members of its executive committee who had either evaded the police dragnet or had been imprisoned for shorter periods

The entire PAC leadership was sentenced to varying terms of imprisonment for "inciting violence"

This was after the historic March 21 1960 anti-pass protests which saw 69 people shot dead in Sharpeville

The PAC thereafter pursued a military objective with the formation of a quasi-military movement, Poqo, which became the Azanian People's Liberation Army in 1968

Initially, Poqo enjoyed considerably more support than the ANC's army, Umkhonto we Sizwe, and by 1964 almost 2 000 of its members had been imprisoned

Until the late 1980s Apla was not as well known as MK, ostensibly because of the PAC's non-publicist attitude

It was however an open secret that Apla had at least six regional commanders based inside South Africa and that its cadres were inside the country as opposed to the belief that it had bases in Tanzania where its headquarters are situated

Military commission

The PAC has a military commission comprising its president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, who is also Apla's commander-in-chief, deputy president Mr Johnson Mlambo and army commander Mr Sabelo Phama

This commission is the supreme decision-making body of the PAC's military wing. Its existence therefore rules out the notion that Apla was acting independently of the PAC — the tail wagging the dog

The PAC says its suspension of armed activities does not mean selling out on the struggle for liberation, but is based on the fact that the "regime has shown the willingness to be removed democratically"

The organisation says this willingness is the Government's commitment to elections which take place on April 27

Sowetan 12/11/94
The PAC says its decision to suspend its military offensive is not selling out on the armed struggle. Political Correspondent **Themba Molefe** looks at some likely effects of this decision. (11A)



PAC president Clarence Makwetu and deputy-president Johnson Mlambo.

Blacks should be in control of their own liberation struggle, and should not be prompted by white liberals, including communists

However, a long and hard road lies ahead which would eventually seal what the PAC calls the mutual cessation of hostilities with the Government

This is dependent on a series of meetings between the PAC negotiators led by Mrs Patricia de Lille and Mr Willie Serutu and the Government's team led by Mr Roelf Meyer

The first meeting after the PAC's announcement took place yesterday. These meetings include discussions on obtaining amnesty for Apla soldiers and the release of those already in prison to enable the military army to operate openly

Most important though, is the PAC's intention to obtain firearm licences, especially for its

security outfit already inside the country and for its leaders, all of whom had their applications for licences rejected

Belligerent force

Politically, the PAC says it wants to prove that it is not a belligerent force but one that seeks a democratic settlement

Meanwhile, Makwetu has admitted that the message will not filter down immediately to Apla cadres on the ground. This means that until every soldier gets the order to stop shooting the "enemy" more attacks cannot be ruled out

And this can only be expedited by early agreement between Makwetu and State President FW de Klerk in sealing a military deal

Such a meeting could take place this week at the earliest

Another dimension to the suspension of the armed struggle would be the reaction of the militant wings of the PAC, who have in the past been opposed to the organisation's entry into the talks

Debate will certainly go on despite Makwetu's public assurance that his decision has the support of members on the ground

ANC backing 'tops 70%'

Political Staff

ANC support at the end of last year would have been more than 70% if the four "independent" homelands had been included, the Human Sciences Research Council said yesterday

It said the data processed earlier in the month, which put ANC support at 67%, had excluded the TBVC states

CT 19/11/94
The HSRC said that if the TBVC states were included, ANC support had increased from 62% in July last year to 70,3% in November "There appears to have been significant growth and consolidation of ANC support in the last six months

"If this trend were to continue then the ANC would obtain more

than 70% of the vote," said the HSRC statement, which was issued by Professor R W Johnson, Professor Lawrence Schlemmer and Professor Paulus Zulu

They said that if the TBVC states were included, NP supported dropped between July and November last year from 17% to 15,5%, PAC support increased from 2 to 2,4% and DP support from 2 to 2,1%

ANC still ^{ARC} 19/1/94
committed
to Mandela (HA)
as president

Political Correspondent

NELSON Mandela's remark that the future president of South Africa need not be a member of the ANC was a reflection of the movement's commitment to national unity, but did not amount to a serious proposal, the ANC has said.

Reacting to Mr Mandela's suggestion yesterday that even if the ANC won the elections in April, it could be in the "national interest" to have a non-ANC head of state, spokesperson Gill Marcus said:

"This was an aside. It was not a serious proposal so much as a reflection of Mr Mandela's commitment to the principle of national unity in government."

Speaking at a Press briefing after talks yesterday with visiting French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe, Mr Mandela said: "It may be of national interest to have a president from outside the ANC."

Ms Marcus said: "What he is saying is that if it would help resolve problems in the country, he would consider this."

She added: "This is not a new proposal. The ANC certainly has not changed its view that Nelson Mandela will be president."

End to war:

Transkei PAC

CT 19/1/94

'disgusted'

(11A)

(11A)

UMTATA — The PAC's central Transkei region expressed shock and disgust yesterday at what it termed the PAC's unilateral decision, announced on Sunday, to suspend its armed struggle.

PAC regional secretary Mr Mfanelo Skwatsha said the move was not in line with national conference resolutions taken in Umtata last year.

"The conference mandated the PAC leadership to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities with the regime. This move is nothing but capitulation and renegation on the part of the PAC leadership," Mr Skwatsha said.

He called for a special conference for the PAC leadership to explain its decision.

The PAC's deputy president yesterday dismissed anonymous telephone calls, purporting to come from Apla, that denounced the PAC's decision to end the armed struggle.

Mr Johnson Mlambo, said in a statement the names used by the callers were unknown to the PAC. He suggested "security agencies" were responsible for the calls — Staff Reporter and Sapa

TEC concern over SA citizens in Bop

Star 19/11/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC has demanded that the Government break its silence over the reported widespread repression in Bophuthatswana.

This follows a request by Lawyers for Human Rights (LHR) to the Transitional Executive Council (TEC). LHR recommended yesterday that the Government be asked to disarm Bophuthatswana security forces and to take over the homeland's administration. (129) (11A)

LHR also asked the TEC to order the Government to place an immediate embargo on funds and services to the Bophutha-

tswana government.

Discussing the matter at yesterday's TEC meeting, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said a "fairly dangerous" situation was unfolding there.

He said South Africans, seeking refuge in the South African embassy in Bophuthatswana, were being handed over to the homeland police.

Ramaphosa said an urgent meeting between the two governments should take place.

"The Government should not leave our citizens at the mercy of a man like Mangope," Ramaphosa said.

The TEC decided to refer the matter to its management committee for further discussion.

Star 19/11/94

Mandela proposal not serious - ANC

■ POLITICAL STAFF

Nelson Mandela's remark that the future president of South Africa need not be an ANC member was a reflection of the movement's commitment to national unity, but did not amount to a serious proposal.

Reacting to Mandela's suggestion yesterday that even if the ANC won the elections in April, it could be in the national interest to have a non-ANC head of state, spokesman Gill Marcus said "This

was an aside.

"It was not a serious proposal so much as a reflection of Mr Mandela's commitment to the principle of national unity in government."

Marcus added "What he is saying is that if it would help resolve problems in the country, he would consider this."

She concluded "This is not a new proposal. The ANC certainly has not changed its view that Nelson Mandela will become the president."

PAC defends decision

Star 19/11/84

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

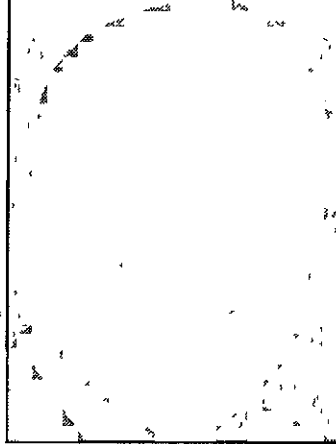
The PAC has defended its decision to suspend its armed struggle, and has described those who claim to be Apla cadres opposed to the move as possible security agents

Responding to reports that some Apla cadres have vowed to continue the armed struggle, PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo said the three men who reportedly phoned Sapa were unknown to the PAC.

The three reportedly gave their names to Sapa as Karl Zimbiri, Ropa Hondo and Mamoudou Haladi. The PAC and Apla last year repeatedly distanced themselves from statements made by Zimbiri claiming responsibility on behalf of Apla for attacks on whites

(WA)

Mlambo said only three men spoke for Apla. PAC defence secretary and commander Sabelo Phama, and commanders Romero Daniels and Johnny Majozi



Rajbansi promises to
"flatten the Nats".

PAC woos Rajbansi

Durban — The PAC is trying to woo controversial Indian politician Amichand Rajbansi into its ranks, it emerged yesterday

Recently appointed PAC public relations head Dede Pillay said she and PAC deputy secretary-general Thobile Gola would meet the "Tiger of Chatsworth" in Durban today in an attempt to get him to join the PAC. (19/1/94)

Rajbansi confirmed the meeting, but said it was "difficult to say" whether he was tempted by the PAC offer. (11A)

However, he was confident he would win a seat in the interim government and said his recently formed Minority Front was sure to win the Indian vote in Natal

"I belong to a party and I'm a team man. We can consider linkages and alliances with anybody but the National Party. When I finish off in Natal I'll flatten the Nats," Rajbansi said — Sapa

Star Today
**'70 percent will
vote for ANC'**

The ANC would get 70,3 percent of votes in the coming election if its support in the TBVC states was taken into account, according to the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC).

The HSRC said yesterday it had processed data not included in its November/December survey, which put the ANC's support at 67 percent — Sapa.

Govt, alliance expect progress

BIDAY 1911194
GOVERNMENT and the Freedom Alliance are optimistic that today's meeting with the ANC could make substantial progress towards reaching an agreement on changes to the constitution

It is also expected that last year's impasse, over the commitment that government and the ANC demanded from the alliance, could be amicably resolved. Good progress could result in today's meeting continuing tomorrow. (11A)

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said yesterday that at Friday's informal meeting "we found a way of entering into real negotiations on the matters on the table" The commitment had not been raised.

"Effectively government and ourselves have reached a point approaching agreement on four of the six items on the agenda and if the ANC is prepared to move as far as government, then I am optimistic we

BILLY PADDOCK

will get a settlement," he said.

A senior government source said: "The possibility of reaching agreement is definitely there. We have handled far more difficult issues in the past and resolved these" But he warned against over-optimism, citing countless attempts in the past that had gone sour. Just because the commitment issue had not been raised on Friday it did not mean it had gone away.

It is understood that the ANC is still not happy about the alliance's position and feels that it (the ANC) has moved enough already by adopting a softer line on the commitment at the last meeting.

The ANC is concerned that the alliance is "leaving too many back doors open" to avoid committing itself to the elections

□ To Page 2

Progress BIDAY 1911194

The alliance says any agreement will still have to be approved by its members' executives. (11A)

The four issues that have been resolved, or where agreement is expected, are:

- Provincial powers and functions;
- Provincial financial autonomy, including taxation;
- Provincial power to draft their own constitutions; and
- Protection of provincial autonomy

The two key sticking points were the alliance's demands, strongly motivated by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini at his meeting with President F W de Klerk, for a two ballot system of voting in the elections, and the issue of self-determination.

The CP and KwaZulu were insisting on self-determination for their "nations" and, while it seemed that the KwaZulu demand would be accommodated, the CP's was ruled out. Neither government nor the ANC were prepared to concede to this. Meanwhile Constitutional Development

□ From Page 1

Minister Roelf Meyer said differences of opinion within the alliance, especially on self-determination, complicated negotiations on their participation in the elections and transitional structures.

Sapa reports that Meyer, addressing a breakfast meeting of Johannesburg businessmen, said: "It is still our intent at this late hour to see whether we can reach, as far as possible, an inclusive agreement on the constitution."

Government's approach was to convince the alliance that the interim constitution already addressed its concerns. He said the De Klerk-Zwelithini meeting had represented "a step forward"

He was optimistic that a new government, even if dominated by one party, would follow balanced policies. A future cabinet was constitutionally obliged to operate on the basis of maximum consultation and consensus.

● Comment: Page 6

No dissent over ceasefire, says PAC

THE PAC has dismissed three telephone calls to Sapa in which alleged PAC armed wing members denounced the organisation's decision to end the armed struggle.

PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo said the names used by the callers were unknown to the PAC. He suggested "security agencies" were responsible for the calls, aimed at undermining the PAC.

The Law and Order Ministry had called on the PAC to clarify statements made by its armed wing, Apla, which the ministry said contradicted the PAC's recent announcement of a moratorium on violence.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said the code name Karl Zimbiri used by one caller was out of use within the organisation and that the original Zimbiri had died.

BIDAN 19/11/94
The only three military commanders entitled to issue statements on Apla operations were Apla commander Sabelo Phama, Apla political commissar Romero Daniels and Apla information chief Johnny Majosi.

Nemadzivhanani also denied there was dissent within Apla's ranks over the moratorium.

He said the PAC and Apla commanders had not given any orders for Apla operations since the announcement of the moratorium. The leadership had no knowledge of involvement by Apla operatives in Sunday night's attack on a Durban satellite police station.

He alleged claims to the contrary were the work of "enemy agents" intent on discrediting the PAC in the run-up to the elections.

However, the PAC central Trans-

kei region yesterday expressed its shock and disgust at what it termed the PAC's unilateral decision to suspend its armed struggle. (11A)

PAC regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha said the move was not in line with national conference resolutions taken in Umtata last year.

"This move is nothing but capitulation and renegation on the part of the PAC leadership"

□ The PAC is trying to woo controversial Indian politician Amichand Rajbansi into its ranks.

PAC public relations head Dede Pillay said she and PAC deputy secretary-general Thobile Gola would meet Rajbansi today in an attempt to get him to join the PAC.

Rajbansi said it was "difficult to say" whether he was tempted by the PAC offer. — Sapa.

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Baby drips 'were tested late'

KATHRYN STRACHAN

A POSSIBLE warning signal that the intravenous solution given to seven premature babies who died in 1992 was contaminated was lost because routine testing of the solution was delayed for 15 days, a judicial inquiry into the deaths was told yesterday. *BIDAN*

If the contaminated bag had been tested earlier by manufacturer Isotec, subsequent contamination of other batches would never have occurred, Prof Margaretha Isaacson, head of the department of tropical diseases at the SA Institute of Medical Research and Wits University, told the inquiry. *19/11/94*

While standard procedure was for Isotec to accumulate samples of solutions made up over the week and send them for testing at a commercial laboratory at the end of the week, the contaminated batch was sent for testing 15 days after being made up, she said. (11A)

Herman van Eerden, counsel for Isotec, argued that there was no warning signal of a break in procedure as all tests before the outbreak had been negative.

Isaacson testified earlier that swabs taken from Isotec equipment produced the same organism linked to the babies and to certain bags of intravenous fluid.

NEWS FEATURE *ANC Youth League maps out a fresh strategy for the new democracy*

New king of the young lions

Sowetan 19/1/94

11A

■ NEW BROOM

Lulu Johnson has tough task in fixing new course:

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

THE VISTA UNIVERSITY hall in Soweto echoed to the sounds of "Roar, young lion, roar!" — followed by equally deafening chants of freedom songs and the toyi-toyi

As he led the young lions (or are they cubs?) in song and dance, there was very little doubt that firebrand Peter Mokaba (36) had come to the end of his reign as king of the cubs

This week — after having steered them through the turbulent mid-1980s as president of the South African Youth Congress and subsequently the African National Congress Youth League — Mokaba finally bowed out of youth politics

Officially

He thus paved the way for a more youthful, rather reserved and soft-spoken, but equally biting Mlungisi "Lulu" Johnson (30)

That Mokaba was out was more evident by his absence as the proceedings got under way during the second conference of the ANCYL held in Soweto at the weekend

The conference, lasting four days, was attended by about 1 200 delegates from the organisation's nine regions throughout the country

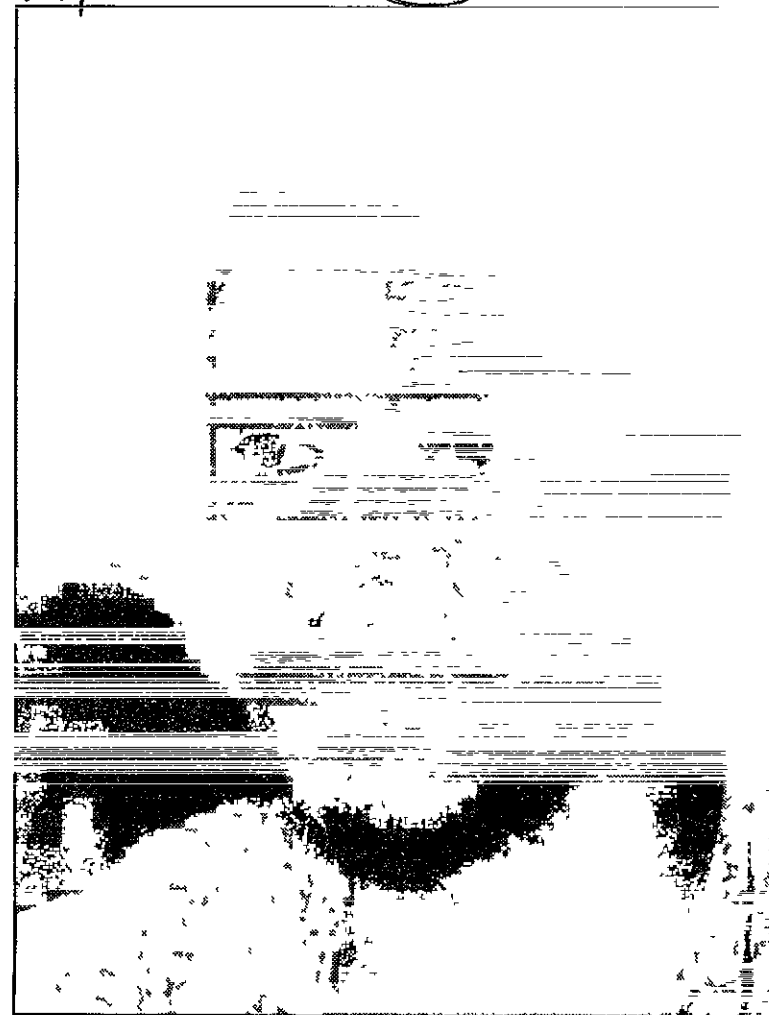
It also took place against the background of a number of crucial issues that the organisation needed to clarify as the process of democratisation gained momentum

These included the role of the self-defence units in the current violence in most townships where these units exist, violence itself and the future relationship of the youth league with its founding mother body, the ANC

Also discussed was whether or not the



Peter Mokaba



Mlungisi "Lulu" Johnson

league should change its political activist stance and look more at social problems affecting the youth

Deliberations on the role of the SDUs, particularly with regard to their activities around violence currently taking place in East Rand townships and Natal, were of added significance

General lawlessness

In the words of ANCYL publicity secretary Mr Parks Mankahlane, most of these units are staffed by youth league members. Recently, the SDUs have come under the spotlight following increased crime and general lawlessness in their activities

The league is recommending that the SDUs should be transformed into a peace corps and to direct control of the TEC sub-council on law and order

When conference ended on Monday, there were still no concrete decisions on this issue. Instead, it was deferred to the first sitting of the newly elected executive committee and its working group, due to sit within two weeks

Nonetheless, along with the postponement of a decision on the SDUs came recommendations for these units to be recognised (and therefore legalised) by the Transitional Executive Council

A code of conduct to be adhered to by the SDUs was also proposed. It was stated that control of the units ought to be "community based"

When he delivered the opening address at the beginning of conference, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela lashed out at the youth league

Mandela lambasted the league and

told delegates that it ought to stop being a duplicate of the ANC and to instead concentrate on drug abuse among the youth, Aids and education

However, the young lions were not deterred, at the end of conference they recommitted themselves to continued political activism and, as Johnson put it

"By its very nature, the youth league is a political formation and it cannot be otherwise. It will continue carrying out political actions"

The full extent of this will perhaps be realised shortly when the youth league mounts its campaign to demand the withdrawal of the Internal Stability Unit from the townships in accordance with a decision of the conference

The league believes the ISU is instrumental in the perpetration of violence in the black communities

Furthermore, the league committed itself to peace and reconciliation, especially among the youth of all populations groups

This objective — along with other youth related matters — the league resolved, would be carried out through a Youth Ministry which they proposed should be established along with the other ministries in the government of national unity

The challenge that the youth league has set itself is enormous by any standards. The extent to which it sticks to its decisions will determine whether or not it is finally ready to start on a new and clean slate

This will be particularly so under the leadership of the somewhat introverted Lulu Johnson — dubbed a silent revolutionary by the media

PAC 'to rebuke' dissenter

JOHANNESBURG — The PAC said yesterday it would discipline a regional leader who slammed the national leadership for capitulation and acting outside its mandate in suspending military actions by the Azanian People's Liberation Army

Central Transkei regional secretary Mr Mfanelo Skwatsha said on Tuesday the unilateral ceasefire ordered by the PAC leadership was a surrender

He said the move, announced on Sunday by PAC president Mr

Clarence Makwetu, went against a grassroots mandate for the PAC to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities with Pretoria

"Mr Skwatsha's decision to express his personal disagreements with party policy through the media amounts to a gross violation of party discipline and his case will be dealt with as a disciplinary matter," said Dr Peter Mayende, director of communications in the PAC's election campaign

He said last year's PAC

national conference mandated Mr Makwetu "to determine the timing and method of placing a moratorium on armed struggle"

After Mr Makwetu's announcement, three callers claiming to be Apla commanders said Apla's armed campaign would continue PAC leaders dismissed the callers as imposters

Another caller, who expressed similar sentiments, said he was the Azapo Border unit commander He gave his code name as Kiam-Shi — Sapa

(11A) CT 201194

Parties report progress in Freedom Alliance talks with ANC, gov't

TALKS between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance ended on a positive note last night.

Senior negotiators said at a joint news conference that progress had been made. A technical committee of three members from each party was set up to see if the Freedom Alliance could be accommodated in a constitutional settlement. The committee would meet today and report back tomorrow to the three parties.

A source at the meeting, held at the De-veloiment Bank in Midrand, said the ANC had appeared to be conciliatory and will-

ing to shift its position in some areas.

ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa described the meeting as constructive. "We believe we can now move forward and deal with the substantive issues. What is good is that all parties illustrated their willingness to negotiate."

Government chief negotiator Roelf Meyer said issues identified for further discussion were provisions for provincial structures, self-determination covering the Zulus as well as an Afrikaner volksstaat, and a two-ballot system of voting. The three parties had agreed in principle that it was possible to tackle the issues constructively, but admitted that time was running out for an inclusive deal, Meyer said. The government/ANC January 24 deadline was only days away. If a settlement was reached by Monday a special session of Parliament would be called to amend the interim constitution.

A government negotiator said real negotiating would begin only in the technical committee, and said it was too early to talk even of a "possible breakthrough".

Ramaphosa said the ANC had taken note

of Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen's statement that "limited violence" was an option to force a constitutional deal, but this had not been raised.

GAVIN DUVENAGE reports that Viljoen said negotiating was the Volksfront's preferred method to achieve its objectives, but limited violence might be needed to prevent large-scale violence born of the frustration of the Afrikaner's desire for self-determination.

The Volksfront was willing to call for international mediation in negotiations as it had become clear that SA's leaders had a

"pithy" inability to talk to each other.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said if a negotiated settlement was reached soon, a referendum to determine the boundaries of the volksstaat could be held before the end of February. It would be possible to hold a separate election in the volksstaat in conjunction with national elections.

ANC president Nelson Mandela said Viljoen's comments were regrettable. While he sympathised with minority fears, he would never contemplate a separate state. He had run out of ideas to draw the Inkatha Freedom Party back into negotiations.

AVF prepared to seek mediation

Hope returns after trilateral meeting

Star 20/1/94

(30/1/94) (11A)

BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Afrikaner Volksfront (AVF) leader General Constand Viljoen said yesterday morning that a "bit of violence" may be needed to carve out a homeland.

But later in the day, hopes that dissenting rightwingers could be brought aboard the country's political settlement were lifted by a successful trilateral meeting

The meeting was attended by the Freedom Alliance (FA) — of which the AVF is a part — the Government and the ANC.

After 3½ hours of talks at the Development Bank building in Midrand, delegates emerged with new hope.

They will meet again tomorrow, when they will receive a report-back from a technical committee looking at issues dividing the organisations.

Chief ANC negotiator Cyril

FRESH talks between Govt, FA and ANC bring new hope to the country's chances of a peaceful political settlement

Ramaphosa said the meeting had been very constructive

FA chairman Rowan Cronje said participants had found a constructive way to address problem issues

One senior politician said that for the first time he had "walked out of such a meeting feeling positive", and that the ANC had been in a particularly conciliatory mood.

The meeting came within hours of Viljoen's warning that "limited violence" was a "serious option"

Viljoen said that to prevent

violence if a deadlock occurred, the AVF was prepared to seek international mediation.

He told a media briefing in Pretoria that the mediation should be on the scale of the Palestinian-Israeli peace talks.

After the trilateral meeting later yesterday, Ramaphosa said the ANC had taken note of Viljoen's earlier comments

However, the ANC believed that differences should be resolved in negotiations

The technical committee — comprising three members of each of the organisations — will begin its crucial discussions this morning.

The "provisions for provincial structures", the issue of self-determination and whether voters should get a second ballot paper to indicate a regional preference are on the agenda.

Negotiators have until Monday — as agreed to in the last round of talks — to find a solution.

Civic executive resigns over boycott

Star 20/1/94

The Bekkersdal Civic Association executive committee resigned from office yesterday amid controversy over its recommendation to lift a boycott it organised and which has crippled most of Westonia's businesses

The committee advised the

community to lift the boycott last week to facilitate talks between the Inkatha Freedom Party, police and businessmen in the area. But at a mass meeting on Thursday night, the community chose to continue the boycott.

Although the members who

resigned could not be reached for comment, former chairman Rungu Mathambo said in a statement "After serious introspection and analysis of the volatile environment and ensuing conflict, the executive has chosen to resign with immediate effect." — Staff Reporter.

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'NP using murder for political gain'

Star 20/11/94

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday accused President de Klerk of orchestrating township violence to sabotage the chances of the ANC becoming South Africa's first black government.

Using some of his harshest words on the issue since township fighting erupted seriously in 1990, Mandela said the Government sought to cling to power by permitting black people to die.

The Government had adopted a strategy to orchestrate this violence among blacks, he told a Foreign Correspondents' Association lunch.

"He (De Klerk) believes that if this violence continues

until April 27 then he will cut down the support of the ANC, so much so that he may even cling to political power (IA)

Mandela added that he failed to understand how a government professing Christian values could "use murder as a method of rising to political power".

Research indicated that up to 40 percent of blacks could be scared off from voting by the violence, he said.

A Government spokesman said it was regrettable Mandela had made the accusations just before an agreement was due on methods of curtailing East Rand violence. — Sapa-Reuter.

PAC insists on amnesty

Star 20/11/94

Blanket amnesty for PAC combatants and joint command of security forces will top the agenda of a meeting between the organisation and the Government today

The meeting, to be held in Pretoria, will also focus on the subcouncil on defence of the Transitional Executive Council, which last month created the Joint Military Co-ordinating Council to form a joint National Peace-keeping Force to oversee the election

The discussions are part of a series planned between the two parties especially in the light of the PAC's unilateral suspension of the armed struggle.

The ultimate goal of these meetings is to guarantee the PAC's participation in transitional structures in the run-up to April's election

The PAC is expected to raise its support for a two-ballot-paper voting system.

The organisation's refusal to take part in the TEC and its structures is based mainly on its rejection of joint co-ordination of security forces in favour of joint command by all parties, including the South African Defence Force and police

Sources inside The PAC said the organisation would "put our foot down" on securing blanket amnesty for its

cadres in the Azaman People's Liberation Army rather than agree that they should apply for indemnity (11A)

The organisation has also embarked on an election campaign. Announcing the cessation of the armed struggle, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said "You can't vote and shoot at the same time"

The PAC said yesterday it would discipline the regional leader who accused the national leadership of capitulation and acting outside its mandate in announcing the suspension of military action to overthrow white rule — Own Correspondent and Sapa.

PROFILE ANC spokesman is a passionate believer in democracy and open government

Sowetan 20/1/94

Face to face with Carl

By Donwald Pressly

■ SOFT-SPOKEN (11A)

Niehaus commands respect across political spectrum:

CARL NIEHAUS sweeps into the room with two mean-looking bodyguards. He has a pervading air of super-efficiency about him. Having spoken to him on the phone many times, it was a surprise to discover that he was so quietly spoken.

The Zeerust-born former revolutionary, jailed for 15 years in 1983 for treason, now commands respect across the political spectrum as media liaison officer and prospective national assembly candidate — especially from his former National Party adversaries.

I blurt out my concerns about a future ANC government. Will it be dangerous for voters to accord it more than 66,6 percent of the vote, allowing it to write the final constitution to be implemented in 1999? He assures me the ANC is committed to long-term democratic values — it would not be a danger if it won so handsomely.

He suspects that polls indicating that the ANC would win well over 60 percent of the vote may be a strategy to galvanise opposition to the ANC.

The organisation's record spoke for itself. It had strenuously fought for a proportional representation system which would ensure representation of smaller parties in parliament.

"The parliamentary process must be as inclusive as possible. If we had opted for the Westminster system, the ANC would have swept the slates clean. We believe that opposition is important."

Democratic culture

He also believes that the highly developed democratic culture of the ANC will protect it from becoming an autocratic party which loses touch with the electorate.

"Our candidates have not been selected in smoke-filled rooms. Some have even accused us of being too laborious in our selection process for the national list."

Will Mrs Winnie Mandela be on it? "If the democratic process brings her forward as a top candidate, we need to take her seriously into consideration." He acknowledged that she had received substantial support at last weekend's selection conference. The national executive committee would make the final decision.

But ANC candidates will have to abide by a strict code of conduct which will demand of them a full disclosure of their financial assets to ascertain if there was any conflict of interests with their political duties. The organisation will also introduce legislation after April 27 to ensure that all legislators do likewise.

His impression of the Freedom Alliance was that it was trying to squeeze as many constitutional concessions from the parties participating in the transitional process.

"I get the impression that the alliance and Inkatha will only be happy when they get everything they want."

It was not in the interest of anyone that they be formalised. Accompanying this is the whole field of destabilisation and terrorism as some of the white ultra-rightwing groups were threatening.

"At the end of the day there is only one game in town, the election."

He did not expect the alliance to win on the single ballot score. He said the two-ballot system which would allow voters to vote for separate parties at central and provincial levels was only for a country with a long history and culture of voting. Angola was an example where complex voting had led to a huge number of spoilt papers.

"We don't want someone who is voting for the first time to waste his vote."

Nationalisation

Turning to white voters, he acknowledged that they feared the ANC. However, they need not worry about nationalisation. "We believe in a mixed economy — a strong market sector with limited State involvement in the areas of education, health and housing."

The extra financing would be drawn from money at present spent on homeland administrations and the defence sector.

Would there be no burgeoning of the civil service? Under an ANC government, a multiparty body to oversee the appointment of suitably qualified staff would be set up. There would be a strict code of conduct whereby people were appointed on the basis of ability to avoid political patronage.

On the violence, he believes there is a third force involved in the assassination of political leaders. While he acknowledged that there were rogue elements in ANC self-defence units, they were difficult to identify.



Carl Niehaus ... super efficient.

If we had opted for the Westminster system, the ANC would have swept the slates clean but we believe that opposition is important.

We don't want someone who is voting for the first time to waste his vote



PAC in crucial talks

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

A DEMAND for a blanket amnesty for Pan Africanist Congress combatants and joint command of security forces will top the agenda of a high-powered meeting between the organisation and the Government today

The meeting, to be held in Pretoria, will also focus on the Transitional Executive Council's sub-council on defence which last month created the joint military co-ordinating council to form a joint national peacekeeping force to oversee the elections

The discussions are part of a series planned between the two parties, especially in the light of the PAC's unilateral

Sowetan 20/1/94
suspension of the armed struggle announced by its president Mr Clarence Makwetu. (11/9)

The ultimate goal of these meetings is to guarantee the PAC's participation in transitional structures in the run-up to April's elections

The organisation's refusal to participate in the TEC and its structures is based mainly on its rejection of "joint co-ordination of security forces in favour of joint command by all parties, including the South African Defence Force and police".

Sources inside the PAC said the organisation "would put our foot down" on securing blanket amnesty for its cadres in the Azanian People's Liberation Army.



WFM 21-27/1/94
PAC militants reject
surprise peace call 11A

Farouk Chothia

SHARP divisions have emerged in the Pan Africanist Congress over its surprise decision to suspend the armed struggle — and militants hinted strongly this week that, despite the announcement, guerrilla activities would continue, possibly even after the April 27 elections.

The PAC's central Transkei region led the denunciation of the suspension by slamming it as "capitulation" and calling for the continuation of the armed struggle until "majority rule" is achieved — effectively demanding that Apla targets even the proposed government of national unity for attacks.

Other developments which pointed to opposition to PAC president Clarence Makwetu's Sunday announcement include:

●Hours after the suspension, an alleged Apla attack took place in central Durban.

●Carl Zimbiri — whom the PAC for the first time declared as dead this week to the dismay of their supporters — called newspapers to claim Apla responsibility for attacks. He told Sapa that Apla's regional and sectional commanders met in Bloemfontein this week where they vowed that the armed struggle would continue.

●In an interview published last week in the Eastern Cape-based *Imvo* newspaper, Apla commander Sabelo Phama — almost certain to have been aware of PAC plans to suspend the armed struggle — declared 1994 as "The Year of the Great Offensive" and said the "struggle will not end" after the April elections.

Pulling no punches, Transkei regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha said: "The armed struggle should continue until majority rule. The government of national unity is designed not to bring majority rule."

Political analyst Eugene Nyathi said he did not believe the suspension of the armed struggle would bring much change to the way the PAC operated as it had "always been a fairly divided constituency".

Skwatsha accused the PAC national leadership of "renegeing" on a national congress resolution adopted late last year in Umtata that 1994 would be "The Year of the Bullet and Ballot".

PAC sources revealed this week

that they were shell-shocked by Makwetu's announcement as most delegates at the congress did not even want to contest the April poll, let alone agree to unilaterally suspending the armed struggle.

The sources claimed that moderate leaders — including chief negotiator Patricia de Lille, secretary general Benny Alexander and foreign affairs head Gora Ebrahim — argued the PAC would win elections and then "impose" a constituent assembly on the other parties.

In response to Zimbiri's telephone call to Sapa, PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo said he had "died a year ago" while Alexander told Radio 702 that he had died three months ago in a car accident.

In response to the alleged Apla attack in Durban, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani said there was no sanction from the PAC command structure for continued attacks and blamed it on state agents — "especially the military intelligence which has infiltrated Apla and was using cadres for selfish ends".

The fact that both Mlambo and Nemadzivhanani have emerged in the frontline to defend the suspension of armed struggle is significant both had previously been seen as militant leaders. Nemadzivhanani is extremely popular with the PAC rank-and-file and could play a key role in attempts to convince militants to accept the suspension and to campaign vigorously for an election victory.

Mlambo is Apla's former commander-in-chief, placing him in an ideal position to convince at least sections of the army to lay down their weapons.

The change of heart arises from the fact that the PAC leadership, rather than seeing its armed struggle as a drawcard to win over militant black voters, regards it as an albatross around its neck.

"You cannot win the elections with guns. You must win the elections and rule. Guns play no role," said Alexander.

The suspension of the armed struggle could lead to an influx of foreign cash into the PAC's electoral coffers. "There are European countries which were going to give us money, but who kept it on hold until the PAC is completely in elections," said Alexander.

NP fails to send representative to debate in Mitchell's Plain (11A)

MICHAEL MORRIS *ARC 2/1/94*
Political Correspondent

THE National Party failed to turn up at an election debate with the African National Congress in Mitchell's Plain in spite of an undertaking that it would send a representative.

The debate last night, arranged by the Mitchell's Plain Youth Development Programme, was to have been between the Rev Bantam of the NP and the Rev Chris Nissen of the ANC.

One of the organisers, Rachart Job, said the NP had confirmed yesterday that a representative would attend.

The NP and ANC have faced each other in similar debates in Mitchell's Plain over the past two months.

Last night's meeting at the

Westridge Civic Centre, attended by about 200 people — most ANC supporting — went ahead without the NP.

In a wide-ranging question-and-answer session, Mr Nissen.

● Claimed that "white bosses" in the private sector were "abusing" affirmative action to "divide our people, as an election ploy" by favouring Africans over coloured people and Indians. He also singled out Telkom and Eskom.

● Said the "oppressed" would continue to "rejoice" at the defeat of South African sports teams abroad until after the election, when their own people could become part of the teams, and they would experience genuine patriotism.

● Blamed apartheid for racist attitudes among coloured people

towards Africans.

● Defended the deal struck with the National Party on preserving existing public service jobs as a necessary concession in the interests of reconciliation and stability.

● Claimed there were up to 30 deaths on the Cape Flats every weekend but said these were not reflected in newspaper reports because police were not anxious to follow them up "because to them it means there is so many of the enemy less".

Questioned about the ANC's attitude to religion, given its bond with the Communist Party, he said: "The ANC believes we do not need a religious State, but a secular State which recognises the right of everybody to believe or not to believe, and be tolerant of each other."

Mandela warns of civil war

ANC leader Nelson Mandela warned yesterday SA faced civil war, and a solution had to be found to accommodate Afrikaners' demand for a separate state.

"We are not going to accept this demand, but we are prepared to discuss with you a solution ... to save our country from unnecessary bloodshed," he told a people's forum at the SABC's Johannesburg head office, called to address broadcast employees' concerns.

Mandela acknowledged the ultra right wing's ability to derail a future government. The ultra right had significant support in the public service, army, and police, and sympathisers in important and strategic installations. "We will deal with that," he said.

SA faced a scenario similar to those of Angola and Mozambique, where civil

wars begun at independence had raged for years

It was ironic that right-wing groups' demand for a separate state was surfacing on the brink of black majority rule. "All the time they were happy to rule us. Now that the challenge is from blacks, they want a separate state. We will not concede." (11A)

Blacks boycotting the elections were scared of democracy and were hankering for white minority rule.

"What they are saying is 'we don't want liberation, we don't want to be free. We want to continue to be under the rule of the white minority'," he said.

The Inkatha Freedom Party's central committee had announced the party would not contest the election until its demand for self-determination was granted. However, a decision is to be made at a

national conference later this month.

Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen said, on Wednesday, "limited violence" could be used to support the demand for an Afrikaner state and King Goodwill Zwelithini said on Monday Zulus would resist threats posed by the new constitution.

On the fact that 75% of the SABC's staff was white, Mandela said: "This is a situation we can't tolerate. The problem of affirmative action is one we must address." To fail to do this would betray "all our predecessors who have sacrificed in order to ensure that the day of liberation should come".

But Mandela also expressed concern about white skilled staff emigrating. "You must remain and fight with us," he said. Sapa.

Govt, PAC down to detail

By KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The Government and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) have agreed to establish three working committees as soon as possible to look at ways of addressing the organisation's concerns, sources have confirmed.

The decision, taken at a meeting between the two parties in Pretoria yesterday, now paves the way for a possible meeting between PAC leader Clarence Makwetu and President de Klerk.

Yesterday's meeting, which dealt with the PAC's demand for a two-ballot system in the April 27 election and an amnesty for the PAC's leaders and cadres, came a day before another round of trilateral talks involving the Government, ANC and Freedom Alliance.

The PAC yesterday revealed it intended to take disciplinary ac-

tions against those of its members who have spoken out against the PAC's suspension of the armed struggle.

Dr Peter Mayende said his organisation had obtained an undertaking from the leadership of Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla) commanders to ensure adherence to the suspension of the armed struggle.

Opposition to the decision has come mostly from some PAC and Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) leaders in the Transkei and some parts of the Cape.

The organisation this week also got support from the leadership of its youth wing, Azanyu, which agreed to the suspension of the armed struggle.

The announcement, made at the end of a meeting with the National Party Youth at the World Trade Centre on Wednesday, means that the PAC leadership has managed to take the majority of its youth along with it on this issue.

ANC dismisses fears of municipal chaos

FEARS that the creation of a single municipality for every city or town in SA would result in administrative chaos were dismissed by ANC local government spokesman Thozamile Botha yesterday.

He told a local government conference at the World Trade Centre near Kempton Park that the fears were based on distorted data and prejudices.

"The black local authorities did not simply collapse because blacks are incapable. They failed because in addition to corruption, which is prevalent even with the white administration, they lacked a sufficient revenue base capable of financing the huge demands in black townships.

"By contrast, the white municipalities have continued to enjoy the benefits of the industrial and commercial tax base which enabled them to attract high-quality staff. They also enjoyed disproportionate levels of staffing in comparison with the black local authorities."

He said the effects of non-payment for

services combined with the racial allocation of resources under apartheid would be felt in black townships for years and would have to be addressed by a future government as a matter of priority.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa slammed rates boycott threats by some white ratepayers who wished to preserve racial structures.

The CP-controlled Transvaal Municipal Association could not be trusted to put the interests of South Africans and local government first, Ramaphosa said. The association had reneged on a deal for interim local government structures.

Local Government Minister Tertius Delport said the provincial administrator had the power to dissolve town councils and introduce alternative structures if they refused to accept change. The implementation of the Local Government Transition Act meant the process toward legitimate local government was under way. — Sapa.

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BISAN 21/11/92

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Fun 21/1/94

Party divisions not set in stone

A likely future split in the ANC could spark a new centrist alliance

(SAA) (IA) (S)

When one of the factions is extinguished, the remainder subdivideth — Francis Bacon.

Winnie Mandela's dramatic political resurrection is a sharp and timely reminder that the ANC is far from homogeneous — if any reminder is needed in the light of all the contradictory policy statements by major figures. These contradictions won't be reconciled before the election. On the contrary, the ANC is engaged in the classic political exercise of a divided party ahead of an election trying to be all things to all men.

Latest opinion polls (see *Current Affairs*) indicate that the ANC — divided or not — is heading for a big victory on April 27. Positive factors include its status as a liberation movement, the great (and deserved) charisma of its president Nelson Mandela and grave, maybe irretrievable, tactical errors by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi.

The NP is showing no great political dynamism or unity of purpose and talk of transforming the party into "Christian socialists" with wide multi-ethnic drawing power has faded. The DP, despite its political integrity and sound policies, has been unable to break

out of its narrow constituency.

SA must brace itself for a spell of ANC triumphalism. Once this emotion is spent, the ANC-dominated interim government will have to address the business of govern-



ANC's Nelson Mandela . great and deserved charisma

ment. This is when internal strains will come to the fore. To govern is to choose and the choice is between irresponsible populism and conciliatory centrism with an ear cocked to local business sentiment and — perhaps more important — to Western governments, international business and the IMF.

The new government's first need will be to restore law and order, an unpleasant task which can only be undertaken when the security forces are Mandela's police and Defence Force, not De Klerk's Footloose elements in the townships will not be brought to heel without resentment.

Then there will be the distasteful task of telling the masses that there is indeed no Santa Claus, that facile redistributionism cannot provide instant redress for its deprivations and resentments. There will have to be a period of self-discipline and hard work, coupled with an understanding that private capital has to be made to feel secure if it is to invest and help build the new SA. When these perceptions percolate down to the rank and file, the ANC will face its real moment of truth in defining political loyalties.

To judge by the rumblings to date, this

will be a nasty show-down Two questions present themselves. what form will the inevitable disaffection take and what proportion of the ANC's constituency will be driven to rebellion against the new-found pragmatism of the senior leadership?

The main factor holding the disparate elements together is Mandela's personal prestige Were he to be removed from the scene soon, there could be an open split If he lasts the five years of the interim government (by no means unlikely for an amazingly fit 75-year-old), the chances of containing the forces of dissent are not bad — given reasonable economic growth and job creation.

It would be wrong for the remaining parties to base their strategies on hopes of a split in the ANC. This would be negative, self-destructive defeatism They should aim to mobilise the greatest collective electoral support, as the chances that pragmatism will prevail within the ANC are surely better if it obtains only a modest majority instead of 60% or even the two-thirds that would allow it to amend the constitution on its own

This tough reality should concentrate the minds of other parties, not least Inkatha, which should be mobilising as much as possible of its potential constituency of conservative Zulus to become a major factor in the constituent assembly, instead of playing the Ulster option — a sure loser This redirection of political energies appears incapable of achievement under Buthelezi.

The NP should reconsider the Christian socialist option, which has much to offer as a new image. A large coloured constituency may look on an ANC victory as little more than a Xhosa hegemony, but may still flinch at voting for a party which treated it so shabbily The Nats should also address themselves with a lot more vigour to the Afrikaner Right

If Buthelezi is an Ulster loyalist, Constand Viljoen and his motley army are mere Jacobites, fighting for the most lost of lost causes They also need to be told that their purposes are best served by mobilising every last vote in April rather than indulging in political romanticism of the worst sort, most calculated to inflame anti-white feelings

What the DP needs to emphasise most is not policies, but the absolute secrecy of the ballot There must be a constituency — however indeterminate its size — of middle-class blacks who mistrust the populist trend within the ANC and might want to exercise a countervailing influence through voting for a genuinely nonracial party, provided there is no risk of retaliation



Rightwinger Constand Viljoen a motley Jacobite army

The stronger other parties are, the better the chance that they can influence events if or when tensions within the ANC reach breaking point Certainly it would be wrong to take for granted that current divisions in party politics will endure even for the first five years of the new era

Some years ago, Conor Cruise O'Brien, in a prescient article in Harper's Magazine, foreshadowed the evolution of a post-apartheid SA He postulated that post-apartheid politics would reflect a coalition of the haves of all races against the

have-nots: in more pedantic terms, the substitution of class for race as the major aligning factor

This must be correct in principle and the guide to predicting any long-term party realignment In the short run, other loyalties may survive, obscuring the long-term trend For some time, politics will reflect a combination of class and ethnic forces — a constellation which is true of many countries

The possible retention of Finance Minister Derek Keys and Reserve Bank Governor Chris Stals will reinforce the new government's centrist character The failure of the Marxist model and the disappearance of the Soviet Union as a sponsor of Marxist policies all but dictate this outcome

Only the Western-style free enterprise industrial nations can provide money and technical skills, not to mention a largely free-enterprise model for economic development The retention of white skills as a major policy goal must also tilt the machine of government to moderation and pragmatism

These are factors and arguments which could appeal to a large block of African

urban opinion, increasingly middle-class and to an extent middle-aged Equally, the interests of the Cosatu element of the ANC — who, by definition, are employed — will increasingly diverge from those of the unemployed (and, some would say, unemployable) radical urban youth

When or how the split in the ANC will come about, no-one can tell When it does, the chances are good for the formation of a genuinely centrist party comprising ANC moderates, the rump of the Nats and the DP, as there would then be a genuine convergence of policies on basic support for the free market with a strong element of welfare, and for nonracialism

This outcome would also create a powerful opposition to the Left, through an accretion of support for the PAC or in other ways This need not be a bad thing under proportional representation, provided the Left could be contained to, say, a quarter or even 30% of representation Coalition politics would then operate as it did in western Europe in the days when communist parties were Stalinist and politically untouchable and condemned to permanent opposition

The worst case, of course, would be if the



Keys



Stals

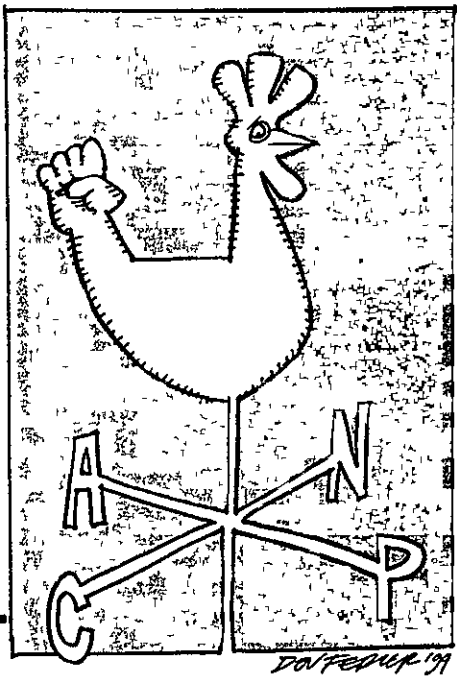
economy falls so far short of satisfying expectations as to trigger either a radical takeover of the ANC, or defections to the PAC on such a scale as to endanger the ANC's grip on power This may sound far-fetched, but the capacity of urban youth for disillusionment cannot be dismissed

It is because of this danger that Western-style liberal free market values could be more at risk in the second election, scheduled for 1999, than they will be this April

One of the regrettable authoritarian aspects of the new constitution is its entrenchment of party machines and failure to allow parliament to reflect the factional realignments that must surely develop over the next five years

Come the 1999 election, though, and this straitjacket will be loosened The line-up of contenders could look very different. With an eye to survival, parties and individuals elected to the 1994 parliament will be using the next five years not only to advance their causes but to prepare for this realignment.

It may look as though we're on the eve of an era of politics as monolithic as the era we're just leaving But as so often in politics, appearances will surely be misleading



P.T.O

PAC and Govt talks 'positive'

Sowetan 21/1/94

■ **NEXT WEEK** Meeting agrees to form

committees to take exploratory talks further:

PROGRESS WAS REPORTEDLY made in Pretoria yesterday to bring the Pan Africanist Congress back into the transitional process.

The Government and the PAC agreed in their meeting to establish three working committees to meet as early as next week to take yesterday's "exploratory meeting" further

A possible first meeting between President FW de Klerk and PAC leader Mr Clarence Makwetu was also raised "and may be taken further", a Government spokesman said afterwards. The two sides met for two hours at the offices of Government chief negotiator Mr Roelf Meyer

The issues discussed were whether there should be one or two ballot papers on April 27. The PAC, like the Freedom Alliance, wants one for the national government and one for the provincial government. Amnesty for members of the PAC's armed wing, the Azanian People's Liberation Army, in the wake of the PAC's suspension of its armed struggle. The PAC's participation in the Transitional Executive

Council The PAC announced it would join the body only if there was joint control over all the country's armed forces; and the PAC's participation on the executive council sub-council on defence. Some executive council participants have argued that PAC representation on the sub-council would meet its demand for proper joint control over the armed forces. The Government's departments of defence, justice and constitutional development will, together with PAC representation, form the three working committees

"The most important thing we want to discuss with the Government is the question of one ballot or two ballots," PAC negotiator Mr Gora Ebrahim said afterwards

The PAC had consistently favoured two ballots, he said

Earlier, a PAC delegation held talks with Defence Minister Kobie Coetsee in Pretoria. The PAC delegation included general secretary Mr Benny Alexander and publicity secretary Mr Barney Desai. The talks with Coetsee were connected to the PAC's announcement that it had suspended its armed struggle — *Sapa*

Today an IFP stayaway — tomorrow a call for sanctions?

Western Cape ANC rallies around Boesak

South 21/1 - 25/1/94

Western Cape ANC chairperson Dr ALLAN BOESAK emerged this weekend as the organisation's first choice for premiership of the region.

QUENTIN WILSON reports on Sunday's ANC conference held in Bellville:

DR ALLAN Boesak's status as leader of the ANC in the Western Cape was cemented on Sunday when the organisation picked him as its regional front runner for April's electoral race

Sunday's ANC conference at Bellville's Peninsula Technikon means Boesak will lead a new provincial government if the ANC pulls off a Western Cape victory at the polls.

While tipped as favourite for the ANC's position of "premier designate" before the conference, the charismatic ANC Western Cape chairperson did not go unchallenged

National executive committee member, Advocate Dullah Omar, came just 16 votes short of securing the position. Out of the 257 votes cast by delegates, 136 pledged support for Boesak while 120 wanted Omar. There was one spoilt ballot.

Five other ANC leaders were nominated for the position, but withdrew before delegates cast their votes. They were national executive members Mr Reggie September, Ms Cheryl Carolus, Mr Trevor Manuel, SACP stalwart Mr Brian Bunting and regional executive member, Mr Tony Yengeni.

Omar's challenge followed a flurry of behind-the-scenes talk in ANC circles about Boesak's desirability as leader of the Western Cape's ANC election drive.

The regional chairperson, it was felt, might not stand up to the barrage of a dirty NP election campaign that would attack Boesak's controversial private life.

During the eighties the security police hounded Boesak and tipped off the media about his extra-martial affairs, the ANC is not relishing this inevitable aspect of NP propaganda before and during April.

Instead, it was ventured that Omar, a UDF veteran well-known in the Western Cape and a key member of the ANC's negotiating team



THREE CHEERS FOR ME: Allan Boesak celebrates victory with his wife, Elna, and regional executive member Dullah Omar

at Kempton Park, would fit the bill.

But if cynical observers thought the scene was set for a bitter power play between the two stalwarts, the conduct of the two candidates before and after the conference ensured a united ANC Western Cape for the election campaign.

After the results were announced by election co-ordinator, Mr Steve Kanowitz, loud cheers and chants of "Boesak! Boesak!" erupted in the auditorium as the ANC chief was carried shoulder high to the stage.

All thoughts that the tough election contest would divide the organisation were soon to be buried

Omar, addressing the conference after his defeat, praised Boesak in a generous show of support.

"Allan, over many years, has made a great contribution to struggle in our country. I have supported him through thick and thin. I not only admire his style but his ideas and his commitment. I have always been loyal to him, and I will continue to do so."

Boesak too, was magnanimous in victory.

"Comrade Dullah would have been a great leader. And he remains a great leader," he said.

"It is one of the most beautiful things about the ANC. It has this ability to allow the full democratic process to go its course and to remain united afterwards," he said

According to Boesak, both he and Omar

had discussed their nominations together and had agreed beforehand to support each other, whatever the outcome. (11A)

Boesak argued for the importance of an ANC victory at the polls

"We have a particular responsibility here in the Western Cape," he said

"This region is different from any other region in that it has been the most divided by apartheid.

"The number of population groups in the Western Cape makes our task all the more important. If we are serious about building a united country where people from all races can live comfortably side by side, it is here in the Western Cape where the real test of non-racialism will be. If we fail, the rest of the country fails with us," he said

Boesak also stressed that one of the principal planks of the ANC's election campaign would rest on its "Reconstruction Development Programme", which spells out concrete ANC policy to redress skewed development caused by apartheid.

Meanwhile, the next stage in the Western Cape election tussle lies with the other big fish, the NP.

The NP still has to declare who its front runner will be. While top NP negotiator and current Cape NP leader, Dr Dawie de Villiers is tipped to lead their regional team, a challenge is expected from Mr Hermus Kriel, current Minister of Law and Order

ANC

lines

up its

team

11A
ARG 22/1/94

Twin-ballot option still a possibility for April election

Monday is the deadline for a crucial bid by the government and the ANC to get the dissident rightwing Freedom Alliance aboard the political transition process. One of the bargaining chips at these talks is said to be the twin-ballot system, dumped last year by negotiators at the World Trade Centre.

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

PLANS for a twin-ballot — one national, one regional — on April 27 are still alive and can be introduced in the coming national elections if last-ditch negotiators agree to it this weekend.

It is one of the key issues at negotiations now being held in a bid to bring the dissenting Freedom Alliance (FA) aboard the country's political settlement.

The three parties involved in the talks — the government, the African National Congress and the FA — have until Monday to resolve their differences.

Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer confirmed this week that the question of giving voters a second ballot paper to indicate a regional preference in the election was one of the issues discussed at the negotiations.

If a solution was found during the talks, parliament would be recalled for a brief session to pass the necessary amendments.

Democratic Party national chairman Ken Andrew told Weekend Argus there was no doubt that the two-ballot plan was still alive, although the ANC wanted it to be dead.

He confirmed that parliament could be recalled if agreement was reached at the talks.

"We hope very much that a decision will be taken in favour of the two-ballot system. We are still totally committed to the two-ballot system and we have put our case," said Mr Andrew. "From the ANC's viewpoint, the present one-ballot system wipes out small parties, and that suits the ANC."

In parliament, in November last year, Mr Andrew described the government/ANC decision for a one-vote system as "a shabby deal in conflict with democratic principles".

Both the DP and the Inkatha Freedom Party have opposed vigorously the single-ballot plan to be used for regional and central parliaments in the April 27 elections.

The DP lost its fight at the World Trade Centre last year and continued its battle in parliament, but also in vain.

Its main argument was that two ballots would give voters the chance to vote for one party at national level and for another at regional level.

A single vote would disadvantage regional parties.

An argument put forward by the IFP was that the single-ballot system would not be fully democratic.

The ANC's election list is out — and it promises a dramatic political change for South Africa after the April 27 poll.

SHAUN JOHNSON and ESTHER WAUGH
Weekend Argus Political Staff

THE announcement of the African National Congress's omnibus electoral list — besides prominent ANC politicians it includes trade unionists, homeland leaders, tricameral MPs, singers and a former policeman — has given the first indication of how dramatic a political change is in the offing for South Africa after April 27.

Seats in the new parliament will be occupied by South Africans very different from those who have sat in the Cape Town legislature before.

The ANC, widely expected to dominate in the first democratic election, has become the first party to unveil the names of its 200 national candidates for the National Assembly.

The list confirms many expectations — ANC President Nelson Mandela is very definitely at its head — but also provides a few surprises.

ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa achieved second place on the list, followed by national chairman Thabo Mbeki. SACP chairman Joe Slovo is fourth. The rest of the top 10

THE FULL LIST — page 3

is made up by information chief Pallo Jordan, former Cosatu head Jay Naidoo, Rivonia veteran Ahmed Kathrada, former intelligence chief Ronnie Kasrils, unionist Sydney Mufamadi and ANC Women's League stalwart Albertina Sisulu.

The positioning of some names on the national list comes as a surprise outside ANC quarters. Mr Kathrada's impressive showing indicates that the publicity-shy veteran has been active and effective behind the scenes in ANC organisation.

Women's League president Winnie Mandela appears 31st on the list, while Popcru president Gregory Rockman came 46th. Outgoing ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba came in at number 27.

Some prominent names are missing from the list — including Jacob Zuma, Alan Boesak, Tokyo Sexwale, Matthew Phosa and Patrick Lekota — because they have been nominated for regional premierships. Others, like Harry Gwala and Carl Niehaus, are expected to take positions in provincial legislatures or among the 200 regional candidates for the National Assembly.

Most members of the ANC's negotiating team are in the top positions. Mr Ramaphosa (2), Mr Mbeki (3), Mr Slovo (4), Mac Maharaj (17) and Valli Moosa (26).

The ANC national executive committee met until 2am yesterday to finalise the list to ensure that it contained at least 33 percent women and that its allies were properly represented.

The National Party said in a statement today that the ANC's election list posed a grave danger to South Africa. The SACP had succeeded in its aim to get a stranglehold on the ANC's list. Of the first 50 candidates, 27 were members of the SACP (54 percent) with another possible seven.

Few surprises on ANC national list

ARC 22/1/94 (11A)

ANC national election list for the National Assembly

- 1 Nelson R Mandela
- 2 Cyril M Ramaphosa
- 3 Thabo Mbeki
- 4 Joe Slovo
- 5 Pallo Jordan
- 6 Jay Naidoo
- 7 Ahmed Kathrada
- 8 Ronnie Kasrils
- 9 Sydney Mafumadi
- 10 Albertina Sisulu
- 11 Thozamile Botha
- 12 Steve Tshwete
- 13 Bantubonke Holomisa
- 14 Jeff Hadebe
- 15 Dullah Omar
- 16 Popo Molefe
- 17 Mac Maharaj
- 18 Moses Mayekiso
- 19 Chris Dlamini
- 20 Trevor Manuel
- 21 Zola Skweyiya
- 22 Gertrude Shope
- 23 Kader Asmal
- 24 Joe Modise
- 25 Arnold Stofile
- 26 Mohammed Valli Moosa
- 27 Peter Mokaba
- 28 John Nkadimeng
- 29 Essop Pahad
- 30 Raymond Suttner
- 31 Winnie Mandela
- 32 Tito Mboweni
- 33 Thenjiwe Mtshintso
- 34 Baleka Kgosisile
- 35 Blade Nzimande
- 36 Ruth Mompati
- 37 Aziz Pahad
- 38 Penuell Maduna
- 39 Billy Nair
- 40 Mavivi Manzini
- 41 Philip Dexter
- 42 Prince James Mahlangu
- 43 Smangaliso Mkhathshwa
- 44 Alfred Nzo
- 45 Alec Erwin
- 46 Gregory Rockman
- 47 Gill Marcus
- 48 Jan van Eck
- 49 Thandi Modise
- 50 Shepard Mdladlana
- 51 Nkosazana Zuma
- 52 Nosiviwe Maphisa
- 53 Randell van den Heever
- 54 Frene Ginwala
- 55 Joe Nhlani
- 56 Marcel Golding
- 57 Pravin Gordhan
- 58 Max Sisulu
- 59 Saki Macozoma
- 60 Tony Yengeni
- 61 Geraldine Fraser
- 62 Jenny Schreiner
- 63 Reginald September
- 64 Patekile Holomisa
- 65 Thomas Nkomo
- 66 Bridgette Mabandla
- 67 Dave Dalling
- 68 Bernard Ncube
- 69 Andrew Mlangeni
- 70 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim
- 71 Gabriel Ramushwana
- 72 Adelaide Tambo
- 73 Barbara Hogan
- 74 Sibusiso Bhengu
- 75 Rapulane Molekane
- 76 Kgabisi Mosunkuntu
- 77 Ms Nozizwe Madlala
- 78 Nelson Ramodike
- 79 Elijah Barayi
- 80 Jannie Momberg
- 81 Prince Mowayizeni Zulu
- 82 Elias Motswaledi
- 83 Dorothy Nyembe
- 84 Derek Hanekom
- 85 Mbulelo Goniwe
- 86 Melanie Verwoerd
- 87 Sankie Nkondo
- 88 Pregs Govender
- 89 Lydia Kompe
- 90 Ivy Gcina
- 91 Ela Gandhi
- 92 Joyce Mashamba
- 93 Phumzile Ngcuka
- 94 Ellen Khuzwayo
- 95 Hilda Ndude
- 96 Zou Kota
- 97 Lindiwe Sisulu
- 98 Feroza Adams
- 99 James Stuart
- 100 Mnyamezeli Booi
- 101 Kgaogelo Leggoro
- 102 Lindiwe Mabuza
- 103 John Copelyn
- 104 Mangesi Zitha
- 105 Dipuo Peters
- 106 Peter Hendrikse
- 107 Ismail Richards
- 108 Ntombi Shope
- 109 S Moeti
- 110 Duma Nkosi
- 111 Thoko Msane
- 112 Zam Titus
- 113 N J Mahlangu
- 114 Jennifer Ferguson
- 115 M J Mahlangu
- 116 Samuel Nxumalo
- 117 Bongani Njube
- 118 J N Reddy
- 119 Thabang Makwetla
- 120 Manto Tshabalala
- 121 Nkosinathi Nhleko
- 122 S S Ripinga
- 123 Ms PT Shilubane
- 124 James Maseko
- 125 Llewellyn Landers
- 126 Girdle Pkoki
- 127 Brian Bunting
- 128 Diliza Mji
- 129 Miriam Makeba
- 130 Archie Gumede
- 131 Cas Saloojee
- 132 Wally Serote
- 133 Mendi Msimang
- 134 Max Coleman
- 135 Bulelani Ngcuka
- 136 Curnick Ndlovu
- 137 Willie Hofmeyr
- 138 Josiah Jele
- 139 Mzwayi Piliso
- 140 Moss Chikane
- 141 Aaron Motswaledi
- 142 Alister Sparks
- 143 Mkhuzeli Jack
- 144 Firoz Cachalia
- 145 Salie Manie
- 146 Mewa Ramgobin
- 147 Jackie Selebi
- 148 Stan Sangweni
- 149 Henry Fazzie
- 150 John Samuels
- 151 Don Gumede
- 152 Mike Sutcliffe
- 153 Prince Madikizela
- 154 Lechesa Tsenoli
- 155 Rob Davies
- 156 Essop Jassat
- 157 Hassan Solomons
- 158 Makhosazana Njube
- 159 Ismail Meer
- 160 Samson Ndou
- 161 Christmas Tinto
- 162 Lulu Xingwana
- 163 Ebrahim Rasool
- 164 Amina Cachalia
- 165 Tutor Ndumase
- 166 Colin Coleman
- 167 Fatima Hajaj
- 168 Liz Abrahams
- 169 Batabale Dlamini
- 170 Virginia Engel
- 171 Danny Olifant
- 172 Bhekiki Mkhize
- 173 Moosa Moola
- 174 Ram Saloojee
- 175 Jackie Cock
- 176 Nomatyala Hangana
- 177 Sue van der Merwe
- 178 Lynne Brown
- 179 N Bam
- 180 Gertrude Fester
- 181 Beatie Hofmeyr
- 182 Thandi Shabangu
- 183 Thandi Zulu
- 184 Kamy Chetty
- 185 Desiree Finca
- 186 F S Baloyi
- 187 Elizabeth Langa
- 188 Farieda Mohamed
- 189 C T D Marivate
- 190 Nomsa Sannah Mtsweni
- 191 Vusumuzi "Klaus" Mavimbela
- 192 D S Rajah
- 193 Doris Ngobeni
- 194 Rob Haswell
- 195 Jerry Ndou
- 196 Dennis Nkosi
- 197 Lillian Baqwa
- 198 George Sewpersadh
- 199 Lindelwa Mabandla
- 200 Billy Ramokgopa

By BARRY STREEK

THERE were few surprises yesterday when the ANC released its national list of 200 candidates for the National Assembly, with its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, heading the list.

ANC general-secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and national chairman Mr Thabo Mbeki were second and third on the list.

The National Party immediately claimed the list posed "a grave danger" because "the communists" had a stranglehold on the top positions, with at least 27 of the first 50 allegedly being SAP members.

Western Cape

Prominent Western Cape activists made the list, a number of whom are very likely to be elected.

They include Dr Pallo Jordan (5), Mr Dullah Omar (15), Mr Trevor Manuel (20), Professor Kader Asmal (23), Mr Philip Dexter (41), Mr Jan van Eck (48), Mr Shepherd Mdladlana (50), Mr Randell van den Heever (53), Mr Tony Yengeni (60), Ms Jenny Schreiner (62), Mr Reg September (63), Mr Jannie Momberg (80), Mrs Melanie Verwoerd (86), Mrs Hilda Ndude (95), and Ms Zou Kota (96).

Controversial former youth league leader Mr Peter Mokaba (27) and ANC Women's League president Mrs Winnie Mandela (31) are virtually certain of election.

Former Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo (6), former uMkhonto weSizwe intelligence chief Mr Ronnie Kasrils (8), Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa (13), Catholic priest Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa (43) and Popcru president Mr Gregory Rockman (46) are also high on the list.

The national list of 200 names may

be adjusted as some nominees may decide to stand on the regional list for the National Assembly or for one of nine provincial parliaments.

ANC spokesmen said yesterday the provisional candidates would have until Tuesday to decide which list they wanted to remain on.

If the ANC alliance gains more than 60% of the national vote, another new MP will be singer Jennifer Ferguson, but Miriam Makeba (129) will be lucky to make it.

Former Rand Daily Mail editor Mr Alister Sparks (142), former SA Municipal Workers' Union leader Mr Salie Manie (145) and Mrs Sue van der Merwe (177), wife of former PFP MP Tian van der Merwe, will be lucky to make it.

Another surprising nominee who could return to Parliament is Dr J N Reddy (118), the former leader of Solidarity.

Only three Labour Party MPs made the national list. They are Mr Peter Hendrickse (106), Mr Miley Richards (107) and Mr Llewellyn Landers (125).

Omissions

Surprisingly low on the list are former MP Mr Brian Bunting (127), former Namda head Dr Diliza Mji, former UDF chairman Mr Archie Gumede (130), former Western Cape assistant secretary Mr Willie Hofmeyr (137), education spokesman Mr John Samuel (150), and UWC academic Professor Rob Davies (155).

Surprise omissions are ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus and Greytown MP Mr Pierre Cronje. However, Mr Cronje and Maritzburg South MP Mr Rob Haswell (194), could make it through regional lists.

ANC health spokeswoman Ms Cheryl Carolus withdrew from the list, saying she wanted to concentrate on health issues.

ANC announces 200 candidates for national assembly tussle

11A
ARG 22/1/94

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress yesterday released its list of candidates for the country's future national assembly

The list may yet be altered as the individuals concerned may decide to pursue other interests or party assignments

Here it is

1 Nelson Mandela, 2 Cyril Ramaphosa, 3 Thabo Mbeki, 4 Joe Slovo, 5 Pallo Jordan, 6 Jay Naidoo, 7 Ahmed Kathrada, 8 Ronnie Kasrils, 9 Sydney Mufamadi, 10 Albertina Sisulu, 11 Thozamile Botha, 12 Steve Tshwete, 13 Bantubonke Holomisa, 14 Jeff Hadebe, 15 Dullah Omar, 16 Popo Molefe, 17 Mac Maharaj, 18 Moses Mayekiso, 19 Chris Dlamini, 20 Trevor Manuel, 21 Zola Skweyiya, 22 Gertrude Shope, 23 Kader Asmal, 24 Joe Modise, 25 Arnold Stofile, 26 Mohammed Valli Moosa, 27 Peter Mokaba, 28 John Nkandimeng, 29 Essop Pahad, 30 Raymond Suttner, 31 Winnie Mandela, 32 Tito Mboweni, 33 Thenjiwe Mthintso, 34 Baleka Kgotsitsile, 35 Blade Nzimande, 36 Ruth Mompati, 37 Aziz Pahad, 38 Penuell Maduna, 39 Billy Nair, 40 Mavivi Manzini, 41 Philip Dexter, 42 Prince James Mahlangu, 43 Smangaliso Mkhathshwa, 44 Alfred Nzo, 45 Alec Erwin, 46 Gregory Rockman, 47 Gill Marcus, 48 Jan van Eck, 49 Thandi Modise, 50 Shepard Mdladlana, 51 Nkosazana Zuma, 52 Nosiviwe Maphisa, 53 Randell van den Heever, 54 Frene Ginwala, 55 Joe Nhlanhla, 56 Marcel Golding, 57 Pravin Gordhan, 58 Max Sisulu, 59 Saki Macozoma, 60 Tony Yengeni, 61 Geraldine Fraser, 62 Jenny Schreiner, 63 Reginald September, 64 Patekile Holomisa, 65 Thomas Nkobi, 66 Bridgette Mabandla, 67 Dave Dalling, 68 Sister Bernard Ncube, 69 Andrew Mlangeni, 70 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, 71 Gabriel Ramushwana, 72 Adelaide Tambo, 73 Barbara Hogan, 74 Sibusiso Bhengu, 75 Rapulane Molekane, 76 Kgabisi Mosunkuntu, 77 Nozizwe Madlala, 78 Nelson Ramodike, 79 Eljah Barayi, 80 Jannie Momborg, 81 Prince Mowayizeni Zulu, 82 Elias Motswaledi, 83 Dorothy Nyembe, 84 Derek Hanekom, 85 Mbulelo Goniwe, 86 Melanie Verwoerd, 87 Sankie Nkondo, 88 Pregs Govender, 89 Lydia

Kompe, 90 Ivy Geina, 91 Ela Gandhi, 92 Joyce Mashamba, 93 Phumzile Ngcuka, 94 Ellen Khuzwayo, 95 Hilda Ndude, 96 Zou Kota, 97 Lindiwe Sisulu, 98 Feroza Adams, 99 James Stuart, 100 Mnyamezeli Booi, 101 Kgaogelo Lekgoro, 102 Lindiwe Mabuza, 103 John Copelyn, 104 Mangesi Zitha, 105 Dipuo Peters, 106 Peter Hendrikse, 107 Ismail Richards, 108 Ntombi Shope, 109 S Moeti, 110 Duma Nkosi, 111 Thoko Msane, 112 Zam Titus, 113 NJ Mahlangu, 114 Jennifer Ferguson, 115 MJ Mahlangu, 116 Samuel Nxumalo, 117 Bongu Njobi, 118 JN Reddy, 119 Thabang Makwetla, 120 Manto Tshabalala, 121 Nkosinathi Nhleko, 122 SS Ripinga, 123 PT Shilubane, 124 James Maseko, 125 Llewellyn Landers, 126 Girlie Pkoki, 127 Brian Bunting, 128 Diliza Mji, 129 Miriam Makenba, 130 Archie Gumede, 131 Cas Saloojee, 132 Wally Serote, 133 Mendi Msimang, 134 Max Coleman, 135 Bulelani Ngcuka, 136 Curnick Ndlovu, 137 Willie Hofmeyr, 138 Josiah Jele, 139 Mzwayi Piliso, 140 Moss Chukane, 141 Aaron Motswaledi, 142 Alister Sparks, 143 Mkhusehli Jack, 144 Firoz Cachalia, 145 Sahe Mame, 146 Mewa Ramgobin, 147 Jackie Selebi, 148 Stan Sangweni, 149 Henry Fazzie, 150 John Samuels, 151 Don Gumede, 152 Mike Sutcliffe, 153 Prince Madikizela, 154 Lechesa Tsenoli, 155 Rob Davies, 156 Essop Jassat, 157 Hassan Solomons, 158 Makhosazana Njobe, 159 Ismail Meer, 160 Samson Ndou, 161 Christmas Tinto, 162 Lulu Xingwana, 163 Ebrahim Rasool, 164 Amina Cachalia, 165 Tutor Ndamase, 166 Colin Coleman, 167 Fatima Hajaj, 168 Liz Abrahams, 169 Batabile Dlamini, 170 Virginia Engel, 171 Danny Olifant, 172 Bhekisile Mkhize, 173 Moosa Moola, 174 Ram Saloojee, 175 Jackie Cock, 176 Nomatyala Hangana, 177 Sue van der Merwe, 178 Lynne Brown, 179 N Bam, 180 Gertrude Fester, 181 Beatie Hofmeyr, 182 Thandi Shabangu, 183 Thandi Zulu, 184 Kamy Chetty, 185 Desiree Finca, 186 FS Baloyi, 187 Elizabeth Langa, 188 Farieda Mohamed, 189 CTD Marivate, 190 Nomsa Sannah Mtsweni, 191 Vusumuzi "Klaus" Mavimbela, 192 DS Rajah, 193 Doris Ngobeni, 194 Rob Haswell, 195 Jerry Ndou, 196 Dennis Nkosi, 197 Lillian Baqwa, 198 George Sewpersadh, 199 Lindelwa Mabandla, 200 Billy Ramokgopa

ANC list

FROM PAGE 1.

appears 31st on the list, while POPCRU president Gregory Rockman came 46th. Outgoing ANC Youth League president Peter Mokaba came in at number 27.

It is thought that the first 100 on the list can safely expect to become MPs, and if the ANC achieves its aim of a landslide victory in April, candidates further down will be in with a good chance. Certainly, those making up the last 60 or so are thought to be extremely unlikely to make the cut-off point in the proportional representation election.

Surprise

Some prominent names are missing from the list — including Jacob Zuma, Allan Boesak, Tokyo Sexwale, Matthew Phosa and Patrick Lekota — because they have been nominated for regional premier-ships. Others, like Harry Gwala and Carl Niehaus, are expected to take positions in provincial legislatures or among the 200 regional candidates for the National Assembly.

The positioning of some names on the national list comes as a surprise outside ANC quarters. Kathrada's impressive showing indicates that the publicity-shy veteran has been active and effective behind the scenes in ANC organisation. The appearance of Transkei military leader Bantu Holomisa in 13th position appears to go against speculation that he would seek a non-political post in a new defence force. He is joined high up on the list by KwaNdebele's

Prince James Mahlangu (42), Venda's Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana (71), Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike (78) and KaNgwane's Mangesi Zitha.

The Labour Party is represented by Peter Hendrickse (106), Miley Richards (107) and Luwellyn Landers (125). Another tricameral politician to make the list is JN Reddy.

Most members of the ANC's negotiating team are in the top positions. Ramaphosa (2), Mbeki (3), Slovo (4), Mac Maharaj (17) and Valli Moosa (26).

Other members of the multiparty negotiating process on the list are Pravin Gordhan (57), Zam Titus (112), N J Mahlangu (113), M J Mahlangu (115) and Professor Selby Ripinga (122).

Four former Democratic Party members, who crossed the floor to the ANC, appear on the list. They are Jan van Eck (48), Dave Dalling (67), Jannie Momberg (80) and Rob Haswell (194).

In the top 50 positions COSATU is represented by Naidoo, Moses Mayekiso (18), Chris Dlamini (19), Philip Dexter (41) and Alec Erwin (45).

Singers

The SACP is represented in the top 50 positions by Slovo, Kathrada, Kasrils, Mufamadi, Thozamile Botha (11), Jeff Hadebe (14), Moses Mayekiso (28), Chris Dlamini (19), John Nkademeng (28), Essop Pahad (29), Raymond Suttner (30), Thenjiwe Mthuntso (33), Blade Nzimande (35), Billy Nair (39) and Erwin (45).

Singers Jennifer Ferguson and Miriam Makeba both appear, but not in the top 100.

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ANC lists National Assembly choices

THE ANC's candidates for the National Assembly have been listed in order by the number of votes each received

1 Nelson Mandela, 2 Cyril Ramaphosa, 3 Thabo Mbeki, 4 Joe Slovo, 5 Pallo Jordan, 6 Jay Naidoo, 7 Ahmed Kathrada, 8 Ronnie Kasrils, 9 Sydney Mufamadi, 10 Albertina Sisulu, 11 Thozamile Botha, 12 Steve Tshwete, 13 Bantu Holomisa, 14 Jeff Hadebe, 15 Dullah Omar, 16 Popo Molefe, 17 Mac Maharaj, 18 Moses Mayekiso, 19 Chris Dlamini, 20 Trevor Manuel

21 Zola Skweyiya, 22 Gertrude Shope, 23 Kader Asmal, 24 Joe Modise, 25 Arnold Stofile, 26 Valli Moosa, 27 Peter Mokaba, 28 John Nkadimeng, 29 Essop Pahad, 30 Raymond Suttner, 31 Winnie Mandela, 32 Tito Mboweni, 33 Thenjwe Mthintso, 34 Baleka Kgotsitsile, 35 Blade Nzimande, 36 Ruth Mompati,

37 Aziz Pahad, 38 Penuell Maduna, 39 Billy Nair.

40 Mavivi Manzini, 41 Philip Dexter, 42 Prince James Mahlangu, 43 Father Smangalis Mkhathshwa, 44 Alfred Nzo, 45 Alec Erwin, 46 Gregory Rockman, 47 Gill Marcus, 48 Jan van Eck, 49 Thandi Modise, 50 Shepard Mdladlana, 51 Nkosazana Zuma, 52 Nosiviwe Maphisa, 53 Randall van den Heever, 54 Frene Ginwala, 55 Joe Nhlanhla, 56 Marcel Golding, 57 Pravin Gordhan, 58 Max Sisulu, 59 Saki Macozoma

60 Tony Yengeni, 61 Geraldine Fraser, 62 Jenny Schreiner, 63 Reggie September, 64 Patekile Holomisa, 65 Thomas Nkobi, 66 Bridgette Mabandla, 67 Dave Dalling, 68 Sister Bernard Ncube, 69 Andrew Mlangeni, 70 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim, 71 Gabriel Ramushwana, 72 Adelaide Tambo, 73 Barbara Hogan, 74 Sibusiso Bhengu, 75 Rapu Molekane, 76 Kgabiso Mo-

sunkuntu, 77 Nozizwe Madlala, 78 Nelson Ramodike, 79 Elijah Barayi

80 Jannie Momberg, 81 Prince Mcwayizemi Zulu, 82 Elias Motswaledi, 83 Dorothy Nyembe, 84 Derek Hanekom, 85 Mbulelo Goniwe, 86 Melanie Verwoerd, 87 Sankie Nkondo, 88 Pregs Govender, 89 Lydia Kompe, 90 Ivy Gcina, 91 Joyce Mashamba, 92 Phumzile Ngcuka, 93 Ellen Khuzwayo, 94 Hilda Ndude, 95 Zou Kota, 96 Lindiwe Sisulu, 97 Feroza Adams, 98 James Stuart

99 Mnyamezeli Boo, 100 Kgaogelo Ekgoro, 101 Lindiwe Mabuza, 102 John Copelyn, 103 Mangisi Zitha, 104 Dipuo Peters, 105 Peter Hendrickse, 107 Ismail Richards, 108 Ntombi Shope, 109 S Moeti, 110 Duma Nkosi, 111 Thoko Msane, 112 Zam Titus, 113 N J Mahlangu, 114 Jennifer Ferguson, 115 M J Mahlangu, 116 Chief Samuel Nxumalo, 117 Bongu Njobe, 118 J N Reddy, 119 Thabang Makwetla

120 Manto Tshabalala, 121 Nkosinathi Nhleko, 122 Selby Ripinga, 123 P T Shilubane, 124 James Maseko, 125 Luwellyn Landers, 126 Garlie Pikoli, 127 Brian Bunting, 128 Dilza Mji, 129 Miriam Makeba, 130 Archie Gumede, 131 Cas Saloojee, 132 Wally Serote, 133 Mendi Msimang, 134 Max Coleman, 135 Bulelani Ngcuka, 136 Curnick Ndlovu, 137 Willie Hofmeyr, 138 Josiah Jele, 139 Mzwayi Piliso

140 Moss Chikane, 141 Aaron Motswaledi, 142 Alister Sparks, 143 Mkhusele Jack, 144 Firoz Cachalia, 145 Salie Mame, 146 Mewa Ramgobin, 147 Jackie Selebi, 148 Stan Sangweni, 149 Henry Fazzie, 150 John Samuels, 151 Don Gumede, 152 Mike Sutcliffe, 153 Prince Madikisela, 154 Lechesa Tsenoli, 155 Rob Davies, 156 Essop Jassat, 157 Hassan Solomons, 158 Makhosazana Njobe, 159 Ismail Meer

160 Samson Ndou, 161

Christmas Tinto, 162 Lulu Kingwana, 163 Ebrahim Rasool, 164 Amina Cachalia, 165 Tutor Ndamase, 166 Colin Coleman, 167 Fatima Hajaji, 168 Liz Abrahams, 169 Bathabile Dlamini, 170 Virginia Engel, 171 Danny Olifant, 172 Bheki Mkhize, 173 Moosa Moola, 174 Ram Saloojee, 175 Jackie Cock, 176 Nomatyala Hangana, 177 Sue van der Merwe, 178 Lynne Brown, 179 N Bam

180 Gertrude Fester, 181 Beatle Hofmeyr, 182 Thandi Shabangu, 183 Thandi Zulu, 184 Kamy Chetty, 185 De siree Finca, 186 F S Baloyi, 187 Elizabeth Langa, 188 Farieda Mohamed, 189 CTD Marivate, 190 Nomsa Sannah Mtsweni, 191 Vusumuzi "Klaus" Mavimbela, 192 D S Rajah, 193 Doris Ngobeni, 194 Rob Haswell, 195 Jerry Ndou, 196 Dennis Nkosi, 197 Lillian Bagwa, 198 George Sewpersadh, 199 Lindelwa Mabandla, 200 Billy Ramokgopa

No easy walk to election win, Mandela warns

Stat 22/1/94

THE ANC should not be complacent in expecting an election victory, says the organisation's leader Nelson Mandela.

Addressing the ANC's reconstruction and development conference yesterday, Mandela said the greater the victory, the better the movement's chances would be to transform society.

But he warned that a decisive victory would also imply more violent resistance to change. The first goal of those clinging to the past would be to prevent a free and fair election on April 27.

Violence should be

ESTHER WAUGH
Political
Correspondent

confronted on all fronts, "including those instances where we ourselves might be more the perpetrators rather than the victims of this violence".

The three-day conference — the last major ANC conference before the election — is discussing the organisation's reconstruction and development programme, which was released last week.

Mandela said the doc-

ument laid the basis for far-reaching change in the country, but he warned that there was no room for error in preparing for the implementation of the ANC's vision of socio-economic upliftment. (11A)

The sixth draft of the programme required "a substantial amount of additional work to be anywhere near what we want it to be", Mandela said.

However, the principles on which the document was based were sound and provided a framework for a new government, he added.

ANC first to name April candidates

The ANC was the first political organisation to release the names of its 200 national candidates for parliament. They are:

- 1 Nelson Mandela (ANC president)
- 2 Cyril Ramaphosa (ANC secretary-general)
- 3 Thabo Mbeki (ANC chairman)
- 4 Joe Slovo (SACP chairman)
- 5 Pallo Jordan (ANC information head)
- 6 Jay Naidoo (former Cosatu head)
- 7 Ahmed Kathrada (SACP, ANC, NEC)
- 8 Ronnie Kasrils (SACP, ANC National Working Committee)
- 9 Sydney Mufamadi (SACP, ANC NWC)
- 10 Albertina Sisulu (ANC Women's League, NEC)
- 11 Thozamile Botha (SACP, ANC local government head)
- 12 Steve Tshwete (ANC head of organisation)
- 13 Bantubonke Holomisa (Transkei military ruler)
- 14 Jeff Hadebe (SACP, ANC Southern Natal leader)
- 15 Dullah Omar (ANC law department)
- 16 Popo Molefe (ANC election head)
- 17 Mac Maharaj (ANC negotiator)
- 18 Moses Mayekiso (SACP, SANCO, Cosatu)
- 19 Chris Dlamini (SACP, Cosatu)
- 20 Trevor Manuel (ANC head of economics)
- 21 Zola Skweyiya (ANC legal department head)
- 22 Gertrude Shope (ANCWL)
- 23 Kader Asmal (ANC NEC)
- 24 Joe Modise (MK commander)
- 25 Rev. Arnold Stofile (ANC NEC)
- 26 Mohammed Valli Moosa (ANC NWC)
- 27 Peter Mokaba (ANC Youth League)
- 28 John Nkadimeng (SACP, ANC NWC)
- 29 Essop Pahad (SACP)
- 30 Raymond Suttner (SACP, ANC NWC)
- 31 Winnie Mandela (ANCWL president)
- 32 Tito Mboweni (ANC economics department)
- 33 Thenjiwe Mtshintso (SACP, ANC)
- 34 Baleka Kgosisile (ANCWL)
- 35 Blade Nzimande (SACP, ANC)
- 36 Ruth Mompati (ANCWL)
- 37 Aziz Pahad (ANC international affairs)
- 38 Penuell Maduna (ANC legal department)
- 39 Billy Nair (SACP, ANC)
- 40 Mavi Manzi (ANC)
- 41 Phillip Dexter (Cosatu)
- 42 Prince James Mahlangu (chief minister KwaNdebele)
- 43 Fr. Smangaliso Mkhathshwa (former SA Catholic Bishops Conference secretary-general)
- 44 Alfred Nzo (ANC NWC)
- 45 Alec Erwin (Cosatu)
- 46 Gregory Rockman (Popcru)
- 47 Gill Marcus (ANC spokesman)
- 48 Jan van Eck (ANC MP)
- 49 Thandi Modise (ANC)
- 50 Shepard Mladlana (Sadtu)
- 51 Nkosazana Zuma (ANC)
- 52 Nosiviwe Maphisa (ANC)
- 53 Randall van den Heever (NECC)
- 54 Frene Ginwala (ANC research head)
- 55 Joe Nhlanhla (ANC intelligence head)
- 56 Marcel Golding (Cosatu)
- 57 Pravin Gordhan (SACP, NIC, ANC)

- 58 Max Sisulu (ANC economics department)
- 59 Saki Macozoma (ANC)
- 60 Tony Yengeni (SACP, ANC)
- 61 Geraldine Fraser (SACP, ANC)
- 62 Jenny Schreiner (SACP, ANC)
- 63 Reginald September (ANC NEC)
- 64 Patekile Holomisa (Contractesa)
- 65 Thomas Nkobi (ANC treasurer)
- 66 Bridgette Mabandla (ANC)
- 67 Dave Dalling (ANC MP)
- 68 Sister Bernard Ncube (ANC NEC)
- 69 Andrew Mlangeni (ANC NEC, transport head)
- 70 Ebrahim Ismail Ebrahim (ANC NWC)
- 71 Gabriel Ramnshwana (Venda military leader)
- 72 Adelaide Tambo (ANCWL)
- 73 Barbara Hogan (ANC)
- 74 Sibusiso Bhengu (Fort Hare rector)
- 75 Rapulane Molekane (ANCYL)
- 76 Kgabisi Mosunkuntu (SANCO, ANC)
- 77 Nozizwe Madlala (ANCWL)
- 78 Nelson Ramodike (former Lebowa leader)
- 79 Elijah Barayi (Cosatu)
- 80 Jannie Momberg (ANC MP)
- 81 Prince Mowayizeni Zulu (ANC NEC)
- 82 Elias Motswaledi (ANC NEC)
- 83 Dorothy Nyembe (ANC)
- 84 Derek Hanekom (ANC land and agricultural unit)

- 85 Mbulelo Goniwe (ANC)
- 86 Melanie Verwoerd (ANC)
- 87 Sankie Nkondo (ANC international department)
- 88 Pregs Govender (ANC)
- 89 Lydia Kompe (ANC)
- 90 Ivy Geina (ANCWL)
- 91 Ela Gandhi (NIC)
- 92 Joyce Mashamba (ANC)
- 93 Phumzile Ngcuka (ANC)
- 94 Ellen Khuzwayo (author)
- 95 Hilda Ndude (ANCWL)
- 96 Zou Kota (ANC)
- 97 Lindiwe Sisulu (ANC intelligence)
- 98 Feroza Adams (ANC organising department)
- 99 James Stuart (former ANC NEC)
- 100 Mnyamezeli Bool (ANC)
- 101 Kgaogelo Lekgoro (ANC)
- 102 Lindiwe Mabuza (ANC international department)
- 103 John Copelyn (Cosatu)
- 104 Mangesi Zitha (Kangwane chief minister)
- 105 Dipuo Peters (ANC)
- 106 Peter Hendrickse (Labour Party)
- 107 Ismail Richards (Labour Party)
- 108 Ntombi Shope (ANC)
- 109 S Moeti (ANC)
- 110 Duma Nkosi (ANC)
- 111 Thoko Msane (ANC)
- 112 Zam Titus (Transkei chief negotiator)
- 113 N J Mahlangu (Education minister, KwaNdebele)
- 114 Jennifer Ferguson (singer)
- 115 M J Mahlangu (Lebowa minister)
- 116 Chief Samuel Nxumalo (Contractesa)
- 117 Bongani Njube (ANC land and agricultural unit)
- 118 J N Reddy (Solidarity)
- 119 Thabang Makwela
- 120 Manto Tshabalala (ANC)
- 121 Nkosinathi Nhleko
- 122 S S Ripinga
- 123 P T Shillubane
- 124 James Maseko
- 125 Llewellyn Landers (Labour Party)
- 126 Gidle Pikoli
- 127 Brian Bunting (SACP, ANC)
- 128 Diliza Mji (ANC)
- 129 Miriam Makeba (singer)
- 130 Archie Gumede (ANC)
- 131 Cas Saloojee (TIC, Sanco)
- 132 Wally Serote (ANC culture)
- 133 Mendi Msimang (ANC international)
- 134 Max Coleman (Detainees Parents Support Committee founder, ANC)
- 135 Bulelani Ngcuka (ANC)
- 136 Curnick Ndlovu (ANC)
- 137 Willie Hofmeyr (ANC)
- 138 Josiah Jele (ANC NEC)
- 139 Mzwai Piliso (former ANC intelligence head)
- 140 Moss Chikane (Returned Exiles Committee)
- 141 Aaron Motswaledi (ANC)
- 142 Allister Sparks (journalist)
- 143 Mkhulisi Jack (ANC)
- 144 Firoz Cachalia (ANC)
- 145 Saille Manie (Cosatu)
- 146 Mewa Ramogobin (NIC)
- 147 Jackie Selebi (ANC)
- 148 Stan Hlangweni (ANC)
- 149 Henry Fazzie (ANC)
- 150 John Samuels (ANC education department)
- 151 Don Gumede
- 152 Mike Sutcliffe (ANC)
- 153 Prince Madikizela
- 154 Lechesa Tsenoli (SANCO, ANC)
- 155 Rob Davies (ANC)
- 156 Essop Jassat
- 157 Hassan Solomons
- 158 Makhosazana Njube
- 159 Ismail Meer (NIC)
- 160 Samson Ndou (Cosatu)
- 161 Christmas Tinto (ANC)
- 162 Lulu Xingwana
- 163 Ebrahim Rasool (ANC)
- 164 Amina Cachalia (TIC)
- 165 Tutor Ndumase (Transkei president)
- 166 Collin Coleman (Consultative Business Movement)
- 167 Fatima Hajaji
- 168 Liz Abrahams
- 169 Batabile Dlamini
- 170 Virginia Engel
- 171 Danny Ollifant (Cosatu)
- 172 Bheki Mkhize

- 173 Moosa Moola (TIC, ANC organising)
- 174 Ram Saloojee (TIC)
- 175 Jackie Cock (academic)
- 176 Nomatyala Hangana
- 177 Sue van der Merwe
- 178 Lynne Brown
- 179 N Bam
- 180 Gertrude Fester
- 181 Beatie Hofmeyr (ANCWL)
- 182 Thandi Shabangu
- 183 Thandi Zulu
- 184 Kamy Chetty (ANCWL)
- 185 Destree Finca
- 186 F S Baloyi
- 187 Elizabeth Langa
- 188 Farieda Mohamed
- 189 C T D Marivate (NIC)
- 190 Nomsa Sannah Mtsweni
- 191 Vusumuz Mavimbela
- 192 D S Rajah (Solidarity)
- 193 Doris Ngobeni
- 194 Rob Haswell (ANC MP)
- 195 Jerry Ndou
- 196 Dennis Nkosi
- 197 Lillian Baqwa
- 198 George Sewpersadh (NIC)
- 199 Lindelwa Mabandla (ANC education)
- 200 Billy Ramokgopa

Ramaphosa is tipped for deputy president

SI Times 23/11/94
11A

By EDYTH BULBRING
Political Correspondent

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is likely to become one of the two deputy presidents with F W de Klerk in a new government. Mr Ramaphosa came second to ANC leader Nelson Mandela on the organisation's national list for Parliament, which was released this week.

Mr Ramaphosa, who was in charge of brokering a constitutional deal during negotiations, moved from fourth position on the provisional list and is now ahead of SACP chairman Joe Slovo and international head Thabo Mbeki after the vote last weekend by 500 delegates.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said yesterday Mr Ramaphosa's position on the list made him a "strong contender for deputy president — but not a certainty".

Mr Mbeki is likely to become finance or foreign affairs minister.

The ANC's national list is carefully balanced to include members of the Patriotic Front — the Labour Party, Solidarity, homeland leaders, trade unionists and the SACP, which occupies 15 positions in the top 50.

The leaders of the ANC's alliance partners, SACP chairman Joe Slovo and former Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo

occupy fourth and sixth positions respectively.

But the list has also ensured that one-third of the top 100 candidates are women.

ANC Women's League president Winnie Mandela did not fare as well as she did on the provisional list, with last weekend's voting moving her from ninth to 31st place.

The top woman candidate is now Albertina Sisulu, who comes 10th on the list.

Mr Niehaus said the list could still change slightly.

Candidates have until Tuesday to decide whether to withdraw to take up a position on the organisation's other two lists — one of candidates eligible for posts in the provincial legislatures and the other of candidates chosen from the provinces to become MPs.

One example is Natal MP Rob Haswell who is 194th on the list.

He holds a strong position on the Natal provincial list and is likely to withdraw from the national list.

The top 130 names are likely to be elected to Parliament, according to a Sunday Times poll which gives the ANC 65 percent of the vote.

All three lists will be made public on Tuesday.

ANC slams PAC-ADM

'alliance'

BY ZANELE VUTEA

CIPress 231194

CLAIMS by the ANC that the PAC was aligned to Brigadier Oupa Gqozo's Africa Democratic Movement have been denied by PAC regional secretary Mvuyo Mhangwane

(119)

ANC Border PRO Crosby Kolele said the ADM-PAC alliance was an attempt to slow ANC growth in the region

He said the PAC welcomed known members of the ADM, including rural headmen. He added these new members who were "PAC by day and ADM by night" had terrorised ANC members

Gqozo confirmed to City Press that although no formal alliance existed between the two parties, they had "been brought together by fate, by the same common enemy"

"There are various incidents during which the ANC has attacked both the ADM and PAC people and our supporters have had to come together and defend themselves"

However, he said talk of a formal alliance between the PAC and the ADM in the Border region was "completely premature", although they were working together to "achieve freedom for our people"

He said they held consultations when certain incidents, like the petrol-bombing of a chief's home, occurred. He said the PAC condemned such acts because they were against a black person. He told City Press that the PAC had protected many headmen who had been attacked

Gqozo said it was not unusual for an ADM-aligned chief to join the PAC because PAC structures could offer them protection

Mhangwane said the allegations were just an ANC electioneering ploy

He showed City Press several ADM and ANC membership cards that he said aspiring PAC members relinquished before they could be accepted

"I don't think it is fair that we should be criticised for promoting peace. Our policy on the homelands has always been consistent. The ANC was once 'married to Gqozo' and when they fell out, they expect the PAC to also change its stance towards him"

Joined for the sake of civil servants - Gqozo

BY ZANELE VUTEA

CIPress 231194

"MALIGNANT propaganda" This is how Ciskei supreme Brigadier Oupa Gqozo described allegations that he joined the TEC because of pressure from his security forces and his South African advisers

Gqozo told City Press that his main reason for joining the TEC was that calls by Ciskei and the Freedom Alliance for a federal dispensation to be entrenched in the constitution before elections "have been ignored"

He said it became clear to him that they were going nowhere with negotiations

"The date of elections is a reality, it is going to happen with or without us, so if elections come and we are not there to contest them, the ANC will win by default and we will lose by default"

Gqozo believed that he would get a lot of support during the election "because there are many people who think like us, who are suspicious of the interim constitution and the TEC becoming a powerful monster that would replace our administration"

He said that the election results would be legitimate and whoever won would have "the power to deal with us arbitrarily and we would not have had the opportunity to negotiate a future for our civil servants"

Gqozo wants to guarantee the future of his civil service - some of his staff have 20 years' experience - by participating in the sub-councils dealing with their case

"As a military government, I have to accept that elections at some point will either oust me or confirm my position"

"I feel strongly that instead of preparing for civil war and physical resistance to the TEC, the FA should join the TEC and keep our unity as a block against the Patriotic Front and ensure that we get the majority that will entitle the FA to write a constitution," he added

How does he reconcile himself with the AVF's call for an independent Boerestaat?

"I don't go along with war preparations, I think it is a futile exercise. People will die before we can achieve what we want. We haven't the capability, the equipment or the strength. It will be a matter of resorting to the bush and underground structures and this will carry on in South Africa for as long as we live"

Gqozo also said that the idea of an independent Afrikaner state was impractical because none of the communities occupying land would agree to move



IGNORED... Brig Oupa Gqozo has the future of his civil servants at heart.

Picture: ANDRIES MCINIEKA

ANC, NP pin poll hopes on leaders

SI Times 23/11/94
 [C/Metro]

From page 1

PRESIDENT F W de Klerk and Nelson Mandela are set to play key roles in the Western Cape election campaigns of the National Party and the African National Congress, with both parties planning to exploit the personal popularity of their leaders to capture votes

Initial indications are that the parties will opt for election strategies modelled on United States presidential campaigns, with personalities, not issues, likely to be the major focus over the next three months

According to a recent independent Markinor poll commissioned by the Sunday Times, the ANC is likely to win a landslide victory on April 27. However, the poll found that the Western Cape would be most closely contested with only 10 percentage points separating the NP and ANC. The ANC drew 43 percent support and the NP, 33 percent.

The two parties are finalising election strategies which will put the two leaders in the forefront of an all-out bid to woo the key coloured vote on April 27.

Political analysts believe it will be the party that draws the most coloured support that will emerge victorious in the Western Cape. There appears to be little doubt that the ANC-led alliance will secure majority support in the black community and that the NP will dominate the white vote.

The ANC-led alliance and the NP are putting the finishing touches to election strate-

By NAZEEM HOWA

gies targeted at the region's coloured communities. The strategies will involve personal appearances by Mr de Klerk and Mr Mandela.

At stake are 21 seats in the National Assembly and 42 in the Western Cape parliament, as well as those of 10 senators who will represent the region.

Of particular concern to the ANC alliance is Mr de Klerk's popularity among coloured voters. Well-placed ANC sources have confirmed that Mr Mandela will be used to woo coloured voters.

According to the Sunday Times "Pulse of the People" poll, Mr de Klerk is by far the most popular political leader among potential coloured voters in the Western Cape.

It found he had the support of almost 50 percent of these voters, while Mr Mandela had the support of 17 percent.

However, Mr Mandela is the most popular leader overall in the region. He has the support of 44.1 percent of voters, while Mr de Klerk has 37.1 percent.

The poll confirmed the ANC and NP's belief that their national leaders would be the most powerful weapons in their Western Cape election strategies.

Mr de Klerk recently took to the campaign trail in the region, with a meet-the-people swing through the rural areas. So far, two further appearances have been planned for him.

The ANC is arranging Mr

To page 2

Mandela's first 1994 visit to the Western Cape, during which he is to address a major public meeting.

African National Congress insiders are concerned about how the NP will exploit the chequered background of Dr Allan Boesak, the alliance's candidate for the regional premiership.

Although the NP has not yet named its candidate, concern has been expressed about the effect the party's front-runner in the premier stakes, Minister of Law and Order Hennis Kriel, could have on support in the coloured community. Mr Kriel is seen as one of the hawks in the NP.

Another contender for the post is Cape Administrator Kobus Meiring. Sources within the NP believe he will enhance the party's chances for victory in this region. Mr Meiring is regarded as being more liberal than Mr Kriel.

Although the ANC has stated publicly that it expects to win 60 percent of the votes in the Western Cape, insiders are worried about whether it will capture more than 50 percent.

Majority

According to the Sunday Times poll, no other political party enjoyed significant support in the Western Cape. The Democratic Party was supported by only about 8 percent of those polled.

Researchers believed the only reason the ANC did not fare as well in the Western Cape as in the rest of the country was that black voters were not in the majority.

Of those questioned in the Sunday Times poll, 44.1 percent said they wanted Mr Mandela to lead all South Africans, 37.1 percent said Mr de Klerk and 3.9 percent said NP leader Zach de Beer.

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OLYMPIC

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HOT H

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PAC suspends three

Situated 23/11/94
THE PAC yesterday suspended three of its members, including two senior officials, for violating party procedures by raising party matters with the media.

The announcement of the suspension of the PAC's national director of publicity, Waters Toboti, the regional secretary of central Transkei, Mfanelo Skwatsha, and a member of the Azaman National Youth League, Chargin Mabaso, was made by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander — *Sapa* (117)

Three PAC dissidents suspended

By MOSES MAMAILA

CIPRODD 23/11/94

THE PAC, wracked by dissent over its decision to suspend the armed struggle, has clamped down on members dissatisfied with the decision.

In a surprise move, three senior officials, including publicity director Waters Toboti, were suspended yesterday.

A PAC statement said the three had violated the party's policy by communicating directly with the media.

The other suspended officials are Transkei regional secretary Mfanelo Mkhwatsha and Azanian National Youth League NEC member Chargin Mabaso.

The three came out

openly against the PAC's decision to abandon the armed struggle and its moves towards participating in the forthcoming elections. (I/A)

The suspensions were announced by PAC general-secretary Benny Alexander.

The suspensions come in the wake of the PAC's announcement that those opposed to the abandonment of the arms struggle are free to leave the organisation.

PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemasizvhanani said yesterday: "Some decisions which might be popular within the PAC membership might not be in the inter-

■ To Page 2

Three in PAC purge

CIPRODD 23/11/94

■ From Page 1

ests of the masses"

He admitted that some PAC members were disgruntled with the decision but said PAC president Clarence Makwetu had acted within the mandate he obtained from the Umtata congress.

He warned that PAC members who opposed the congress resolutions and undermined leadership would be disciplined.

Mkhwatsha, who reportedly accused the PAC leadership of capitulating, said the move contravened the mandate to negotiate the mutual cessation of hostilities with the "regime".

"People have been flocking to our Umtata office to raise concern since the suspension of

the armed struggle was announced," he was quoted as saying, adding that a special conference should be held to resolve the crisis.

Following the statement by Mabaso that there was division in PAC ranks, Azanyu national president Mosotho Petlane said he has issued a directive that no NEC member would issue any other statement to the press regarding the matter. (I/A)

He said Azanyu supported the suspension as it was a congress resolution arrived at democratically.

"Should we find that Mabaso did make the statement we read in the newspapers, he will be suspended immediately," said Petlane.

PAC denies dissent over announcement

CF 24/1/94 (11A)

UMTATA — Pan-Africanist Congress national executive committee member Dr Peter Mayende has denied the growth of dissent in the organisation following the announcement by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu suspending the armed struggle.

Speaking on Radio Transkei, Dr Mayende, who is heading the PAC's election campaign in the homeland, said the PAC head office had received a flood of support.

Asked about a Karl Zimbu who has

claimed to be the chief spokesman for Apla, Dr Mayende said the man's real name was Themba Ncapayi and he died in Durban two years ago.

Meanwhile, the PAC's Mr Benny Alexander at the weekend announced the suspension of the organisation's secretary-general, Mr Mfanelo Skwatsha, Azanian Youth Unity's Mr Char-gin Mabaso and executive committee member Mr Waters Toboti — all of whom have expressed dissent over Mr Makwetu's announcement — Sapa

ANC policies won't change

(11A) CR24/1194

Own Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — No major changes are expected to be made to the sixth draft of the ANC's reconstruction and development programme (RDP) following its weekend conference

Indications are that the controversial proposals of state ownership of mineral rights and nationalisation as a policy option would be retained

An updated draft would be released within the next few days, national executive committee member Ms Cheryl Carolus said yesterday

She said modifications involved issues of detail, and not the overall approach

Former Cosatu general-secretary Mr Jay Naidoo said "no significant and substantive" changes would be made as a re-

Option to nationalise will stay

sult of the discussions

However, there would be "deepening" of certain issues, including the population development programme, transport, technology and communications

He said working groups would in the next few weeks begin to work on details of the programme.

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said in his closing address the RDP would be translated into "a living policy"

He said the ANC did not believe in labels such as capitalism

and socialism. The main thrust of its economic policy was to meet basic needs and it would employ "whatever method is needed" to that end

He defended the ANC's alliance with the SA Communist Party and said Western governments that had criticised it for working with communists had done the same when they were in trouble

However, he acknowledged there were "genuine concerns" about the alliance that had to be addressed and explained

He said local and foreign investor confidence had to be nurtured. Local investor confidence was the most important, and the ANC's task was to assure business people that it would be in their interests and in the country's to plough back their profits

● 'ANC has to clarify its policy' — Page 7

NP attack on SACP list 'bias' ^(11A)

CT 24/11/94
JOHANNESBURG — The NP yesterday challenged the ANC to explain the influence of the SACP on the organisation in light of many SACP members being on the ANC list for the new parliament

"According to the NP's information, a spate of strategic resignations from the SACP took place during the past few weeks. The aim is obviously to put SACP members in a position to deny their membership when confronted after the announcement of the ANC's list.

"South Africans have the right to know who on the ANC's candidates list are members of the SACP and what their influence will be," said the NP.

It said 27 of the top 50 candidates on the ANC list were SACP members "in a position where they may not only have substantial representation in cabinet but they may also be able to occupy other key positions in a government of national unity."

"The strategically strong position into which the SACP has manoeuvred itself spells danger to true democracy" — Sapa

ANC 'will meet basic needs'

Star 21/11/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

An ANC-led government would develop the economy to address the basic needs of South Africans, says ANC president Nelson Mandela. (119)

Soon after the election, an ANC government would launch a "gigantic" programme, using labour-intensive production, to build houses, roads, schools and hospitals and to increase the electricity supply, he said.

Mandela was speaking yesterday at an ANC conference where the organisation's reconstruction and development programme (RDP) was adopted.

The document set the ANC apart from other political parties, he said, because his organisation was the first to publish a plan of action aimed at socio-economic upliftment.

Economic growth depended on investor confidence, he said. Domestic investment was more important, with foreign investment playing a subsidiary role.

The conference adopted several resolutions which would form the basis of a new government's policies and legislative programme, the ANC national executive committee said in a state-

ment. The resolutions aimed at preparing the ANC to govern and implement the RDP.

The ANC resolved to develop recommendations ensuring the reincorporation of the homelands into the new central and provincial administrations.

On the public service, the ANC decided that a major restructuring and transformation of the civil service and parastatal organisations should take place.

On a resolution on the relationship between ANC MPs and the organisation, the conference said these MPs would be required to spend a significant proportion of their time in constituencies.

"The ANC must ensure that sufficient draft legislation, clearly prioritised in terms of the RDP, is prepared for introduction to both national and provincial legislatures for their first sessions in May 1994," the resolution stated.

On local government, the ANC resolved to launch national campaigns aimed at the resumption of rent and service charges payment. The conference gave Mandela a mandate to ensure that the Government wrote off debts as a result of the rent boycott.

ANC does a balancing act with national election list

B Day 24/1/94

THE ANC's national elections list confirms the organisation is more of a political front than a party. The organisations making up its broad-based support are carefully balanced on the list.

The 200 names, half the total nominations for Parliament, are ordered in such a way that if the ANC wins its predicted 65% of the vote, the Patriotic Front, Cosatu, the SACP and traditional and homeland leaders will all get a place in Parliament.

SACP representatives account for a third of the first 36 people on the list, among whom only three Cosatu members appear. However, former Cosatu general secretary Jay Naidoo occupies sixth place.

ANC president Nelson Mandela tops the list. Secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa is second, national chairman Thabo Mbeki third, and SACP leader Joe Slovo fourth.

Ramaphosa is likely to be a deputy president, along with NP leader F W de Klerk.

The ANC, conscious of growing

BILLY PADDOCK

militancy among women, has reserved a third of the first 100 places for women. Mandela's estranged wife, Winnie, has lost ground since the provisional list was issued and appears at No 31. Ahead of her are popular Albertina Sisulu at 10th and women's league leader Gertrude Shope at 22nd.

Fears among Patriotic Front parties have been allayed, with Transkei military leader Maj-Gen Bantu Holomisa appearing 13th. KwaNdebele Chief Minister Prince James Mahlangu is 42nd, Venda military leader Gabriel Ramushwana is 71st, former Lebowa leader Nelson Ramodike is 78th and KaNgwane Chief Minister Mangesi Zitha is 104th. They are all likely to get into Parliament.

The Labour Party is also reasonably sure of representation as three of its members appear in the first 130 names. Publicity chief Peter Hendrickse is 106th, followed by Ismail Richards at 107th and chief negotiator Llewellyn Landers at 125th.

Negotiations facilitator and Natal Indian Congress (NIC) leader Pravin Gordhan is 57th, and Mahatma Gandhi's granddaughter, Ela Ramgobin, represents the NIC at 91st.

Three of the five former DP MPs who crossed the floor to the ANC stand a good chance of staying on in Parliament, with Jan van Eck (Claremont) at 47th, Dave Dalling (Sandton) at 67th and Jannie Momberg (Simons-town), who moved from the NP to the DP, and then to the ANC, at 80th.

Maritzburg MP Rob Haswell appears 194th, making him unlikely to get a seat. He will probably withdraw from the national list in favour of nomination to a regional list. The same applies to his colleague, Pierre Cronje, who is not on the list.

The NP said the ANC list posed a grave danger to SA.

"The SACP has succeeded in its aim to get a stranglehold on the ANC's list."

The NP said it was unthinkable that Winnie Mandela, convicted of a serious common crime, had been placed in a high position.

De Klerk reaches

List a mosaic of interest groups

Sowetan 24/1/94

11A

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

■ FEW SURPRISES Mandela

heads ANC candidates' list:

THE ANC NATIONAL LIST for Parliament, issued at the weekend, represents a kaleidoscope of union, Patriotic Front and women's interests

It even includes a member of the Zulu royal house, Prince Mcwayizeni Zulu. Homeland leaders also win top slots — Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa at number 13, Prince James Mahlangu of KwaNdebele at 42, Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana of Venda (71), Mr Nelson Ramodike of Lebowa (78), Chief Mangesi Zitha of KaNgwane (104) and Chief Samuel Nxumalo of Gazankulu (116)

The list covers the political spectrum — it has "system" politicians, white liberals, black radicals, conservatives and communists in its ranks

This balancing of interests is seen by observers as a scorched-earth policy,

leaving the organisation with no viable opposition within the black community except the PAC

One woman makes it into the top 10 — Mrs Albertina Sisulu, ousted by Mrs Winnie Mandela recently as ANC Women's League president. Mrs Mandela is at number 31

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela leads the pack, followed by secretary-general Mr Cyril Ramaphosa and Mr Thabo Mbeki

Deputy president Walter Sisulu is not on the list, neither is SACP secretary-general Charles Nqakula. Both declined nomination

There are 67 women candidates

Should opinion polls be accurate, only the first 120 of the 200 names — or

60 percent — will be sure to get a seat in Parliament

This means that Labour Party national chairman Llewellyn Landers, at 125, has little more than a foot in the door

The white MPs who crossed the floor from the Democratic Party have fared well

Jan van Eck is at 48, Dave Dalling 67 and Jannie Momberg at 80

Former *Rand Daily Mail* editor Allistair Sparks, at 142, is unlikely to win a seat in Parliament

Southern Natal leader Jeff Radebe is number 14 on the list and therefore almost assured a cabinet post in the new government

● See page 6 for a full list.

One in three of top 50 ANC candidates are communists

(11A)

ARG 25/1/94

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — Only 34 of the 200 people on the ANC's list for the National Assembly are communists, according to Communist Party central committee members Jeremy Cronin and Essop Pahad

Of the 34, only 29 stood a good chance of making it to parliament, with 16 of them featuring among the top 50 names on the list

At a media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Cronin said that unlike Cosatu, the SACP had not sought to have a specific number of its members on the ANC's national election list

But he demed that the party dominated the top positions on the list

Others known to have once belonged to the SACP in exile include third-placed ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, fifth-placed information department head Pallo Jordan and international affairs co-ordinator Aziz Pahad

Mr Cronin said many such people had either resigned from the party or had allowed their memberships to lapse

He said that of the first 10 people on the list, only Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Sydney Mufamadi were SACP members

The SACP, he said, was initially worried about compilation of the ANC election lists "degenerating into head office haggling over lists", and was relieved when this was left to the democratic process through which the ANC candidates were elected



The SACP had decided that some of its key personnel, such as he and general-secretary Charles Nqakula, should not be included in any of the lists, and Dr Pahad had declined nomination for premiership of the North-West province

Dr Pahad said that although informal groups of people from the various organisations accommodated on the ANC's national list might exist in parliament, he did not see the SACP formally constituting its own caucus separate from the ANC parliamentary caucus

He said that of the nine ANC nominees for the premierships, only two — Raymond Mhlaba in the Eastern Cape and Manu Dipo in the Northern Cape — were communists

Communists in the top 50 of the list are Mr Slovo (4), Mr Kasrils (8), Mr Mufamadi (9), Thozamile Botha (11), Jeff Hadebe (14), Moses Mayekiso (18), Chris Dlamini (19), John Nkadi-meng (28), Dr Pahad (29), Raymond Suttner (30), Thenjiwe Mthintso (33), Blade Nzimande (35), Billy Nair (39), Philip Dexter (41), Alec Erwin (45) and teachers' union president Shepard Mdladlana (50)

Vital pre-election decisions needed

A testing time in store for the ANC

Star 25/1/94

IIA

BY DEREK TOMMEY

The ANC is probably going to have to demonstrate its ability to govern even before the April election.

Figures issued by the Governor of the Reserve Bank, Dr Chris Stals, show that South Africa is facing a serious balance of payments situation. He has called on the ANC to help resolve it.

Stals says South Africa had a capital outflow of R5,3 billion in the first six months of last year and a further outflow of R10 billion in the second half of the year.

But South Africa does not have the foreign-exchange to finance the outflow.

At the end of December, South Africa had total gold and foreign assets of R9,1 billion, of which R3,5 billion was in cash and R5,6 billion in gold.

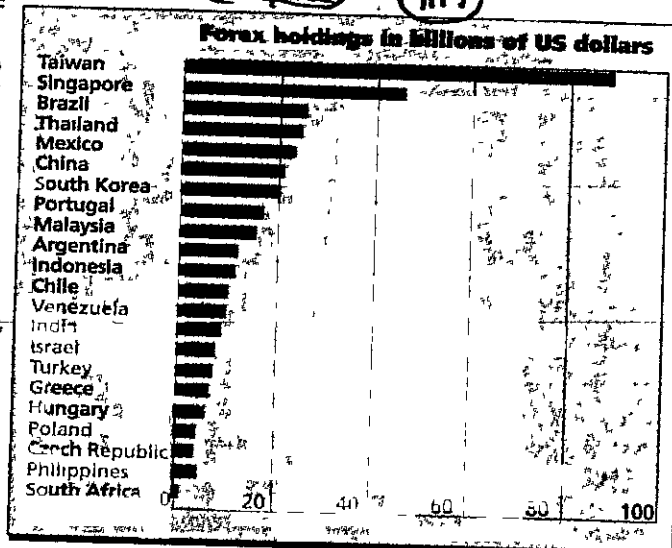
The cash element will not go far in meeting a capital loss of, say, R2 billion a month, and, at the same time, finance other normal capital movements — such as the R1,7 billion so-called "bullet" debt standstill payment falling due next month.

The Reserve Bank could possibly borrow more from abroad.

But the low level of reserves could make borrowing difficult and expensive.

The accompanying graph, based on figures issued by The Economist magazine, shows that SA's foreign exchange reserves are already minimal, compared with those of other "emerging market" states.

Any further decline in the reserves could result in a slump overseas in confidence in SA, a major slide in the ex-



change rate of the rand and a steep increase in inflation.

It is clear that if the outflow continues at the July-December rate, some counter-measures will be needed.

This is where the ANC comes into the picture. Much of the outflow is being attributed to uncertainty and fear about ANC policy after the election, which it is expected to win by a huge majority.

This means the ANC needs to do its utmost to reassure those who have moved money out of the country, or are contemplating doing so, that they have nothing to fear from an ANC victory.

Failure to build confidence in its policies could force the Reserve Bank to announce measures — some of which it is likely to be most unwilling to undertake — aimed at supporting foreign exchange reserves.

One of the difficulties the Reserve Bank would face is that most of the money leaving the country is doing so legally

as in the form of dividends.

SA boasts that there are no restrictions on the payment of dividends to foreign investors. To try and stop these payments would be a major blow to new foreign investment

Other money is believed to be going out in the form of repaid loans, even though at current interest rates here and Reserve Bank forward cover charges, it is still cheaper for firms with access to foreign markets to borrow abroad than locally.

Overall, it seems the only positive course of action open to Stals would be to increase interest rates in the hope of attracting money back to SA.

But with the economy showing signs of recovering, he, and for that matter the ANC, would probably be most reluctant to follow such a policy.

It is time, therefore, for the Government, the Reserve Bank and the ANC to get together to try and resolve the problem without further harm to the economy.

One in three of top 50 ANC candidates are communists

(11A)
ARG 25/1/94

Political Staff

JOHANNESBURG — Only 34 of the 200 people on the ANC's list for the National Assembly are communists, according to Communist Party central committee members Jeremy Cronin and Essop Pahad

Of the 34, only 29 stood a good chance of making it to parliament, with 16 of them featuring among the top 50 names on the list

At a media briefing in Johannesburg yesterday, Mr Cronin said that unlike Cosatu, the SACP had not sought to have a specific number of its members on the ANC's national election list

But he denied that the party dominated the top positions on the list

Others known to have once belonged to the SACP in exile include third-placed ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, fifth-placed information department head Pallo Jordan and international affairs co-ordinator Aziz Pahad

Mr Cronin said many such people had either resigned from the party or had allowed their memberships to lapse

He said that of the first 10 people on the list, only Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Sydney Mufamadi were SACP members

The SACP, he said, was initially worried about compilation of the ANC election lists "degenerating into head office haggling over lists", and was relieved when this was left to the democratic process through which the ANC candidates were elected



The SACP had decided that some of its key personnel, such as he and general-secretary Charles Nqakula, should not be included in any of the lists, and Dr Pahad had declined nomination for premiership of the North-West province

Dr Pahad said that although informal groups of people from the various organisations accommodated on the ANC's national list might exist in parliament, he did not see the SACP formally constituting its own caucus separate from the ANC parliamentary caucus

He said that of the nine ANC nominees for the premierships, only two — Raymond Mhlaba in the Eastern Cape and Mani Dipico in the Northern Cape — were communists

Communists in the top 50 of the list are Mr Slovo (4), Mr Kasrils (8), Mr Mufamadi (9), Thozamile Botha (11), Jeff Hadebe (14), Moses Mayekiso (18), Chris Dlamini (19), John Nkadi-meng (28), Dr Pahad (29), Raymond Suttner (30), Thenjiwe Mthintso (33), Blade Nzimande (35), Billy Nair (39), Philip Dexter (41), Alec Erwin (45) and teachers' union president Shepard Mladlana (50)

Assembly candidate withdraws

CT 25/1/94

(11A)

A CANDIDATE on the African National Congress list for the National Assembly, Ms Lilian Baqwa, has withdrawn from the election.

She was No 197 on the list

"Due to her busy work schedule she will not be able to stand as a candidate for the ANC. The ANC National List Committee has accordingly accepted her notice," the statement said

With her withdrawal and the death of the former Cosatu president, Mr Elijah Barayi, No 79 on the ANC list of national candidates, there are now two vacancies on the 200-person list

Meanwhile the SA Communist Party yesterday denied a National Party claim that there had been a spate of "strategic resignations" from the SACP recently to hide its influence on the ANC

'Embarrassing'

At a media briefing, the SACP said 16 of the top 50 candidates on the ANC parliamentary list were SACP members and not 27 as claimed by the NP.

SACP central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin admitted SACP members made up an "embarrassing" 16 of the top 50 on the ANC list, but said these members had achieved their positions in terms of their record as activists.

The SACP had three names in the top 10 Mr Joe Slovo, Mr Ronnie Kasrils and Mr Sydney Mufamadi

Former known SACP members such as Mr Ahmed Kathrada and Mr Mac Maharaj no longer belonged to the party, the media was told

The NP yesterday said the constitutional clause making it mandatory for elected National Assembly members to resign should they leave their party meant the ANC and the SACP were locked together.

"In practice the ANC and the SACP will not be able to go their separate ways after the election. They are now locked together as a single entity for the full duration of the next term of parliament"

The NP disputed the SACP claim that only 16 of the first 50 candidates on the ANC's parliamentary list were SACP members — Political Staff, Sapa

Apla insists it has ceased fire

MICHAEL HARTNACK

HARARE, July 25 — Apla dissidents refusing to abide by the PAC order to suspend all acts of violence "were most unlikely to be our fighters", Apla commander Sabelo Phama reportedly said at the weekend. ~~25~~

Zimbabwe's semi-official Herald newspaper quoted Phama as saying specific instructions had gone out to all Apla members to cease all military operations as decided by the political leadership. ~~25~~ 25/1/94

"Now we have all these people phoning newspapers in SA with so-called pre-arranged codes and claiming to be members of Apla vowing to continue the armed struggle," said Phama. ~~25~~

"Who are they? I can say with authority they are not our people."

SACP has 34 names on ANC's election list

BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Contrary to widespread speculation, only 34 of the 200 people on the ANC's national list for the National Assembly were communists, South African Communist Party central committee members Jeremy Cronin and Essop Pahad said yesterday.

Of the 34, only 29 stood a good chance of making it to Parliament, with 16 of them featuring among the top 50 on the list, they said.

Cronin told a media briefing in Johannesburg that, unlike Cosatu, the SACP had not sought to have a specific number of its members on the ANC's national election list, and was generally satisfied with its showing in the internal elections which led to the final ANC list.

However, he denied that the party was dominating the top positions on the list, and said some of the people the ANC's detractors knew as communists — such as the seventh-

placed Ahmed Kathrada and the 17th-placed Mac Maharaj — were no longer members of the party.

Others known to have once belonged to the SACP in exile include third-placed ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki, fifth-placed information and publicity department head Dr Pallo Jordan and 37th-placed international affairs co-ordinator Aziz Pahad.

Cronin said many such people had either resigned from the party or had allowed their membership to lapse just before the SACP and other organisations had been unbanned in 1990.

He said of the first 10 on the list, only Joe Slovo, Ronnie Kasrils and Sydney Mufamadi were SACP members.

Cronin said SACP members elected on an ANC ticket would be bound by ANC policies and discipline. But "in the unlikely event" of a serious dispute between the ANC and the SACP in Parliament, SACP members would have to resign.

► To Page 3

SACP has 34 on ANC list

◀ From Page 1

either as MPs or from the party.

Pahad said although informal groups of people from the various organisations accommodated on the ANC's national list might exist in Parliament, he did not see the SACP formally constituting its own caucus.

Of the nine ANC nominees for the premierships, only two — Raymond Mhlaba (Eastern Cape) and Mani Dipico (Northern Cape) — were communists, Pahad said.

Communists in the top 50 of the list are, in order of appearance, Slovo (4), Kasrils (8), Mufamadi (9), Thozamile Botha (11),

Jeff Hadebe (14), Moses Mayekiso (18), Chris Dlamini (19), John Nkadimeng (28), Pahad (29), Raymond Suttner (30), Thenjwe Mthintso (33), Blade Nzimande (35), Billy Nair (39), Philip Dexter (41), Alec Erwin (45) and Shepard Mdladlana (50).

Others identified by the SACP as its members on the ANC list are Pravin Gordhan (57), Tony Yengeni (60), Geraldine Fraser (61), Jenny Schreiner (62), Reggie September (63), Nozizwe Madlala (77), Elias Motswaledi (82), Mbulelo Goniwe (85), Joyce Mashamba (92), Zou Kota (96), Nkosinathi Nhleko (121), James Masoko (124), Brian Bunting (127), Firoz Cachalla (144), Rob Davies (155), Liz Abrahams (168), Bathabile Dlamini (169) and Dennis Nkosi (196).

Azapo decides on polls

Sowetan 25/1/94

By **Lulama Luti**
Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation will conclude deliberations this weekend on its campaign to convince voters not to take part in the April 27 elections

This decision follows the organisation's two-day central committee meeting in Cape Town last weekend

According to Azapo assistant general secretary Mr Lybon Mabasa no conclusive agreements were reached at this meeting and it was rescheduled for Johannesburg

Mabasa said Azapo would not en-

gage in anti-elections campaigns but would go all out to educate people on the implications of casting their votes

"We believe that elections based on the Kempton Park agreements will deny our people political power, access to the wealth of the country and, most importantly, the land (IIA)

"The struggle was premised on these three issues, and since they are not on the agenda of these elections, Azapo wants to carry this message to the masses," he said

Mabasa said Azapo would ask people not to vote their freedom away and not to cast their vote for any of the parties that were part of the Kempton Park process

Another issue discussed at the two-day meeting was the question of the involvement of the International Monetary Fund in South Africa

"We believe that the IMF has contributed to the under-development of the developing countries and we, therefore, cannot comprehend how their involvement in South Africa is going to be of any help," Mabasa said

Azapo has already mobilised support against the IMF and has agreed, in principle, to host a continental conference which will examine the involvement of the IMF in various African countries

Mabasa said this would be held around April

● Azapo 'no' to anti-election campaigns

Optimism as FA meets Govt, ANC

Sowetan 25/1/94

■ **EXCLUSIVE POWERS** Indications
are alliance will take part in polls:

By **Donwald Pressly**
Political Staff

THE Freedom Alliance, Government and African National Congress began talks last night amid indications that a settlement paving the way for alliance participation in the election could not be ruled out.

According to a spokesman for Constitutional Development Minister Mr Roelf Meyer, a technical committee representing the three parties had met for most of the day to advise the general meeting of negotiators.

The general meeting was attended by Meyer, ANC general secretary Mr Cyril Ramaphosa, Freedom Alliance negotiator Mr Rowan Cronjé and Inkatha Freedom Party negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane.

A Government source said the ANC and the Government had reached agreement on a compromise proposal which could lead to the recognition of KwaZulu, a two-ballot system for the April 27 elections and exclusive powers for regions — which could satisfy the alliance.

Government spokesman Mr Izak Retief said he could not confirm the proposal, but all recommendations coming from the technical committee would be discussed at the general session.

ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said he was optimistic of a breakthrough being made at the talks. He confirmed that there were a number of proposals from the ANC side, including the matter of the position of Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini and the double ballot.

"I sense that there is some urgency and importance attached by the alliance to the talks — there's a realisation that they must get themselves included in the process," Niehaus said.

There was still a need to complete the round of talks this week, but any extension beyond this period could not be ruled out. "We will try to give them as much time as possible," he said.

Freedom Alliance sources said it had been suggested by the Government and ANC that the question of self-determination for Afrikaners in a *volkstaat* could be resolved after the election.

SACP 'object of smear campaign'

Political Staff (MA)

THE SA Communist Party yesterday claimed the National Party was using government intelligence networks to tap its telephones and run a smear campaign against it for election purposes.

The NP should confirm or deny that the SACP's fax and telephone line were being tapped by government intelligence agencies, it said in a statement, issued by central committee member Mr Jeremy Cronin.

CR26/194

PAC sticks to suspension decision

THE PAC confirmed yesterday it had suspended its national publicity director, Waters Toboti. B/S/DON 26/1/94

Jaki Seroke of the PAC's publicity and information office said attempts to contact Toboti to tell him of his suspension had been unsuccessful. (11A)

He said Toboti's suspension was the official position of the organisation and not that of an individual.

Earlier yesterday, Toboti told Radio Transkei he had been tried and convicted by PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander on the advice of "thugs".

Later he said he had not threatened to unleash chaos if his suspension went ahead. His comments on Radio Transkei were in Xhosa and had not been properly translated in reports. "What I said was people who suspend members of the organisation on false premises are causing chaos and division in the party."

On Saturday the PAC suspended Toboti, central Transkei regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha and Azanian National Youth Union member Chargin Mabaso with immediate effect for criticising the PAC's suspension of its armed struggle. — Sapa.

PAC, IFP agreement

JOHANNESBURG The Inkatha Freedom Party and the Pan Africanist Congress agreed to canvass white and black parties for two ballot papers in the April elections

PAC and IFP presidents Clarence Makwetu and Mangosuthu Buthelezi met here today and discussed the ballot system and violence.

"The PAC and the IFP decided to contact the Democratic Party, Dikwankwetla Party and others in favour of the two-ballot system to develop joint strategies to ensure that the fraudulent undemocratic one-ballot system does not take place," PAC president Clarence Makwetu told a Press conference afterwards. — Sapa

Razzmatazz and solemnity

ANC election campaign set for launch

*Star 27/1/94***(11A)****BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA**
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

An American-style weekend launch will mark the official start of the ANC's election campaign for the April election, the ANC revealed yesterday.

The launch, to coincide with the release of the organisation's election manifesto, will take place at Nasrec, south of Johannesburg, on Saturday morning.

ANC president Nelson Mandela, who will shoulder much of the burden of campaigning, will take a train at Johannesburg's Park Station at 9.30 am and travel to Nasrec, where he will be met by party workers.

Taking the train with him will be some of his top lieutenants, who will also criss-cross the country in the run-up to the election, as well as invit-

MANDELA to take train to Nasrec on Saturday, and plans special visit to Robben Island

ed foreign ambassadors and local opinion-makers

ANC information and publicity head Dr Pallo Jordan revealed that Mandela — who will address a series of "people's forum" meetings in the western Transvaal on Sunday — will pay a special public visit to Robben Island, where he spent close to three decades of a life-term sentence.

The visit, on February 11, will coincide with the fourth anniversary of his release by President de Klerk from Victor Verster Prison in 1990.

ANC deputy election commission head Patrick "Terror" Lekota said a programme for Natal would be released soon.

On February 2, the day De Klerk unbanned the ANC and other organisations, Mandela and other former political prisoners — including ANC deputy president Walter Sisulu and Govan Mbeki — will assemble at Victor Verster Prison and, under the theme "Never Again", light a "flame of freedom" which will be carried by runners to the Dal Josafat Stadium in Paarl, where a rally will be held.

Incidentally, the National Party has also chosen February 2 to launch its election campaign at the World Trade Centre, where its list of candidates for the National Assembly and the regional legislatures will be released.

Azapo calls for poll boycott

Own Correspondent
CT 27/1/94

DURBAN.— The Azanian Peoples' Organisation will campaign for a boycott of the April elections, deputy president Mr Patrick Mkhize said at a news conference here yesterday. (11A)

He said more than 10 million pamphlets calling on black people not to vote in the "sham elections" would be distributed countrywide

Long-term goal of SACP is a socialist state — Cronin

□... but party's first priority is nation-building

ARU 27/1/94

(NA)

THE SACP is candid about its long-term desire to turn South Africa into a socialist state, but insists it will pursue this goal honorably and openly, without attempting to subvert the policy of an ANC-led government of national unity. However, its first priority is nation-building and this is at the heart of its pact with the ANC, according to party strategist Jeremy Cronin. Political Correspondent MICHAEL MORRIS spoke to him.

THE ANC has been strafed by its political opponents this week over the communists on its election list and fears that socialism will be the next government's undeclared agenda

As the skirmishes continue over how many communists there really are — the SACP says 34 out of the 200 — it is certain the anti-communist campaign will intensify as election day draws nearer

In fact, the SACP is unabashed in acknowledging that its long-term goal is to establish a socialist state in South Africa

However, one of the party's key strategists, activist and poet Jeremy Cronin, said in an interview that the party's main priority was "nation-building" and that this was the chief reason for its election alliance with the ANC

The pursuit of the socialist ideal came second

"We think the coming election is essentially about drawing up a constitution and beginning the process of nation-building, of reconstruction and development"

Just as the ANC list included representatives from other parties in the Patriotic Front, so it included SACP candidates

"We endorse that approach It has actually meant the downward displacement of party members who would otherwise have had a much better of chance of getting into parliament

"The point is that we want a broad-based ANC led Patriotic Front list, not merely a narrow ANC one, so that it would really be a nation-building list"

The SACP was also concerned that if it stood alone, its African supporters would be torn between voting ANC and SACP This would split the vote

"These are first elections and, as the polls have shown, the ANC will win relatively easily But the fact that a high proportion of the ANC's major

constituency in the African community regards the SACP as a second favourite — confirmed in recent polls and underlined by (SACP chairman Joe) Slovo's fourth position on the candidates list — means we could divide the vote if we fought the election separately, and you might find lots of spoilt ballot papers because people might put two crosses, given the historical association"

The main emphasis of the campaign "will be to fight under the ANC banner, but we will also campaign in our own right, trying to persuade party people that it's important to back the alliance"

But does this mean the SACP is getting into parliament merely by riding on the ANC's back?

"Well, it is not as though we suddenly decided to back the ANC from 1990 because it looked as if it would be the next government

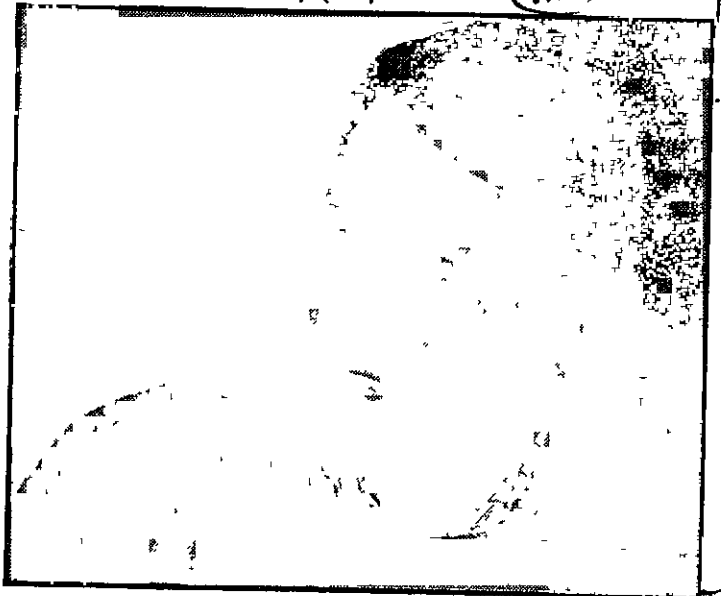
"Ours is an alliance that dates back to the 1920s Equally, we have not been parasitic in the alliance There have been times when the SACP has been the stronger of the partners We have helped to build the ANC, our members have been jailed and executed for their support of the ANC, we have helped to build it into what it is today

"We have not slip-streamed in at the last minute"

Mr Cronin added "Also, we are not hiding anything We do have a longer term agenda We want a socialist South Africa We do not hide that, but reconstruction and development is more important now

He said "We have played an integral role in designing the current programme and there are no separate agendas for the next five to 15 years

"The implementation of that policy is how we will move in the direction of socialism, and we are calling on liberals and capitalists to join us in this because we feel all South Africans, irrespective of their ideo-



JEREMY CRONIN ... 'Ours is an alliance that dates back to the 1920s We have helped to build the ANC, our members have been jailed and executed for their support of the ANC, we have helped to build it into what it is today'

logical differences, will benefit "We do not hide our longer-term perspective, but we will seek to promote it through persuasion and debate, not insurrection in 1995"

Will the SACP, then, split from the ANC at a later, strategic moment?

"Not necessarily," said Mr Cronin

"Party members who are on the ANC lists will obviously be under the ANC Whip People are voting for an ANC list they cannot discover afterwards that it was a bit of this and a bit of that"

The SACP had experience of operating within the alliance "when we operate as ANC members we are bound by that discipline"

However, he added "Should it happen that an insoluble contradiction develops between ANC policy and the SACP perspective, party members in the government on ANC lists would be confronted with a choice either resign from the party, or get out of the government since no crossing of the floor is permitted

"If there were a clash, we would say to party MPs to get out (of an ANC government)"

How does the SACP intend pursuing its long term goal of socialism?

"I think it would be pursued through every possible avenue We would not try to undermine

or infiltrate the ANC you just get to be resented and marginalised if you do that

"You develop an alliance by being transparent and loyal, but we will not be shy about propagating socialistic ideas wherever that's possible, not instrumentally, using the ANC, but using platforms to say we believe it is a good thing"

In defence of the SACP, Mr Cronin said "We say to our detractors look at our record of the past three years

"Ask yourselves whether, on this basis, the SACP has played a constructive or a destructive role in trying to ensure a negotiated settlement?"

"It was from the SACP that the idea of power-sharing emerged

"Since we were unable to present our track record before 1990, it is hard to judge us on that, but people should look at what we have done in the past three years

"We are not some malign force and the fact is we have considerable popularity, demonstrated by the strong showing of communists on the ANC list and it is not a list brokered in smoke-filled rooms, but chosen through a very democratic electoral process"

The SACP, he believed, had a "good and constructive record and we are a political reality that people will have to deal with"

Communists in ANC 'harms the image of SA overseas' (119)

ARG 27/1/94

JOHANNESBURG — The danger that communists will occupy influential positions under the protection and with the blessing of the African National Congress does not instil confidence in investors, the National Party has said.

In a statement the NP commented on what it called the over-representation of the SA Communist Party on the ANC election candidate list.

The NP said the ANC should have anticipated the harm this would do to South Africa's image abroad and in South Africa.

It said the ANC's defence of the SACP's over-representation was proof of how successfully the SACP was manipulating the ANC.

"The fact remains that SACP mem-

bers dominate the top part of the ANC national list."

The ANC had put its credibility on the line with an impassioned defence of the SACP and its dominant role in the ANC.

The NP challenged the ANC to answer how many current SACP members were on its lists and who they were, how many ex-SACP members were on the lists and if they had renounced the SACP and all it stood for when they resigned.

The ANC should say whether it agreed with the SACP on important issues, such as nationalisation and state ownership and could the ANC give any assurance it would be able to withstand SACP pressure to achieve its own goals — Sapa

Election list 'hysteria'^(11A) pre-planned

JOHANNESBURG — The African National Congress has attacked the National Party's "hysteria about the inclusion of SA Communist Party members in the ANC election candidate list"

The ANC said in a statement yesterday that it was quite clear the NP's criticism of the SACP representation on its national election list was a pre-planned campaign timed to coincide with the release of the list to the public

The ANC said it remained convinced the NP criticism had nothing to do with the 34 SACP members on its national list of 200 for election to the constituent assembly, nor the "deliberate security police type lie about the so-called 'sleeping (SACP) members'"

"The aim remains to divert people's attention from crucial issues facing the downtrodden people, violence and the dismal track record of the NP over the years. This is because the NP has no answer to offer"

The ANC added that its list included persons of integrity who had fought against apartheid, believers, Christians, Hindus, Muslims, Jews, communists, democratic nationalists and patriots who believed in a non-racial democracy and a better life for all South Africans

The list had been chosen in a transparent and democratic manner, and all the candidates would campaign under the ANC banner, pursue the ANC platform and policy in parliament

The ANC said the criticism reflected "the undemocratic traditions which the NP represents"

The ANC challenged the NP to tell the public how it was preparing its own lists, saying its silence in this matter was deafening — Sapa:

THE SA public has the right to pose challenging questions to any political formation and to expect answers. On the other hand, there should not be completely unrealistic expectations about the level of definition I can muster. A certain open-endedness in the process of policy formation must not be construed as a weakness.

Nationalisation remains a sensitive topic. As far as the SACP is concerned, at our 1989 congress, before the collapse of the socialist countries, there was a sharp debate on the issue. The programme adopted deliberately omitted the word nationalisation as a generalised panacea for our economic ills. That was the first thrust in the direction of a more balanced approach.

At our first legal congress in December 1991, I reported. "While state involvement is considered necessary for effective planning, it can take a multitude of forms, from fiscal policies, joint projects with the private sector, state enterprises, to affirmative action, and certainly direct state involvement to ensure the provision of public utilities and social services. We reject old style statism and centralised control. Our draft constitution commits us to respect and protect private property as may be necessary for effective economic development and growth."

Massive state intervention laid the basis of the post-war economies of Japan, South Korea and Taiwan, including, in the latter case, large-scale land nationalisation. But we do not advance a mechanical policy of across the board nationalisation. This would be extremely costly and would be met by an even greater flight of capital and skilled manpower. Compensation for nationalisation would be up the Budget and the balance of payment account for decades. It is impossible to satisfy popular economic aspirations in a declining economy.

This should put paid to the continued projection of the SACP as heading the lobby within the ANC for the pursuit of nationalisation as a gener-

81 Day 27/1/94
11A
Reconstruction demands sacrifices from all sides

JOE SLOVO

alised formula for economic advance. The question which has to be answered is whether, in a specific area and in the concrete conditions, it will serve to strengthen the needs of economic growth and the capacity of the economy to meet the majority's needs.

We have not abandoned our long-term aim of winning a future in which all the means of production are socialised to serve the interests of the whole of society. But that objective cannot be on the immediate agenda, and in the long term can be achieved only by ideological contest in a genuine multiparty democracy. In the meantime, reality dictates that for some time to come we need a mixed economy with a balanced role for both the private and public sectors.

Our emergent policies are to be found in the reconstruction and development programme. The consultative and participatory manner in which this programme has been drawn up needs to continue and to be broadened. In the words of the programme itself "Other key sectors of our society such as the business community must be consulted and encouraged to participate as fully as they may choose."

Central to the programme's vision is concern over the quality of life among the marginalised millions. There is a commonly held view that

growth and development or redistribution are necessarily contradictory requirements. Our perspective is that growth and development in SA are absolutely interdependent.

The key, set out in the reconstruction and development programme, is a major infrastructure initiative that will provide access to water, housing, electricity, telecommunications, transport, health, education and training for all. In meeting basic needs we believe we shall open up suppressed economic and human potential. In turn this will lead to an increased output in all sectors of the economy. Growth and development form an integrated process.

We believe that with existing resources organised, rationalised and directed within the guidelines of the programme, and with intelligent macroeconomic balances it will be possible to embark on this programme. The programme is not a wish list, not a string of election promises. It is not a programme of delivery by government to an otherwise passive citizenry. Unless we unleash the aspirations, energies and resources of our people, we will not reconstruct and develop. But this must occur with a strategic realism, with a sense of process.

The major infrastructure programme will require that the democratic government plays a leading and enabling role in guiding the economy and the market. It will also require a dynamic balance between government intervention and private business. An overbearing state (of either a well-armed or command economy variety) will not do the trick. A future government should be flexible, not dogmatic.

Increasing the role of the public sector in strategic areas by establishing new public corporations, or joint ventures with the private sector, or through (yes, the "N" word) nationalisation can be considered. Equally, reducing the public sector to enhance efficiency, advance affirmative action and empower the historically disadvantaged, while ensuring that consumers' and workers' rights are protected, is also a policy option. Fundamentalisms — whether of the nationalise or of the privatise at any cost variety — are absolutely inappropriate.

While on this topic I should say a few words on the hullabaloo around the mineral rights issue. The feigned hysteria of our political opponents was in marked contrast to the extremely measured almost serene response of the Chamber of Mines. Therein lies a moral. The chamber knows perfectly well it is not about to lose its mines. The NP, DP and

Inkatha know perfectly well they are about to lose the election. This episode illustrates something intelligent business people in SA need to understand. It is an episode that will recur many times in the coming weeks and months, and I implore you to be guided by your own sober judgment and on the basis of factual information. Agree or disagree with us, but do not allow electioneering and scare stories to cloud your judgment.

We need to build a stabilising and overarching national consensus on addressing SA's problems. You have every right to interrogate us on how we propose to address them. You are at liberty to shoot us down in flames if you will. But the obligation to bring about a just transformation to meet people's expectations, is not only on our shoulders, it is also on yours. We have begun to develop a structured approach. Let us hear your answers, which must be subjected to the same rigorous tests as you would subject ours.

We cannot expect you to stop talking about the rights of property. But we can expect you to pay equal attention to the obligations of property, and to the history of its accumulation during our chequered past.

If you expect patience and sacrifice from the people, let us in turn hear from you what sacrifices you are prepared to make. Those who have benefited from what Sampe Terreblanche calls "legalised group plundering" also have an onus to examine the contribution they should make towards honouring the apartheid debt. It is in this light that you must consider some of the ideas which have terrified you, such as a reconstruction levy, and capital transfer taxes.

At the end of the day, we need a combined effort. And we can achieve our objectives — both ours and yours — if we move towards an economic framework in which the majority of the producers begin to see the economy as not only theirs, but ours, all of ours. And this calls for thinking, effort and sacrifice on all sides.

□ This is an edited version of SACP chairman Slovo's address to a Davis Borkum Hare business breakfast yesterday.

NEWS FEATURE PAC not prepared to entertain any idea of an Afrikaner volksstaat

Powering the election train

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

Swideman 27 11/94 (11A)
NERVE CENTRE Dr Peter Mayende will help

AFTER ONLY A FEW days as director of communications at the Pan Africanist Congress headquarters in Johannesburg, Dr Peter Mayende can claim to be the busiest man in the organisation.

This newly established department is the PAC's nerve centre and it is responsible for co-ordinating the organisation's overall public image, particularly in the period up to the elections.

It is one of three structures put in place to consolidate the PAC's operations during this period. The other two are the political affairs department and that of mobilisation.

"Our main function is to co-ordinate the organisation's information service and we are also a Press liaison segment of the election commission," said Mayende.

He has also been charged with preparing the final draft of the PAC's election manifesto which the organisation has been working on for about a year now.

Born and bred in Durban, Mayende is a sociology lecturer at the University of Transkei. He joined the PAC in Botswana in 1981 after a year at the University of Fort Hare as an underground activist linked to the PAC.

Now a member of the PAC's national executive committee, Mayende obtained his doctorate from Hull University in England, where he also lectured in sociology. He has been a visiting fellow at Oxford University.

Temporary appointment

He is still the secretary for land and agricultural affairs in the PAC — the appointment as communications director is temporary in that it will only be for the period of the elections.

Standing at just over 1,68m, Mayende's soft-spoken nature belies the revolutionary in him. This is evident in his tackling of the issues as he warms up to the interview.

As he responds to questions, one cannot help but feel that the PAC could not have chosen a better man for the job. "We have a situation where we've committed ourselves to participating in the elections," he said.

"In terms of this commitment, we should take steps to ensure that this process is given a chance. Now we can't do that by insisting on armed action, because this will clearly disrupt that process."

"However," he adds, "this does not mean we are turning our backs to the enemy. We haven't said that any of our cadres should leave their bases."

"They remain on the alert on a 24-hour basis and we have said that while they are observing the ceasefire, they must be ready to take orders to go into action if and when we are attacked by the enemy — the enemy's well known shooting and casting votes at the same time is a contradiction in terms," said Mayende.

No volksstaat

Asked to spell out the organisation's position regarding the Afrikaner Volksfront's demand for a volksstaat, Mayende said there was no way the PAC would entertain this demand.

"As Africanists we are well known for our stand that this is Africa and that this is an African country and it belongs to the African people. An African is anyone who has his only loyalty to Africa and accepts the democratic rule of the democratic majority."

"He or she who does not subscribe to this, is a settler. A settler therefore is an enemy to the African people and an enemy of whatever efforts to transform our society for the better."

"So, if people want a volksstaat, the question is did they bring any land with them when they came from Europe? If they did, they can have it," he said.

If they did not bring any land with them, said Mayende, they've got to accept that if they insist on being settlers then they are enemies of the people and are therefore targets of

the struggle. "The notion of a volksstaat is a non-starter and we are not prepared to entertain it."

Asked what form the PAC's election campaign would assume, Mayende said "We will show the people that the settlement we have in our hands, which has emerged out of the talks at the World Trade Centre, falls woefully short of creating a viable framework for effectively addressing the needs of our people."

"We are going in there to ensure that a constitutional framework is put in place that will make it not only possible but inevitable that the basic needs of the people in housing, education, employment, health care and the question of the return of the land, justice and an end to the violence are addressed. We felt we needed to participate in these elections with a view to winning them so that we can then direct the process of the development of our country towards what we believe is the right direction. To us it does not make sense, in fact it is impossible, that within this settlement that has been attained, genuine socio-economic

development goals can be achieved.

"Making promises to the electorate that you will deliver houses, education, etc. and yet you are shackled by a power sharing deal which has detrimental attributes."

"The power sharing agreement that we've got (at the moment), literally emasculates the capacity of the African majority to project and promote its own policies that will ensure genuine development," he said.

Left out

Asked if the PAC did not feel left out of the current transition process by not taking part in the Transitional Executive Council, Mayende said "We have expressed the opinion that we will not be party to the TEC for as long as its provisions on defence are such that you have the different armies under the control of separate structures." "The SADF has not been transformed. It continues to operate as an army representing the interests of the white settler minority in the country."



Dr Peter Mayende ... runs the PAC's election nerve centre.

the PAC fight for victory in elections.

'ANC to abide by election rules'

THE ANC would comply with the rules about the deployment of its members at polling stations in the April 27 election, ANC spokesman Mr Carl Niehaus said yesterday

"Every party is entitled to have two or three observers at the polling booths and as far as I know that is all, Mr Niehaus said

He also rejected statements by the Minister of Law and Order, Mr Hernus Kriel,

and the National Party slamming a statement by the ANC's deputy regional secretary in the PWV, Mr Oben Bapela, in which he said the ANC would deploy 40 000 of its members at the polling booths

The NP said the plan reminded it of similar actions by the Nazi Party in Germany and the Communist Party in the Soviet Union

Mr Kriel said the plans had to be reject-

ed outright as direct threat of intimidation

However, there could be 20 000 polling stations in South Africa and if the ANC had two observers at each, this would require 40 000 of its members

Mr Niehaus said "We do not want to get into trouble for something as technical as this

"However, we will have observers at every polling station"

1119 (1119) CT 28/1/94

COMMUNISTS AND THE ANC

Fm 28/1/94

Looking under the bed

Together with "lapsed" and "reconstructed" Marxists, there may well be up to 35 communists among the top 50 names on the ANC's national election list

This campaign point was quickly seized on by the ANC's main election rival, the National Party, when the ANC unveiled its list of 200 candidates for the National Assembly at the weekend (A second list, containing 200 national assembly candidates drawn from the nine provinces, is due to be published this week. Taken together with provincial candidates, the ANC lists will be only 20% communist, says ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, at a loss to understand what the fuss is about)

The SA Communist Party (SACP), which, with Cosatu, is an ANC alliance partner, claims that only 16 of the first 50, or a total of 34 on the national list, are card-carrying members

The point is that the first 50 are in line for high office in any ANC-led government. Whether this is cause for particular alarm seems doubtful. After all, communists are as well represented on the ANC's national executive committee. In one sense they are the ANC, just as, say, Chris Ham, a committed communist, was as much ANC as SACP. The link is nothing new.

The question is whether this heralds sinister collectivist policies. It seems unlikely, as is reflected in the wish-list that emerged from the ANC's reconstruction and strategy conference last weekend. The resolutions adopted leave ANC policy as "open" as ever, suggesting the leadership is trying to dampen expectations and wants to keep a variety of options open. In any event, international lending agencies like the World Bank won't entertain any socialist economics.

According to the SACP, the communists in the top 50 are Joe Slovo (fourth on the list and almost certain to become a Cabinet Minister), Ronnie Kasrils (8), Sydney Mufamadi (9), Thozamile Botha (11th and the probable next Local Government Minister), Jeff Hadebe (14), Moses Mayekiso (18), Chris Dlamini (19), John Nkadimeng (28), Essop Pahad (29), Raymond Suttner (30), Thenjwe Mthintso (33), Blade Nzimande (35), Billy Nair (39), Philip Dexter (41), Alec Erwin (45) and Shepard Mdladlana (50).

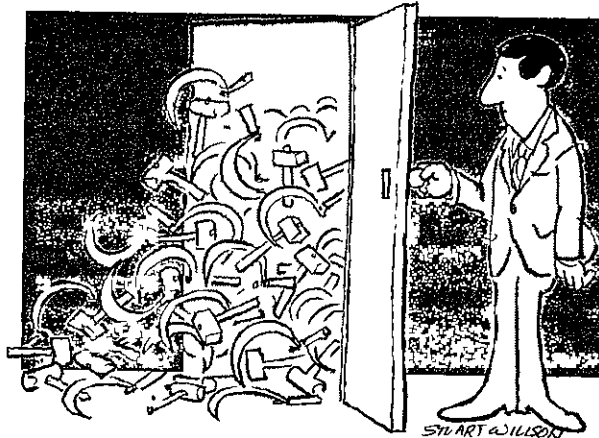
Mayekiso, Dlamini, Dexter, Erwin and Mdladlana are also leading Cosatu unionists, as, of course, was Jay Naidoo, who is sixth on the ANC list. Though not named as an SACP man, Naidoo is thought to have been a member or strong sympathiser until not long ago.

In the same category and a one-time admitted Marxist is ANC secretary-general

Cyril Ramaphosa, listed number two after Nelson Mandela, which puts him in line to become deputy president under the new constitution. Mandela, at the Treason Trial, denied being a member of the SACP, but pointed out that communists were fraternal allies who at one time were the only group prepared to throw in their lot with the liberation struggle and provide the ANC with real assistance. He is not about to ditch the SACP, whose leading figure, Joe Slovo, is a valued adviser.

The ANC chairman and likely next Foreign Minister, Thabo Mbeki (3rd on the list), is perhaps the best known lapsed communist, followed by former Rivonia trialist Ahmed Kathrada (7th) and Mac Maharaj (17th), a talented politician and formerly a senior SACP politburo member who has been a key organiser of the multi-party negotiations process and is a strong Ministerial contender.

Among the other acknowledged commu-



nists likely to make it into parliament are Pravin Gordhan (57th on the ANC list and talked of as a possible Speaker of the new parliament following his performance as a negotiating council chairman), Tony Yengeni (60), Geraldine Fraser (61), Jenny Schreiner (62), Reginald September (63), Nozizwe Madlala (77), Elias Motswaledi (82), Mbulelo Goniwe (85), Joyce Mashamba (92), Zou Kota (96), Nkosinathi Nhleko (121), James Maseko (124) and Brian Bunting (127).

Accusing the "devious SACP from hiding the truth," the NP claims that SACP members in the top 25% of the ANC's list also include Jay Naidoo, Ahmed Kathrada, Tito Mboweni, Aziz Pahad, Steve Tshwete, Penell Maduna, Dullah Omar, Alfred Nzo, Gertrude Shope, Gill Marcus, Mohammed Valli Moosa and Peter Mokaba. None of these are acknowledged by the SACP as being members. The Nats go further, saying "there are

six more possibilities" which, if true, would make 35 of the top ANC candidate MPs communist. While these "possibles" are not named, it might be hazarded they include Winnie Mandela, Trevor Manuel and MK commander Joe Modise.

It is pointed out — in view of speculation that the ANC and SACP could go their separate ways after the election — that the new constitution obliges MPs to resign should they leave the party under whose banner they got elected, which means the ANC and SACP are locked together as a single entity for the duration of the next parliament.

"ANC denies that the SACP is playing an important role in the ANC and will continue to do so, do not take this reality into account," says the NP, which goes on to accuse the SACP of "desperately trying to conceal the facts and the full extent of their influence in the ANC and on the ANC's candidates list."

Even within the ANC, broad church that it is, there are those — perhaps peeved at not having been placed as high up on the list as they expected or were originally nominated by branch or region — who would go along with the charge of undue SACP influence in the ANC. After all, the small band of communists have always had a reputation for dedicated party political efficiency if not intrigue, notwithstanding the fact that their socialist beliefs have always found fertile ground among the ranks.

But with the death of communism in the former Soviet Union, the world's last communist party, the SACP, now in "post-Bolshevik" mode has indubitably scaled down its socialist rhetoric and horizons and even come round to acknowledging that the free market has "a role" in a successful economy.

Whatever the precise number of communists high up on the ANC election list, the point, says Wits University's Tom Lodge, is that this has far less significance in today's world than it used to.

According to Lodge, some leading lights in the ANC may be classed as communists but have grown distant from the day-to-day workings of the party. Nor is there evidence of a conspiracy, says Lodge, who doesn't believe that their showing on the list signifies a high proportion of leaders committed to a radical programme. He points to a diversity of views inside the SACP, exemplified by the acute debate sparked by Slovo's proposal of a

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five-year "sunset clause" in the transition to democracy — an idea that was accepted and which, arguably, clinched the deal between government and the ANC in negotiations

In the end, the ANC and the SACP are inextricably bound and always have been, just as many holding high office in the ANC often did so in the SACP as well. Earlier talk of a strategic alliance that would run its course once the phase of national liberation had been achieved, followed by the SACP branching off to pursue unadulterated socialism, seems to have faded. In any event, the SACP these days would not dream of contesting an election on its own for fear of being humiliated at the polls. It needs to be hitched to the ANC's star.

For the rest, the ANC list has women making up 30%. It seems to have bent over backward to keep whites involved, with former Democratic Party MP Jan van Eck, for example, placed 48th. But the rest, like Slovo and Gill Marcus, were expected and are hardly likely to win over droves of whites.

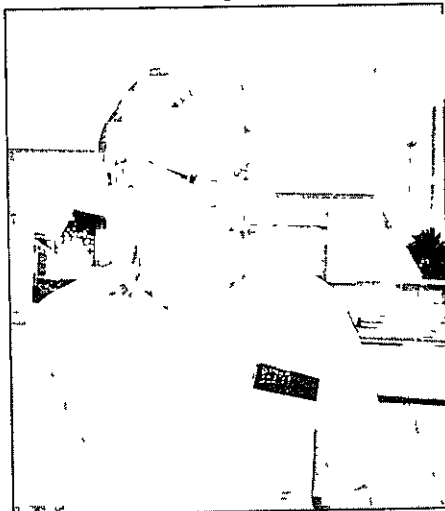
In fact, there is a paucity of white involvement in the ANC. There are few middle-of-the-road whites of the kind who went to meet the exiled ANC in Dakar a few years ago. Says Lodge: "I sense the ANC is trying to reassure white elites but is not too concerned about winning white votes."

The list includes former ANC enemies from the homelands and the Houses of Representatives and Delegates, whose track record in administration leaves much to be desired in some cases, but who astutely joined the ANC-led Patriotic Front.

Among them are KwaNdebele's Prince James Mahlangu (listed 42), Venda's Gabriel Ramushwana (71), Lebowa's Nelson Ramodike (78) and Gazankulu's Chief Samuel Nxumalo (116) — whose inclusion after a late declaration for the ANC has caused unhappiness in ANC ranks.

The appearance of Transkei military ruler Bantu Holomisa (13) is not surprising, nor is that of the Labour Party candidates Peter Hendrickse (106), Miley Richards (107) and Llewellyn Landers (125). But the inclusion of one-time House of Delegates leader

ANC's Slovo *as much a part of the party*



J N Reddy (118) above the Natal Indian Congress leader George Sewpersadh (198) has been taken by Natal Indian Congress stalwarts as a slap in the face

Mandela, it seems, insisted on the inclusion of HoD figures on the list in an attempt to capture the Indian vote, which, though small, could be decisive in nudging the ANC's tally at the polls to 67% and give it the free hand required to draft a new constitution on its own

Inkatha and PAC identify dual ballot as the crucial

By S. J. ... 28/11/94

PRETORIA — Last-ditch negotiations between government, the ANC and the Freedom Alliance were delayed for several hours yesterday by a flurry of talks, which included discussions between government and the Zulu monarchy.

The main delay was caused by extended talks between government, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront, which began yesterday morning but failed to finish in time for talks with the alliance scheduled for 3pm, which were postponed, until 7.30pm and continued into the night.

TIM COHEN reports Inkatha Freedom

Party president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said earlier that if government and the ANC dropped their insistence on a single ballot system, it would make a huge difference to his organisation's decision on whether to take part in the election.

After meeting PAC president Clarence Makwetu, Buthelezi said King Goodwill Zwelithini insisted on a two-ballot system in which voters would cast separate votes for regional and national parliaments.

The two leaders also discussed violence, which Makwetu said was caused by rivalry between political organisations "inspired

by dark forces".

It was understood, however, that the meeting focused on election strategies.

The leaders were not specific about the future relationship between the organisations, but said they had long had contact.

Observers do not think it inconceivable that the PAC and Inkatha might sign an election pact.

Buthelezi said that if Inkatha decided not to take part in the election, this would not necessarily mean the end of negotiations, because negotiated problem-solving was a fundamental principle to which In-

katha subscribed. However, he said, he could not imagine what the point of these negotiations would be.

The Volksfront's Gen Tieme Groenewald told Reuters a deal for his organisation had been possible, but it would not be separated from its allies. Had talks been between the ANC and the Volksfront alone, a deal could have been reached long ago. He repeated Gen Constand Viljoen's assertion that government was trying to avoid settling with the Volksfront as this would allow the right wing to poach NP votes.

Sepa reports that the talks were intend-

ed to find solutions in two areas. The ANC and the alliance were trying to resolve outstanding constitutional issues before President F. W. de Klerk promulgated the new constitution and an election date today, while a bid was being made to accommodate the Zulu monarchy and to see how right-wing demands for an Afrikaner volkstaat could be handled.

After meeting Viljoen, Constitutional Development Minister Roelf Meyer met a delegation from the Zulu monarchy.

● Picture: Page 3
● See Page 8

election issue

ANC seeks to buy building with finrands

(11A) 28/1-3/2/94 WSM

Chris Louw

PLANS by the ANC to buy a million rand commercial building with financial rands are enveloped in secrecy. In an unusual step, the ANC last week asked the financial sub-council of the Transitional Executive Council for permission to buy an unidentified commercial building with financial rands.

Normally, only people and companies from abroad can buy property with financial rands. If its request is allowed, the ANC will save hundreds of thousand of rands.

The request to buy the building was apparently made by Shaheed Mirza Rajjee and George Chaane of the ANC's treasury department. Rajjee was not available for comment this week. Chaane said he was "not authorised" to talk about the issue.

It was widely reported that the ANC had its eye on a building in Pretoria. However, the *Mail & Guardian* understands the building is, in fact, in Cape Town.

Inquiries this week indicated that a contract has already been signed for the purchasing of the building at 51 Wale Street in the center of Cape Town, close to the Bo-Kaap. The building belonged to MLH Architects and Planners and is believed to have been sold for more than R1-million.

The buyer on behalf of the ANC is believed to be a holding company known as "51 Wale Street".

The ANC apparently plans to use the bottom three storeys of the five-storey building— 1 600 sq metres — while the architects will use the rest.

An MLH spokesman wasn't prepared to confirm or deny the sale of the building. All inquiries were directed to the ANC.

The final decision will be taken by a full sitting of the TEC.

The boer called 'Comrade Cas'

A Harrismith farmer has angered the white citizens of the Free State town by joining the ANC.

Mduduzi ka Harvey reports

OOM Paul Kruger must be turning in his grave. His great-great grandson is known in Harrismith's black township as "Comrade Cas Slovo"

Cas Human, a burly Harrismith farmer with the open, sunburnt face of a true *boer*, is a key figure in the Free State ANC.

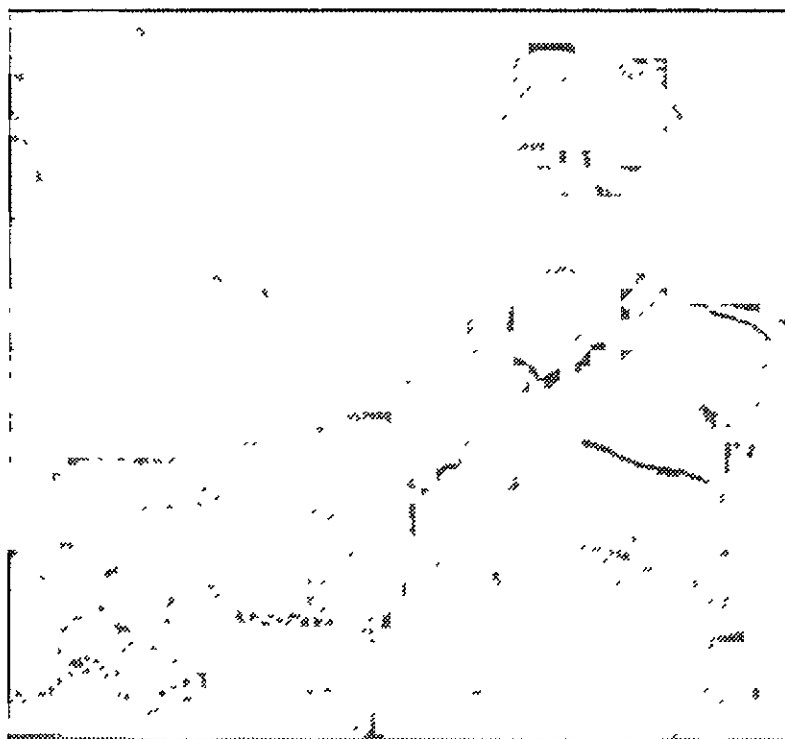
And he has paid for his unorthodox beliefs. Last week, shortly after he had learnt that he was near the top of the ANC's provincial election lists, the office where Human works as an ANC regional executive member was wrecked by explosives. Two days later a bomb exploded in the front room of his house, causing R5 000 damage. Miraculously, although he, his wife Pannie and their three children were home, no-one was hurt.

At his 106-year-old Harrismith home, wearing rugby-shorts, rugby socks and *velskoene*, Human spoke calmly and deliberately. "These acts were orchestrated by those who do not want change. There are people who are going out of their way to get me out of politics — the problem is they don't talk, they bomb."

The attacks followed weeks of telephonic death threats by unknown men. And the Humans have been the target of a different kind of campaign — they have been ostracised and isolated by Harrismith's whites.

Pannie Human — an attractive and fashionably dressed lawyer — was forced to resign her position as a partner in a law firm when clients threatened to withdraw their business. "For the survival of the firm I had no choice but to leave," she said. "Those who differ with Cas do not challenge him directly, they use me as their victim. I've had enough of being his shield."

She added "Before, we were heavily involved in community events — now



Free State 'radicals' . Pannie and Cas Human

PHOTO EMILY WINTLE

we are left with a few loyal friends."

Human explained that his political stand had also cost him the goodwill of the local business community, and that his farming operation had been hard hit.

Elected chairman of the Democratic Party in the Free State in 1989, Human moved across to the ANC two years later. A key influence, he says, was the man likely to be Free State premier after the elections, the ANC's Terror Lekota. Said Human "He took the time to make me understand the politics of this country. I learned to see problems in our country as a whole, while Afrikaners see the *volk* as being suppressed."

By the standards of white *Vrystaters* a wild radical, Human insists he is an Afrikaner nationalist. In keeping with Afrikaner custom, he has named his son after his father, Gideon.

He says his nationalist father drummed into him the motto "*n volk red homself*" (A people saves itself), a rule Human now applies to all South

Africans.

Schooled in Pretoria and Cape Town, Human says he knew at an early age that apartheid was wrong. But sport — he is an ardent rugby fan — and farming were his passions.

The first dawning of political consciousness came during the 1976 township uprisings, when he was an agriculture student at Stellenbosch University. There he met assassinated Swapo leader Anton Lubowski, and they became close friends.

With the emergence of the United Democratic Front in the mid-Eighties, he became politically active. Approached by friends in Harrismith, he founded a branch of the DP and stood as a DP candidate for the town in 1989. The party spread its wings, drawing in 2 000 black members from the neighbouring townships and from GwaGwa.

"It was my association with Africans that made me realise they were much more mature politically. When the DP wanted to contest the elections in

GwaGwa, the masses decided to boycott them."

Three days later, the ANC was unbanned. "My immediate reaction was to approach the ANC about a joint operation. We started working with them and this resulted in people having dual membership." The local DP branch could not accept this — it split, and with many other members, Human joined the ANC.

"I told myself if we are on our way to a new South Africa, the DP was not the place to start. The ANC leadership consists of top-quality people, their policies are the best and I wanted to get actively involved in shaping our country's future."

Comrade Cas Slovo, as he is known in Harrismith's township of Phomolong, now holds the positions of head of the land and agriculture in the Harrismith ANC, as well as being secretary of the Phomolong branch.

As we drive to the ANC office in the centre of Harrismith, black people wave at him. "I have very good relations with township folk and I entertain them a lot at my place," he says. "I have had no problems from my neighbours, I respect other people's views and they respect mine."

When he surveys the wreckage of the office — ANC members are shifting the debris when we arrive — Human is visibly moved. "This will cost R15 000 to repair, money which could have been used for houses and education," he declares.

The bombings and death threats have made him fear for his family — the centre of Human's life. "Fatherhood taught me that love has no limit. My family is the blood of my heart." For the first time, he has taken to locking up the house at night and is contemplating further security measures.

He will need to watch his back. Although he had earlier decided to retire from politics after the April elections to concentrate on farming, the likelihood is that he will stay in politics for the next five years. "If people want me to run for office, I have the responsibility to do so. I am willing to sacrifice a few years to work on the reconstruction and development of my region."

Stalwarts lose out to affirmative action

(11A) W/M 28/1-3/2/94

Stephen Laufer and Farouk Chothia

VETERAN communist Brian Bunting may have been deprived of a seat in parliament for the second time.

Robbed of his opposition seat by a ministerial decree and the Suppression of Communism Act in 1953 after just a year in parliament, he looked set to take his place in the house this time around after a good showing in the ANC's list ballot. But he fell victim to affirmative action.

The tweaking process by which the ANC's national executive made good on its promises of sure seats for women, Cosatu, ANC Youth League, and Patriotic Front nominees intervened — and Bunting saw his hopes of a safe seat dwindle. Bumped back from slot 101, his position after the popular vote, Bunting was suddenly in the highly marginal 127th place. If he is to make it to parliament, the ANC will have to poll 63.5 percent, predicted only in the most optimistic polls.

The ANC's national list was finalised last week in a marathon NEC meeting. Another all-night session, to rank the 200 names on the provincial list for the National Assembly and the nine lists for regional parliaments, was in progress at the time of going to press.

Both times, said a source, the NEC adjusted the lists along strict guidelines to make it representative of the "broad ANC church".

Positions one to 85 on the national list exactly mirror the popular vote at the ANC's lists conference two weeks ago, said the source.

Positions 100 to 125 on the list were juggled to make way for repre-

sentatives of the ANC's partners, with several co-opted despite not having been nominated. This has left many grassroots activists angry at the promotion of politicians whose links with the ANC are at best tenuous, particularly in the Northern Transvaal and Natal.

Solidarity leader JN Reddy — whose party was long regarded as an apartheid puppet, but later supported the ANC in the negotiations — was catapulted to the relatively safe position 118. This put him ahead of long-standing Indian activists like Mewa Ramgobin, Essop Jassat and Ismail Meer.

Now ranked 146, 156 and 159 respectively, all three appear to have sacrificed personal advancement to the principle of affirmative action. Assuming a 60 percent ANC vote, and 40 leapfrogs, it seems they would have made it to parliament.

Among other prominent people whose names are now ranked below 127 but above 174 — indicating they may have had a fighting chance on the unreconstructed list but are now unlikely to get to parliament — are Bunting, former UDF president Archie Gumede, ANC arts supremo Wally Serote, former detainees' support committee chairman Max Coleman and former ANC intelligence chief Mzwayi Pilliso.

With the publication of the regional lists, the national ranking may be refined further, with several candidates opting for one of the other nominations because it guarantees a higher political profile. In this event, said the source, candidates ranked between 127 and 174 will leapfrog over the promotees now ranked between 100 and 125.

Apla chief lashes (11A) 'dictatorial PAC'

Vuyo Mvoko

WM 28/1-3/94

ANOTHER Apla commander has spoken out against the PAC's "dictatorial decision" to suspend the armed struggle

In an interview with the Eastern Cape newspaper *Imvo*, the commander, who called himself Samora, said he and the cadres under his command would continue carrying out military operations even if they had no financial support.

He told *Imvo* that his cadres would not be "convinced that the goal they have been fighting to reach has been abandoned because the leadership had suddenly developed cold feet".

Condemning the PAC for being "a puppy of the ANC", he called for the resignation of PAC president Clarence Makwetu and his executive committee

In another development, three senior PAC members based in the Transkei — including national director of publicity and information Waters Toboti — were suspended this week after challenging the suspension of military operations. Transkei is a PAC stronghold

Toboti, who allegedly called at a rally for militants to continue burning farms, said he had only heard of his suspension in the media. He was adamant "*dle poppe sal dans*" (the sparks will fly) if anyone thought of suspending him

NEWS Pension fund fraudulently sold properties ● Makwetu, Buthelezi link up

PAC, IFP call for two ballots

Sowetan 28/1/94

By Lulama Luti
Political Staff

THE Pan Africanist Congress and the Inkatha Freedom Party joined ranks in calling for a one person, two votes election. (IFP)

The two parties jointly voiced their preference for a two-ballot paper system — one for the national assembly and the other for provincial government

The call arose out of a meeting between PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu and Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi in Johannesburg yesterday

It also came on the eve of a crucial IFP conference in Umtata today where delegates are expected to make a final decision about participation in the general elections

The IFP and PAC leaders dismissed the single ballot system as undemocratic and as "the product of wheeling and dealing between the African National Congress and the Government"

In a joint statement after the hour-long meeting, Makwetu and Buthelezi said they would contact the Democratic Party, the Dikwankweta Party and others to consolidate this move

They also expressed optimism that the ANC and the Government would accede to this demand

"We hope that they will concede as we will not take this lying down," said Makwetu

The parties rejected the deployment of SADF troops in violence-torn areas and instead moved for continued meetings between the warring organisations.

"There can't be anything more practical than to have the people involved in the violence meeting," said Makwetu

Buthelezi said "We've always been opposed to the deployment of SADF troops. They are trained to fight wars, and not on policing. They can only be called as backup for the police. It would be wrong to withdraw the police (from these areas)"



Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi and Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu at the PAC headquarters in Johannesburg yesterday. Both leaders agreed on opposing the single ballot paper in favour of a "one-person-two-votes" poll in April.
PIC MBUZENI ZULU

Finrand bid sparks row in ANC office deal

APR 29/1994

11A

■ A row is raging over an ANC application to use finrands to save R1 million on the purchase of a Cape Town building, near Parliament, for offices

DAVID BREIER
Weekend Argus Political Staff

ONE of Cape Town's prime commercial buildings, 51 Wale Street, has been bought by the African National Congress for R4,55 million — but the deal has sparked a row because the movement has asked the Reserve Bank for financial rands to fund the purchase.

The application has led to accusations that the ANC is trying to gain unfair political advantage through questionable use of the finrand mechanism, which is meant to discourage the outflow of money and encourage foreign investment.

The ANC stands to save about R1 million if the Reserve Bank okays the deal, as the discount on the finrand compared to the commercial rand is about 22 percent.

Finance for the purchase comes from an ANC foreign donor. The building will be used as office space and will also house ANC Parliamentary staff.

News of the finrand application first leaked at the Transitional Executive Council this week when it emerged the ANC was working through the TEC to ask the Reserve Bank for finrands.

Democratic Party representative Colin Eghn said it was wrong to use the TEC for matters falling under Reserve Bank jurisdiction and for political parties to use finrands to buy commercial buildings.

The TEC referred the matter to its sub-council on finance. It also ques-

tioned whether election paraphernalia should be exempt from import duties. It is understood that the ANC wants to import electronic equipment, Land Rovers and T-shirts — duty-free.

DP finance spokesman Ken Andrew said "I don't believe that political parties should get special preference in respect of finrand or other exchange control provisions."

He said it was not clear whether the finrand mechanism allowed for the purchase of commercial buildings by political parties.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus, who is certain to be elected to the National Assembly, said he saw no problem with the principle of applying for finrands.

He said the ANC had been in exile for 30 years and had built up considerable resources and financial support, but had not been able to build a financial base in the country.

The finrand arrangement would enable it to bring money into the country — the very purpose of the financial rand — he said.

Mr Niehaus said it was up to the donors to make themselves known, as the ANC could not do so.

Reserve Bank general manager of exchange control John Postmus said the law precluded him from commenting on any specific request for finrands.

The five-storey building down the road from Parliament also has two parking basements.

The ANC is to occupy three floors initially, with an option to move into another two later. It has 2 000 sq m of office space.

Hammering out a new brand of communism

VUYO BAVUMA
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE South African Communist Party will not influence the ANC government to build a Berlin-type wall around the country to curtail freedom of movement

Neither is it going to implement a pseudo-Marxist economic system that failed disastrously in the Eastern Europe countries and eventually led to the collapse of the communist bastion about four years ago
Nor will it introduce a repressive totalitarian state masquerading as a "dictatorship of

the working class" aimed at improving the lot of the masses, but sounding a death-knell to private enterprise

And millions of people are not going to be sent to Siberian-type labour concentration camps simply because of their religious beliefs

For, according to the SACP stalwart Jeremy Cronin, the local "commies" are a different breed who learnt their harsh lessons from the downfall of the Stalinist regimes in the Eastern Europe

parenacy and consultation
Their immediate target is to help the ANC with nation-building and then strive to implement socialism
To cite how different his "Red" comrades are, Mr Cronin said the SACP played a key role in brokering the deals that paved the way for the constitutional negotiations

He also said Chris Hani's call for the establishment of the peace corps indicated the constructive nature of the SACP
Mr Cronin is unfazed about the uproar caused by the DP and NP over the number of the communists in the National Assembly nomination list of the ANC

"The NP and DP are about to lose the elections. They have nothing substantial to sell to the electorate
"They won't win by selling fear and think that the people will buy life insurance from them"
Mr Cronin rejects the view the communists are riding on the ANC's back
"We earned our stripes in the struggle. We didn't join the ANC in February 2 in 1990. We have been inside the ANC since the early 1920's. We are certainly not parasites, but an important cog in fighting apartheid"
Why does not the SACP face the music in the election on its own?
"Our immediate challenge is to reconstruct and develop the society and build a narrow society based on the ideals of communism only but rather a broad-minded approach under an alliance like the ANC
"We are not going to abolish the market and impose dictatorship of the working class. That was part of the massive failures of the communist

ARG, 29/1/94 (11A)

ARG 29/1/94
countries in the Eastern Europe (11A)

"We believe there's a challenge to generate capital in a progressive way and not narrow the scope of the market. This could be done by providing tax breaks to companies that contribute to housing and the training of the man in the street or supporting trade unionism for the empowerment of the workers".
Unlike its detractors, Mr Cronin believes that the commies cannot be wished away, but an important part of South African reality

ANC puts J N Reddy on list to 'woo Indian vote'

APR 29/1994 (117)

STALWART struggles are up in arms at the ANC's selection of J N Reddy, one of the country's most prominent establishment politicians, ahead of veteran comrades.

And with good reason. To them it must have been like Herman Mathee dashing the last 20km to claim a Comrades gold.

Here was a pillar of participation politics, as members of P W Botha's tricameral parliament delicately described their involvement, pipping well-known anti-establishment Natalians like Diliza Mji, Archie Gumede, Mewa Ramgobin and George Sewpersadh on the ANC's membership list for the National Assembly.

In fact, it was not so much pipping as trouncing. Reddy was 118th, Mji 128th, Gumede 130th, Ramgobin 146th and Sewpersadh 198th.

Naturally, this ranked Dr Reddy, who had for years pocketed the Botha rand, had been favoured by the liberation vanguard - at the expense of those who had earned their stripes in opposing the system he served.

To some it may even have smacked of betrayal. Why was he nominated? Was this not the former executive chairman of

■ The ANC's inclusion of a non-member as one of its candidates for the National Assembly has ignited a furore. And rightly so, says **ALAN DUNN**.

The South African Indian Council who said when elected almost 10 years ago to parliament that the United Democratic Front and Natal Indian Congress, which campaigned hard for a tricameral election boycott, did not have people's interest at heart?

Was this not the man who vociferously fought the ANC's worldwide sanctions campaign, who declared he was ready to travel the world to combat them and disinvestment?

"While much progress is being made on the constitutional front," he said in November 1990, "there are deliberate and shortsighted attempts by some political parties to destroy the economy by supporting the maintenance of sanctions."

"Is it that the ANC is holding on to its last thread of political credibility by maintaining that sanctions shall remain in place? How can it call for the issues of black impoverishment to be addressed while simultaneously supporting sanctions and thereby contributing actively to the degeneration of the economy?"

"My earnest appeal to the ANC is

to abandon its continued call for sanctions. By denying economic growth parallel with political change, the ANC will be held responsible for the continued state of deprivation of the black community."

Did Dr Reddy not also say President de Klerk, a "beacon of hope", had won the hearts of South Africans of all races and the world's abiding respect?

"As he enters his second year of office," Dr Reddy said in September 1990, "President de Klerk will be sustained by the thoughts and prayers of peace-loving South Africans."

as if to say those not praying for him did not want peace.

And was this not the Solidarity leader and one-time Chairman of the Ministers' Council in the House of Delegates who told the House what a privilege it was to greet General Janne Geldenhuis, former arch-opponent of Swapo (and the ANC)?

"Whatever might have been said or written, nobody can deny the fact that the manner in which the SA Defence Force conducts itself has

brought respect from many quarters in the world.

"The Defence Force is not only involved in defending the country," he said in May 1988, "but it also plays a very important role in the social upliftment of the people of South Africa."

"I believe that the Defence Force, and Armscor in particular, must be very proud of the fact that they are a very important component of those who contribute the foreign exchange earnings of our country."

It is a matter of record that Dr Reddy pushed for reform, albeit from the comforts of parliament, for all his years as an MP. But there were times he sounded more like a Nat than anything else. Certainly some of his views were anathema to the ANC and the so-called struggle, as was his entire philosophy of participation.

Why, then, the ANC's nomination of a former MP who was never a candidate for the WLS Churchill prize for stirring oratory?

Because it made political sense. The ANC wants to appeal to as wide a spectrum as possible, and exploit the Indian vote which seems at this stage to be largely undecided.

Debts and old allegiances are one thing. Winning votes is entirely another.

Right, ANC, Inkatha to show their hands

Next three days vital for peace

Star 29/1/94

FROM PAGE 1

the FA, the Government and the ANC on the constitutional changes demanded by the FA are set to continue — the deadline for settlement having been extended yet again.

However, patience is wearing extremely thin on all sides and it now seems likely that if a deal is not made on Monday, the transition will go ahead without the dissenting FA parties. The implications for a peaceful election campaign and transition to the new order are highly disturbing.

It is pointed out that while De Klerk has some leeway in declaring the election — it has to be done by February 27 —

such a delay would seriously hamper the work of the newly formed Independent Electoral Commission and hold up the installation of the Independent Media Commission.

Africaner Volksfront members are set to gather at the Pretoria Showgrounds today for a ceremony to "install" its "transitional volksraad" (people's council), signalling a turning up of the heat by the right-wing umbrella organisation.

At the same time the ANC will unveil its election manifesto, giving the country's citizens a clearer idea of what its policy will be if, as expected, it takes the lion's share of power in the

CHRIS WHITFIELD
Political Correspondent

SOUTH Africa today enters a crunch 72-hour period that will determine whether the passage to its first non-racial democracy will be peaceful.

A spate of initiatives over the next three days marks this period as being particularly important.

Then South Africans should know:

- Whether the constitution agreed to in the World Trade Centre talks will be changed to accommodate the demands of the Freedom Alliance (FA)
- Whether the FA's most influential component, the Inkatha Freedom Party, will take part in elections
- Just how serious the right wing is in its threats to destabilise the transition.
- What the ANC's formal policy for the future will be.

At the same time, President de Klerk and ANC leader Nelson Mandela

Others, however, believed the sentiment among IFP supporters was such that the boycotters might win the day. This could give rise to serious divisions in the IFP, with some of its younger members anxious to continue their political careers and not be left on the sidelines at the April poll.

On Monday, the trilateral discussions between

TO PAGE 2.

will forge ahead with their respective American-style "roadshow" election campaigns, with the National Party leader sweeping through the eastern Transvaal and his ANC counterpart wooing voters in the western Transvaal.

But most eyes will be on Durban, where a special general conference of the IFP called by Chief Mangosuthu Buthe will be asked to decide whether the organisation should contest the election.

He said this might lead to a "holding" resolution by the IFP special conference, effectively deferring a decision on participation in the election or passing the ball back to the IFP central committee.

IFP sources were divided yesterday on what the decision would be. There are two distinct factions in the party — those in favour of contesting the election even if "agreement" is not reached on changes to the new constitution, and those who feel it should be boycotted if the party does not get its way in last-minute talks with other players.

Hamstrung

One senior IFP member predicted yesterday that the meeting would be hamstrung by the fact that talks between the FA — including the IFP — the Government and the ANC on the constitutional changes demanded by the FA were still to be completed.

new dispensation.

The ANC will reveal the manifesto today at Nasrec in Johannesburg, where Mandela is expected to arrive by train at 11 am.

Women at the bottom of the ANC list

South 2811 - 11/2/94

By Quentin Wilson

WOMEN leaders in the ANC have expressed concern at the organisation's final list of candidates earmarked for parliament after April 27.

(11A)(355A)
Although the list of 200 candidates has met the organisation's commitment to include 66 woman candidates, most are stacked at the bottom of the list with little chance of reaching the national assembly.

Even if the ANC wins the election by a landslide and captures 66 percent of the national vote (that is 132 seats), the majority of women candidates will be left in the cold.

Of the top 30 positions, only Ms Albertina Sisulu (at number 10) and Ms Gertrude Shope (number 22) stand out among the men. In contrast, 19 women dominate the last 30 positions.

"One must understand that members of the ANC are not

angels when it comes to gender sensitivity," Ms Nomatyala Hanganana, Western Cape ANC Women's League chairperson, noted wryly.

"Although we, as women, are not 100 percent satisfied with the list, there are positive aspects as well. The process of getting all branches and regions to come up with women in leadership was educative and put women's issues on the agenda. It is part of an education drive which we intend to continue," she said.

Hanganana said there was "disappointment" that more women candidates were not placed higher.

"If that happened though, then the leadership would stand accused of fiddling with democracy," Hanganana said. "Delegates at the conference made their choice and this has to be respected. That, I suppose, is one of the drawbacks of democracy."

The men and women Who will rule South Africa

Sunday Times 30/1/84

(119)

**EDYTH
BULBRING**
reports on the
ANC's plans to
restructure the
cabinet and the
people most likely
to serve in it

A DDRESSING a group of businessmen in Johannesburg this week, SA Communist Party chairman Joe Slovo told an anecdote about the Nicaraguan revolution. Having seized power, and finding themselves in an empty National Assembly building, one guerrilla, still in his fatigues, turned to his colleague and asked "And now what?"

It was not a question, Mr Slovo said, that he would like to be asking for the first time on April 28.

"If we are serious about trying to govern, we had better think seriously about what we intend doing before we find ourselves in a National Assembly, empty or otherwise," he said.

The ANC's recently published Reconstruction and Development Programme — which has yet to be costed or transformed into a legislative programme — is an unfinished attempt by the organisation to answer that question.

But just as important as answering the "what now" question is the task of deciding "by whom".

Although the final decision on the composition of the cabinet will only be taken by Nelson Mandela after April 27, ANC thinking on the subject indicates it will be changed to reflect what the organisation believes are priorities in reconstructing the country.

Last week, former Cosatu boss Jay Naidoo listed these as peace, jobs, education, housing and health.

Mr Mandela will have to take into account two other factors when deciding on the composition of the cabinet:

● The first is one that formed the very basis of the settlement — the major parties will share power for the first time to promote reconstruction and stability.

ity and suitability, as well as taking into account gender, race and language.

The constitution allows Mr Mandela to appoint 27 cabinet ministers. Every party that wins at least five percent of the vote is entitled to cabinet representation.

According to a recent Sunday Times poll, the ANC, with 65 percent of the vote, qualifies for 20 cabinet positions. The NP, with its projected 16 percent of the vote, qualifies for five positions. And Inkatha, with its 5.2 percent of the vote, qualifies for two cabinet positions.

But, given the noises from Umhudi, Inkatha is unlikely to participate in the elections. And in the unlikely event that it does, it could decide to boycott participation in a national cabinet. The number of places for the ANC and the NP would, in this case, increase slightly.

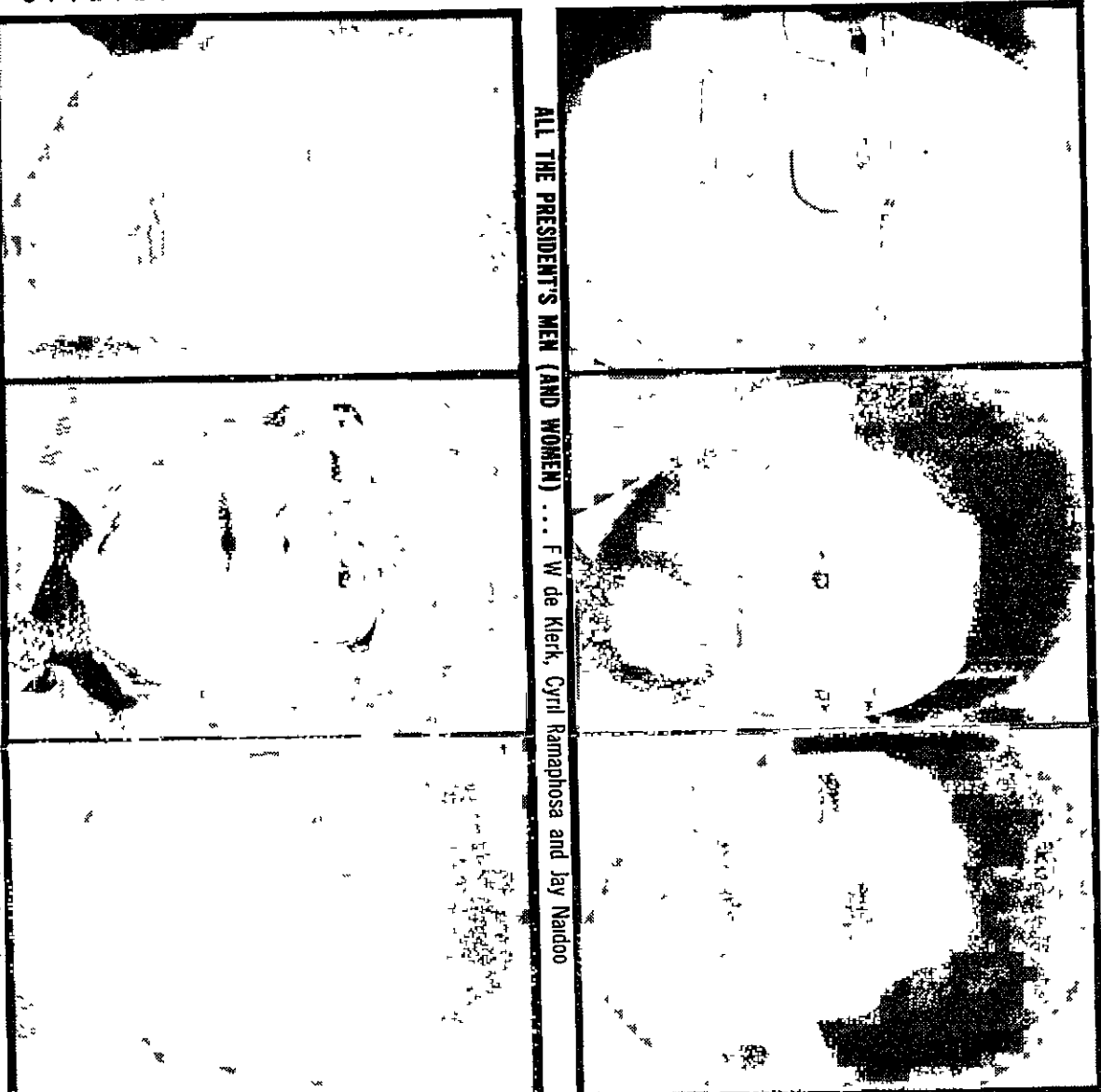
Apart from the 27 cabinet posts, the largest party gets to elect the president. There is no challenge to Mr Mandela on this score.

There will also be two deputy presidents. If opinion poll returns are borne out in the election, the ANC will get to appoint one of these and the NP the other.

The NP's choice will undoubtedly be President F W de Klerk. The ANC's two candidates for this position are its secretary general, Cyril Ramaphosa, and its international relations head, Thabo Mbeki.

Mr Ramaphosa has been placed second on the national list to Mr Mandela, and is likely to get this post.

ANC thinking on the cabinet is that its deputy president should perform a role similar to that of a prime minister. In crude terms, he will act as a cabinet whip in the president's office, making sure that all the ministers — some of whom will be juggling



ALL THE PRESIDENT'S MEN (AND WOMEN) ... F W de Klerk, Cyril Ramaphosa and Jay Naidoo

Thabo Mbeki, Joe Slovo and Baleka Kgositsile are among those tipped for cabinet posts

fidence of the business community with his moderate, pragmatic stance, and is likely to be an acceptable choice.

Apart from being responsible for the Budget, he will also be concerned with foreign loans and aid.

ALTHOUGH the

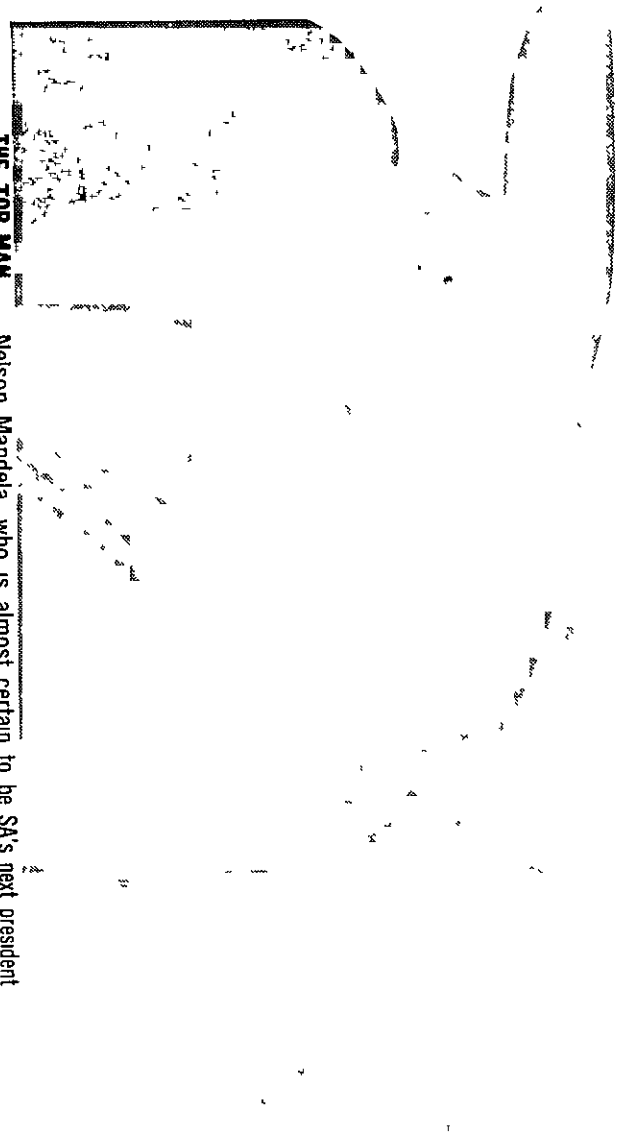
an ANC member be placed in charge of the Law and Order portfolio.

To him or her would fall the task of restoring stability, starting the reconciliation process between the police and the community, as well as dealing with the fears and concerns that white police-

men — many of them — are tipped for cabinet posts.

Women's Affairs is unlikely to go to Winnie Mandela.

ANC members say Mr Mandela is unlikely to risk the controversy that would erupt if he assigned her a place in the cabinet.



THE TOP MAN ... Nelson Mandela, who is almost certain to be SA's next president

to assign to an NP member is that of Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries. This would calm the fears of white farmers.

The government's chief negotiator, Roelf Meyer, could be given the Constitutional and Parliamentary Affairs portfolio. He would be responsible for

nominatees for inclusion in the cabinet, but the party's Cape leader, Dawie de Villiers, is almost certain to be one of them.

It can be expected that in addition to Mr Naidoo, at least one or two Cosatu nominees on the ANC list will get cabinet posts.

dent Chris Dlamini and Numsa education officer Alec Erwin have been included high on the ANC's list, as has Numsa general secretary Moses Mayekiso.

Mr Mandela can be expected to appoint a number of women cabinet ministers among the women whose

the agreement when picking his cabinet, he will also have to choose carefully to ensure its arms are met. He will have to give his former adversaries positions in the cabinet that create confidence and quell white fears about a black-majority government. They cannot be token appointments.

● The second factor Mr Mandela will have to consider is his responsibility to his party.

He will have to ensure there is a geographical balance, an ideological balance reflecting left and right representation for the various parties in the alliance. He will have to consider senior-

TIMERS DIARY

Morant for Oz?

THE Australians are once again delving into the story of the legendary Breaker Morant in what looks like a fresh attempt to canonise him.

Morant — born Edwin Henry Murrant in Somerset, England, circa 1865 — went to Australia at 17, and made his name (literally) as a horse-breaker.

He was executed at Pretoria Central Prison in February 1902 for the unlawful killing of Boer prisoners and civilians while serving in the Bushveldt Carbineers.

He and fellow accused P J Hancock are buried in the same grave in the old section of Pretoria cemetery.

The idea that he might not have been such a scoundrel has been around since the day he faced a firing squad, but it was given a popular new impetus in the 80s Australian movie *Breaker Morant*, starring Edward Woodward.

The film suggested Morant and Hancock took the rap for Lord Kitchener, who issued orders to kill Boers and then denied he had done so.

Eighteen months ago, historian Janice Fargnason was approached on behalf of some Australian businessmen with a scheme to repatriate Morant's body to Australia. She declined to get involved.

Ned Kelly II?

NOW another approach has come from a journalist on the Brisbane Courier Mail, asking Janice for details on Morant and his court martial.

"Morant cast in the role of victim isn't new," says Janice, "but I expect Australians are on

not act in any way that is contrary to the main thrust of government policy.

Traditionally, the two most senior portfolios in any government are Foreign Affairs and Finance. The NP would like to see its incumbents — Derek Keys, who has the confidence of the business community, and Pk Botha — retain these positions. This is unlikely.

The ANC sees the finance position as the most crucial in carrying out its reconstruction objectives, and Mr Mandela is likely to appoint Mr Mbeki to the job. The other contender, Trevor Manuel, is seen as not being senior enough for the position. Mr Mbeki has won the con-

involved in the reconstruction and development programme, it is important because of the image that an ANC government would want to portray abroad.

While the ANC is, understandably, reluctant to give this prestigious position away to the NP, Mr Mandela could decide to do so in the interests of national unity.

If this happens, ANC members are adamant that Mr Botha will not get the job. The portfolio is likely to be renamed International Affairs and Co-operation. Mr Naidoo lists peace as the ANC's most important objective, and the organisation believes it critical that

the lookout for new heroes, especially as there's a lot of republican sentiment around these days.

"The Carbineers were an irregular unit, a pretty rough bunch who operated in the Northern Transvaal, and I suppose in the guerrilla conditions which prevailed things were not done in an altogether orderly fashion.

"Perhaps the Australians want to make him into another Ned Kelly. The evidence suggests he was an awful little crook, but he seemed to be able to move easily in society."

A further possible reason in these politically correct times: Morant's wife, Daisy O'Dwyer, was responsible for writing an early study of Aborigines.

Prue's a star

APPEALSING news from London: South African-born cooking guru Prue Leith — once called in to save the British Rail sandwich — has been awarded a much prized Michelin star for her Nothing Hill restaurant, Leith's.

Apparently the inspectors from the celebrated French guide are difficult to spot. But there is one give-away, according to Prue: they always eat on their own because Michelin won't pay expenses for wives or girlfriends.

Remind me next time I'm in London to book a single table at Leith's. Should guarantee me a perfect meal.

Suame for LA

ANOTHER earthquake is about to rock California. Suame Braun, who measures at least 8.5 on the Richter scale, sets off

black government. To reflect these objectives, the name of this ministry is likely to be changed to the more user-friendly Community Protection.

ANC members suggest the post could go to Mr Slovo. Although his being a communist could be viewed with alarm by sections of the white community, he has played a constructive, pragmatic role in negotiations. Colleagues believe he has the strength and sensitivity needed for this difficult portfolio.

The other strong contender for this job is Sydney Mufamadi, who is the ANC's representative on the law and order sub-council of the TREC. The twin to this portfolio, in terms of stability and reconciliation, is the Defence Ministry. While Transkei leader Bantu Holomisa is a contender for the job, the ANC's senior military official, MK commander Joe Modise, is more likely to get the post.

Mr Modise has established some rapport with the generals in the SADF through negotiations, and is seen as having the necessary strength to build a new, united army. The ANC's second priority is jobs. To this end, it envisages a Reconstruction and Development portfolio to develop economic policies, establish job-creation programmes and manage public enterprises.

Mr Naidoo, who, as a former Cosatu general secretary, is the most senior trade unionist on the ANC's list, is expected to be appointed to this position.

Other portfolios that the ANC is likely to insist its members head are education, land, health and housing.

No clear candidates have emerged for these jobs, but Thejuve Mthuniso, a member of the SA Communist Party and a senior MK soldier, has been mentioned as a possible Health and Welfare Minister. The ANC's local government head, Thozamile Botha, is seen as a likely Minister of Local Government and Housing.

Mr Mandela is likely to create two new portfolios — for youth and women's affairs. These would be concerned with development programmes and, in the case of women, affirmative action. While there has been some argument in the ANC that these interests could be catered for by creating women's and youth desks, it is felt these issues should be taken seriously, and a corner of the

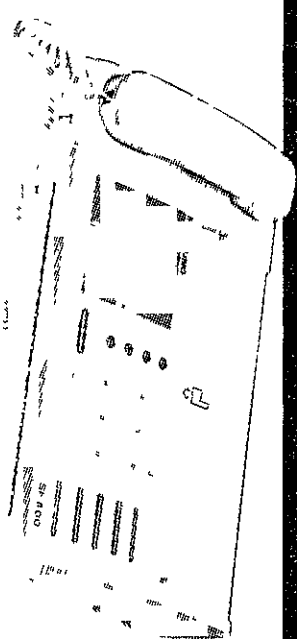
The Minister of Youth post could go to Jeff Radebe, the ANC's Southern Natal chairman and the most senior Zulu on the national list. ANC members believe a job that Mr Mandela is likely

administration and regional government. The Trade and Industry portfolio, say ANC members, is likely to go to Mr Keys. Other NP members would depend on who Mr de Klerk

portfolios that Cosatu believed its members had the expertise to head. They were labour relations, trade and industry, mineral and energy affairs, and parastatals. Former Cosatu vice-pres-

considered for cabinet jobs are Albertina Sisulu, former ANC Women's League secretary-general Baleka Kgositsile, and Ruth Mompati, who served on the ANC executive while it was in exile.

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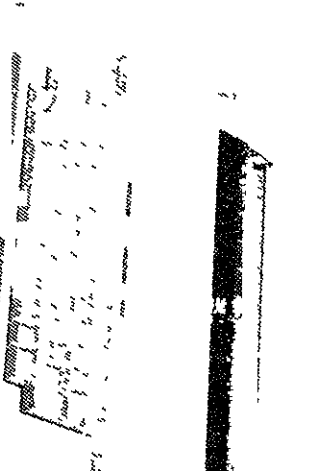
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Top ANC candidates face church censure

By CARMEL RICKARD

TWO top ANC candidates for parliamentary seats face an ultimatum from the Catholic Church: stand down or face suspension from church office.

The two, Father Smangaliso Mkhathshwa and Sister Bernard Ncube, a leading figure in the ANC Women's League, were nominated in the ANC's parliamentary list despite Vatican disapproval of clerics and nuns taking part in party politics or holding political office. Both have accepted nomination but must now deal with official church disapproval.

This week the Southern African Catholic Bishops' Conference said the church fulfilled its role best by remaining independent of political structures. Permission to relax the Vatican prohibition could be given only for "grave reasons", which they did not believe applied since there were enough lay people qualified to hold public office.

An SACBC official said it was now up to the two prospective ANC MPs to talk to their local bishops. If they did not convince the bishops that "grave reasons" existed and accepted an MP's post, the bishops would have no choice but to suspend them.

For Father Mkhathshwa, suspension would mean he could no longer celebrate mass or run a parish. Sister Bernard would be "unable to work and speak in the name of the church".

Father Mkhathshwa, a former secretary general of the SACBC, was repeatedly detained and severely tortured by the

security police while he worked for the bishops.

He said he accepted that the bishops had to comment on their nomination since many people wanted to know the church's stand.

However, he felt the way in which it had been handled was unfortunate and neither democratic nor fair.

Sister Bernard (68th on the list) was not available for comment this week, but Father Mkhathshwa (at 43rd place) said he would be consulting his local bishop.

He would also consult "the people" and the ANC leadership — a move that could lead to tension between the SACBC and the ANC.

● Meanwhile, South Africa's Catholic bishops are preparing to play a major role in the elections and in post-electoral political life.

This week they issued guidelines for voters, indicating the kinds of questions they should be asking potential candidates and parties.

They also indicated they would strongly oppose any move by a new government to ease abortion laws.

Among the questions they suggest voters ask candidates is what they will do if their party loses the election. Questions about economic, social and human rights policy are also included in a booklet which will be made widely available.

The bishops urge all parties to participate in the elections, saying if a party refuses, it deprives people of exercising their right to select the party of their choice.

ANC enters 'hostile' territory in full force

C/P news 30/11/94

By DAN DHLAMINI

and Leeudooringstad

THE ANC's election campaign in the conservative western Transvaal and hostile Bophuthatswana starts today.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela's visit to the region follows shortly after National Party leader FW De Klerk's bid to woo black voters there last week.

Mandela will address potential voters at 9am today at Rustenburg's Olympiad Stadium and then proceed to Stilfontein's Khuma township and Jouberton near Klerksdorp.

Tomorrow Mandela will visit Potchefstroom's Boskop Training Centre before addressing a rally at Ikageng Stadium.

Mandela will wind up his tour by addressing businessmen in Potchefstroom's Banquet Hall.

Ruth Mompoti will address potential voters in the black townships of the Conservative Party controlled western Transvaal towns of Christiana, Bloemhof, Schweizer-Reneke, Wolmaransstad, Boskuil, Makwassie

The going will be less easy for Essop Pahad, who is to address students at Unibo, and Popo Molefe and Thandi Modise, who will venture into president Lucas Mangope's stronghold at Dinokana, Braklaagte and Leeufontein.

The situation there is tense, following the detention of three ANC Dinokana branch executive committee members by Bop police.

Meanwhile, the suspension of the armed struggle by the PAC's military wing, Apla, will be high on the agenda at the PAC Potchefstroom branch meeting at 2pm today at Ikageng's New Hall.

PAC political affairs secretary Jackie Seroke will explain the circumstances that led to the suspension.

BENSON NTLEMO writes that the inclusion by the ANC of three Ximoko Progressive Party leaders in its national election list has left the XPP in disarray and it will probably "die" on Wednesday at its special congress at Chachulam Hall in Giyani.

Mandela: Jobs and peace the priorities

By MIKE ROBERTSON

ANC LEADER Nelson Mandela yesterday unveiled a populist election manifesto which lists jobs and peace as his organisation's top priorities

The launch at the Nasrec showgrounds outside Johannesburg was a muted but colourful affair. In attendance was an invited audience composed largely of senior ANC members, journalists, editors, diplomats and businessmen.

The event began with a train ride from Johannesburg station, where the casually dressed Mr Mandela shook hands and posed for the almost obligatory photograph with a baby on his lap — the baby in question being Kami, the son of former Cosatu boss Jay Naidoo.

Planned speeches by Mr Mandela at four stations on the way to Nasrec did not materialise because there were not enough people.

In his speech, Mr Mandela committed the ANC to protecting basic rights, and he gave an assurance that in writing a new constitution the organisation would abide

by the constitutional principles agreed by negotiators

He singled out media freedom, saying it was the essence of democracy and would flourish in the new South Africa.

The economic section of the manifesto contains no reference to nationalisation, but is a populist programme which envisages significant state intervention directed towards job creation and the provision of services. None of the envisaged programmes has been costed.

They include

- A national public-works programme to provide work and training for 2.5-million people over the next 10 years

- A change to licensing laws, increased loans and the promise of government contracts to boost small business

- The scrapping of VAT on basic foods like milk, flour and sugar

- Tax cuts for people earning under R4 000 a month

- A rural development programme that will create jobs by focusing on the

□ To Page 2.



VIVA! ... Nelson Mandela arrives at Nasrec to unveil his manifesto
Picture: CHRISTINE NESBITT

Mandela spells out his election manifesto

□ From Page 1

provision of water, clinics, electricity and roads

- Providing a million homes within five years.

- Providing running water and flush toilets to more than a million families in the same period

- The electrification of 2.5-million rural and urban homes.

The ANC's land-reform programme contains no threat to privately owned

land. Instead it says state land will be used to implement the programme.

Key elements of the programme are:

- Assistance to small farmers to get access to training, credit and markets,

- Restructuring marketing boards to serve the interests of consumers and farmers,

- Restitution for the vic-

tims of forced removals.

Providing affordable primary health care is also listed as a priority.

The manifesto states bluntly that the ANC will introduce affirmative action to benefit those discriminated against in the past.

Those who will benefit from affirmative action policies include Africans, coloured people, Indians,

women, the disabled and people living in rural areas.

Mr Mandela said, however, that "this will not be done at the expense of others, nor lead to a lowering of standards".

Community policing, a volunteer army and new gun-control laws feature prominently in the section of the manifesto titled "Peace and Security for All".

ANC wants foreign cash in finrands

By DIRK VAN EEDEN

THE TEC will consider an ANC application for access to an undisclosed amount of finrands on Tuesday after the TEC's finance sub-council could not agree on submitting the application to the Finance Ministry this week.

DP finance sub-council member Colin Eglin told the TEC on Tuesday that the application had been made to the Reserve Bank and had subsequently been referred to the sub-council.

The ANC had also asked the TEC to propose a decrease in import duties for election material such as electronic equipment, T-shirts and Land-Rovers.

ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said that a foreign benefactor had donated the money to the ANC and the organisation wanted to use it to buy a building. To bring the money into South Africa using the finrand rather than the more expensive commercial rand would mean a discount of about

22,4 percent. But, said Reserve Bank spokesman Peter Gloster, the aim of finrands was to encourage foreign investment. *SITING 30/11/94*

Exchange control administration was a power the Finance Ministry had delegated to the Reserve Bank, and the bank did not have the authority to bend the rules.

Mr Niehaus, on the other hand, agreed that the ANC did not qualify as an overseas investor, but he maintained that the years in exile had deprived the ANC of the chance to develop a sound financial basis. *(11A)*

The organisation had been forced to invest its funds overseas, but now wished to reinvest these funds in South Africa. Also, it wanted to bring foreign donations into the country at an exchange rate as favourable as possible.

This would not harm any other organisation but would help level the playing field, Mr Niehaus said.

But the ANC's opponents believe the same rules should

apply to the ANC as to everybody else. DP chairman and finance spokesman Ken Andrew, for one, does not buy the levelling-of-the-playing-field argument.

"The ANC appears to have more funds than the rest of the parties put together," he said. "It is supported with tens of millions of rands from overseas. The polls indicate that the ANC has 67 percent of the vote. When will the playing field be level? When the rest of the parties have all been flattened?"

NP finance spokesman Francois Jacobs warned that to allow the ANC to buy finrands could set a precedent, opening up serious loopholes in the government's exchange control laws.

ANC SPRINKLES IT OUT

By THEMBA KHUMALO and Sapa

THE unveiling of the ANC's crucial election manifesto yesterday was as glitzy as an American television soap opera, but the contents signalled solid gold for the majority of South Africans.

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday hosted the captains of SA industry and a large press corps on a razzmatazz train ride from Johannesburg to the business exhibition park, Nasrec.

There, surrounded by upbeat supporters, the ANC leader announced the ANC's 10-year-plan for SA. Mandela said that everyone - black and white - would find peace and prosperity in the next decade.

He said R23-billion would be spent on providing free education for 10 years in the life of every child. He promised lower taxes, an end to VAT on some goods, improved exports, new jobs for millions of unemployed and land and shelter for the seven million homeless.

The ANC's "Train to Democracy" pulled out of Park Station amid scenes of jubilation. Passengers hung out of windows or sang and danced inside.

However, plans for Mandela to address crowds at station platforms along the route were cancelled at the last minute for security reasons.

Police maintained a strong but discreet presence, although police helicopters monitored the train clustered in the sky.

A cop escorted Mandela to the platform and hugged his side until Mandela was safely in the Nasrec hall. Guests were treated to a programme of music from the Muse Africa String Quartet, Miriam Makeba, PJ Powers and the Mafafa Dance Theatre. Then they tucked into snacks and downed drinks.

Drummers and dancers created wild movement while a festive reception committee sang polished freedom songs.

Introducing the 14-page plan, Mandela said the new government would make swift changes.

But he warned that implementation and financing of the programme would not be easy.

"Our objective is to use resources more efficiently and not to increase the tax burden. Large sums of money already go to education, health and other areas. But the results are poor," Mandela said. The ANC would encounter an opposition and democratic

THE ANC's 10-year plan, among other things, aims to:

- Set aside R23-billion for improving education for the benefit of ALL the youth - with a single education system that would provide 10 years of free and compulsory education.
- Focus on the seven million homeless

people and improve conditions in the townships. Hostels too would be upgraded as part of a programme to eliminate apartheid and the migrant labour system.

- Work with financial institutions to ensure that people had loans and means to build their own houses.

- Ensure that the country had an efficient tax system by, among other things, ending VAT on basic foods; reducing taxes for people earning under R4 000 a month; stopping unfair taxation on women, married or single.
- Guarantee victims of forced removals restitution which would be carried out fairly through the Land Claims Court.

CIPress 20/11/94



KILLER ON THE LOOSE . . . Mitchell's Plain residents this week joined the authorities to speed up their hunt for more bodies after those of 20 young boys were found in shallow graves in a forest now dubbed "The Strangling Fields". See Page 4.

Picture: FANIE JASON

Election deal

■ From Page 1

a new curriculum which promoted technical quality and humane ideals introduced (11A)

He said, "For far too long the NP government has denied too many people the right to education and the proper conditions for learning and teaching"

Hostels would be upgraded to meet the needs of inmates as part of a programme to eliminate apartheid and the migrant labour system

The ANC would work with building societies and other financial institutions to ensure that people obtained loans and the means to build their own houses

An efficient tax system was on its way, but poor people would not be unfairly or heavily taxed

Tax cuts would include.

■ An end to VAT on basic foods like flour, milk and sugar,

■ Reduced tax for people earning under R4 000 a month,

■ An end to unfair taxation on women regardless of whether they were

married or single, and

■ Efficient taxation of businesses

Mandela said his government would guarantee that victims of forced removals were fairly compensated through the Land Claims Court

Small farmers would be assisted with training, loans and easier access to markets

Basic rights for farm workers would be secured and large-scale farming would be encouraged

New policy on trade and industry would focus on job-creation and strengthening the manufacturing sector with the aim of increasing exports

He said "We will immediately start on a national public works programme which will address community needs and create jobs"

SA would build an extensive link with African countries to ensure that the continent was not ignored by the rest of the world

He said "Our destiny is intertwined with that of southern Africa.

manifesto yesterday was as glitzy as an American television soap opera, but the contents signalled solid gold for the majority of South Africans.

(11A)

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But he warned that implementation and financing of the programme would not be easy

"Our objective is to use resources more efficiently and not to increase the tax burden. Large sums of money already go to education, health and other areas. But the results are poor," Mandela said.

The ANC would encourage an open and democratic society and would respect a Bill of Rights. Government corruption and dishonesty would not be tolerated

The manifesto puts emphasis on job creation and better incomes in a growing economy, marked by increased foreign investment, a public works programme

providing 2,5-million jobs over the next 10 years and more roads, schools, clinics and houses. Small business would be encouraged and rural poverty eliminated through development programmes

The manifesto says the security forces will be reformed. "Criminal behaviour in these forces will not be tolerated," the manifesto said

It promises that with the co-operation of communities, an ANC-government will ensure criminals are dealt with to the full extent of the law

Of the R23-billion to be set aside for education, emphasis would be placed on teacher training and improving their conditions of service. A culture of teaching and learning would be encouraged and

■ To Page 2

No way out for Somali refugees

By MOSES MAMAILA

TWENTY-SEVEN Somali refugees spent a week in transit at Jan Smuts airport after their plan to flee their war-torn country to Europe was foiled by South African immigration officers

The refugees, who include 11 children, arrived in South Africa on January 22. A Home Affairs spokesman said they were from Tanzania where they had been staying for two years

Their bid to emigrate because of the endless

Suspension of fight backed

Own Correspondent

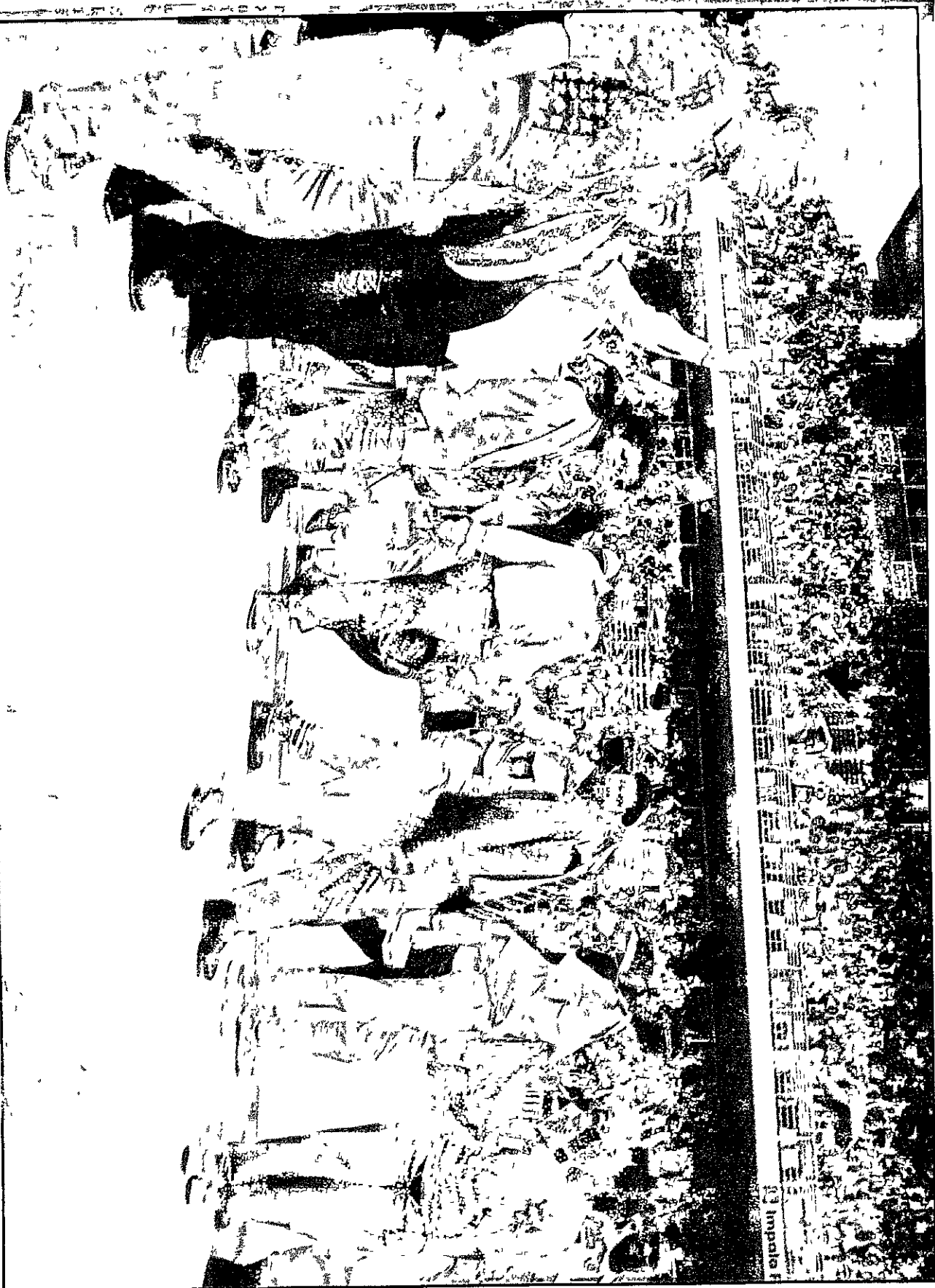
EAST LONDON — The PAC in the Border region unanimously agreed to support PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu's decision to suspend the armed struggle.

PAC regional spokesman Mr Lungisani Makongolo said this was decided at a weekend regional conference at Tshatshu.

Apla delegates were present, he said.

He said the decision was made as "the ballot at the moment is another method of getting the land, not only the armed struggle".

Although the struggle had not been abandoned entirely, it was suspended to show the PAC supported fair and free elections, he said.



Blazing the campaign trail . . . a jubilant African National Congress president Nelson Mandela strides into the Olympia Stadium in Rustenburg with his entourage yesterday as he set off on the first leg of his western Transvaal campaign. Two rallies in Bophuthatswana were prevented from taking place and at least four ANC leaders were arrested in the homeland.

PICTURE KEN OOSTERBROEK

We will deal with Bop

- Mandela

Star 3/11/94

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Potcheitroom — ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday indicated that his organisation was willing to cross swords with Bophuthatswana. Mandela yesterday hit the campaign trail in the western Transvaal.

Addressing an ANC "people's forum" in Rustenburg, on the border of Bophuthatswana, he said "I don't think we should worry very much about what (President Lucas) Mangope is doing because he has only three months left to lead Bophuthatswana."

However, at least four ANC leaders were arrested in the homeland yesterday and two rallies were prevented from taking place.

ANC national executive member Popo Molefe and ANC Women's League (ANCWL) executive member Thandi Mofse were arrested, as were SA Communist Party central committee member Essop Pahad and ANCWL executive member Baleka Kgositile. They were later released.

There were also reports of roadblocks between Rustenburg and the homeland. ANC spokesman Carl Niehaus said last night "This demonstrates the urgent need for the Transitional Executive Council to take the necessary action and to exert pressure on Mangope and the Bo-

► To Page 3

P.T.O.

Star 31/1/94

Mandela 'to sort Bop out'

◀ From Page 1

phuthatswana government to allow free political activity

"This is some of the worst intimidation one can imagine"

Mandela told the packed stadium at Rustenburg that the TEC was the legal authority in Bophuthatswana but it might take "some time" to enforce the authority.

"It may only be possible to do so after April. We have a government in the country which is part of the TEC, but it does not really want to back the decisions of the TEC," Mandela said.

He urged his followers to have confidence in the TEC because the repression in Bophuthatswana was one of its top priorities.

"We are going to deal with Bophuthatswana. Don't you worry about that," he said.

All but one question asked at the forum related to repression in the homeland. But Mandela

assured the crowd that they would be able to vote in the election with Bophuthatswana or SA identity documents. (11A)

Mandela also reiterated his appeal that ANC supporters should allow the National Party to campaign in townships

He accused the NP of paying people and of "buying" them with food to attend its meetings

"If that organisation (the NP) promises to give you stew, potatoes and an orange, you go to the meeting and eat and thereafter vote for the ANC," he said.

The ANC leader added that while President de Klerk complained of intimidation by ANC supporters, he had yet to express concern about intimidation of ANC supporters by "reactionary forces and Mangope".

Addressing a rally in Klerksdorp's Jouberton township yesterday afternoon, Mandela said that between 17 and 18 million South Africans lived below the minimum living standard.

ANC pledges a better life for all in SA

Star 2/11/94

The ANC will fight the April poll on an election platform of "A better life for all" (11)

On Saturday it became the first party to unveil its election manifesto. The NP manifesto will be launched at a conference on Wednesday - exactly four years after President de Klerk unbanned the liberation movements.

The ANC's manifesto is closely modelled on its reconstruction and development programme.

Job creation tops an ANC government's agenda. It promises to provide 2,5 million people with jobs and training over the next 10 years.

It also pledges, among others, to guarantee workers' rights, end VAT on basic foods, introduce a single education system with 10 years' free and compulsory schooling, build 1 million houses over the next five years and end rural poverty. Political Correspondent

2 000 welcome poll manifesto

AN ecstatic crowd of more than 2 000 greeted the Western Cape launch of the ANC's election manifesto on Saturday afternoon.

A rendition of a number of popular songs by the coon troupe Beach Boys had the crowd singing in unison and waving pocket-size ANC flags from side to side.

ANC candidate for regional premier Dr Allan Boesak told the crowd that voters would go to the polls in fewer than 90 days to "wipe forever the memory of apartheid from our country".

The ANC, which had remained true to its ideals since its inception, would "dismiss" the NP, he said — Sapa

ANC promises jobs, houses and peace

THE ANC's election manifesto released at the week-end predictably targets the organisation's primary constituency, promising houses, jobs and peace.

At the same time, it addresses the fears of whites and business that they will suffer. At the manifesto's launch at Nasrec on Saturday, ANC president Nelson Mandela stressed that the ANC would adhere to the constitutional principles negotiated by all parties and emphasised a commitment to free speech.

The manifesto contains no reference to nationalisation. But it envisages state intervention to create jobs and provide a range of services in areas such as health, training, agriculture and the development of small business.

Entitled "A better life for all: working together for peace, jobs and freedom", its main thrust is "to overcome the social and economic devastation caused by generations of apartheid rule". It states that it is fair for the majority of people, after years without rights, to ask, "What will your country do for you?" The ANC promises a government which will serve the majority by:

Launching a public

works programme to provide jobs and training for 2,5-million people over the next 10 years by building roads and providing water, electricity, schools, clinics and houses, (U)A

Building 1-million homes in five years, providing running water for 1-million families and electricity to 2,5-million homes;

Guaranteeing primary affordable health care and basic treatment for all;

Launching a welfare programme for children, the elderly, the disabled and victims of violence, with pensions and grants being assured;

Changing licensing laws and giving increased loans to small business;

Scrapping VAT on basic foodstuffs and reducing taxes for those earning less than R4 000 a month;

Scrapping unfair taxation of women and ensuring more efficient collection of business taxes;

Launching a rural development programme in which the key elements are to assist small farmers to get access to training, credit and markets, restructuring marketing boards, and restitution for the victims of forced removals.

BISOM 31/1/94
BILLY PADDOCK

Star 3/11/94

AVF hardliners snub ANC offer

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Hardline elements within the Afrikaner Volksfront have rejected a tentative deal reached on Friday between the ANC and AVF

Speaking at an ANC rally in Stillfontein yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said "We made them (the AVF) an offer to the effect that on April 27, as we vote, the Afrikaners can vote for the idea of a volkstaat and that the whole question of whether it should be a volkstaat or not will be decided after the election by a constituent assembly"

Mandela, however, said the

AVF leaders had been given a mandate to continue negotiations with the ANC and Government. These talks continue in Pretoria today (11/11/94)

Friday's offer appears to revolve around the participation of the AVF in the April election and the inclusion of a constitutional principle on the self-determination of all South Africans

This means that after the election, the right wing would be able to continue negotiations with a constitution-making body for its white homeland

Speaking at the launch of the ANC's election manifesto on Saturday, its chairman

Thabo Mbeki said any agreement reached with the AVF and the Freedom Alliance should be consistent with creating a nonracial and non-sexist country

"We believe those arguing for a volkstaat should participate in the election and use the constitutional instruments emerging out of the election to promote the idea of a volkstaat," he said.

The demand for a white homeland could not be met if force was used, Mbeki said

Talks between the Government, ANC and FA continue in Pretoria today after the deadline for reaching an inclusive agreement was postponed for

a third time on Thursday.

On the talks with the FA, Mbeki said some had suggested that the ANC should "call the FA's bluff, but the leadership of the ANC has decided that was not the correct way to proceed"

After the negotiations last week, ANC negotiator Valli Moosa said the ANC's proposals were not rejected out of hand by the FA. Its negotiators, he said, had asked for more time to consider the proposals over the weekend

Government and ANC negotiators have stressed that today's round of talks would be the last attempt to reach an agreement

NEWS FEATURE *Mandela's personal road to freedom — vision of a new South Africa*

By **Donwald Pressly**
Political Staff

AFTER 80 years in opposition, the ANC presented its first manifesto for an election it is going to win. Its president, Mr Nelson Mandela, said this was the last lap of the liberation struggle and his personal road to freedom.

The manifesto is a conciliatory document which spells out a blueprint for "a government of the people"

It is based on six democratic principles: a constitution and bill of rights which guarantee a minimum standard of life, regular free and fair elections in a multiparty democracy, an independent judiciary and constitutional court protected from any government or party, democratic government at provincial and local levels with the resources to meet people's needs, freedom from discrimination on racial, gender or any other ground, freedom of association and the right to worship.

The organisation commits itself to media freedom which is "essential for the flourishing of democracy"

It also commits itself to a new style of government. South Africans will be encouraged to take their concerns to the independent public protector who will probe corruption and poor treatment on the part of public officials.

Regular forums on the lines of those being held during the election campaign will continue to be held afterwards.

While economic policy will inevitably be watered down by the form of government — in which all parties with more than 5 percent of the vote will be represented — the ANC is suggesting a major revision of the tax system. It seeks an end to VAT on basic foods like flour, milk and sugar, a reduction of income tax on people earning under R4 000 a month, an end to unfair taxation of women, married and single.

Tax proposals

State President FW de Klerk, speaking at the end of his road show in the Eastern Transvaal at the weekend, immediately slammed the tax proposals saying that if tax for earnings under R4 000 a month was reduced it meant higher taxes for those earning above that amount. This would lead to a drop in international investor confidence and a drop in motivation for those in an upper income brackets to work harder.

Indeed, the revenue of the State will inevitably drop as expectations from ANC voters — many unhouseed, uneducated and unemployed — will rise considerably. It is a problem which will inevitably put a dampener on the ANC's ambitions.

Workers' rights to bargain and be represented by trade unions in the public and private sectors will be entrenched. Hard-fought-for employment standards, maternity and child-care benefits will be protected while an adult basic education programme will be introduced for workers and the unemployed will be introduced.

A public works programme to provide water, electricity, schools, clinics, and housing will create 2,5 million jobs within 10 years.

Vast tracks of State land will be used to implement land reform. The restructuring of

Liberation's last lap

■ ELECTION MANIFESTO *ANC spells out a blueprint for a government of the people:*

marketing boards is promised — but the methods are not spelt out.

Victims of forced removals will be compensated through a land claims court. Large-scale farming will be encouraged with the proviso that farm workers are given security of tenure. While it could spell difficulties for farmers who wish to expel workers, it does promise them a right to continue farming.

Compulsory schooling for 10 years will be introduced. The number of free textbooks will be doubled within a year.

Once again the financing of such a programme is not spelt out. Mother-tongue education will be guaranteed which will be music to the ears of Afrikaners who seek the protection of their schools.

Special assistance will be given to women to improve their skills and adult literacy classes will be provided.

The ANC pledges to build one million homes in five years, provide running water and flush toilets to over a million families and electrify 2,5 million rural and urban homes.

Free health care for children under five will be coupled with State immunisation, nutritional programmes.

Pensions guaranteed

In the area of welfare and pensions, the ANC blandly says they would be guaranteed. No programmes to encourage private provision of pension schemes are mentioned. In a nation where less than 5 percent of the public do so, perhaps the ANC should be promoting an obligatory pension scheme for all those earning over a certain amount a month — a system which will save the State revenue to build up the economically active rather than those who have completed their working lives.

Troubling too is its affirmative action policies. While the black, coloured and Indian communities have been historically deprived, white unemployed are not mentioned.

Surely if one is to be non-racist one must cater for all those deprived? Nevertheless, the ANC pledges to emphasise the upgrading of skills of the historical victims of apartheid.

Laudable are programmes to reduce the number of weapons in the hands of individuals and a police force made accountable to the communities in which it is based. Programmes to promote political tolerance will be a tough promise to keep by a party which has been accused repeatedly by its opponents of refusing to discipline its members — by the Democratic Party at Orange Farm and by De Klerk during his road show visits to Eastern Transvaal townships.

The security forces will reflect the race and gender character of the country — they will be non-partisan, professional and uphold human

Manifesto

The ANC's manifesto promises a better life for all.

- The right for all South Africans to vote in regular free and fair elections,
- A government of the people in which politicians will regularly report back to the public through people's forums,
- A constitution and bill of rights which protects a minimum standard of life,
- Improving the quality of life by a public works programme which will provide 2,5 million jobs in ten years,
- Ending rural poverty by introducing a rural development programme by providing water, electricity, clinics, telephones and roads,
- Use State land in implementing a land reform programme,
- Ten years of free compulsory schooling for all,
- One million homes in five years,
- Free health care for children under five,
- A reduction of violence by a gun control scheme — limiting of weapons in the hands of individuals,
- Affirmative action policies in State and private sectors,
- Security forces representing the racial and gender character of the country
- Work for economic and social relations with developed industrial nations,
- Will take active part in Southern African Development Conference, the Commonwealth, Organisation of National Unity, United Nations and Non-Aligned Movement.

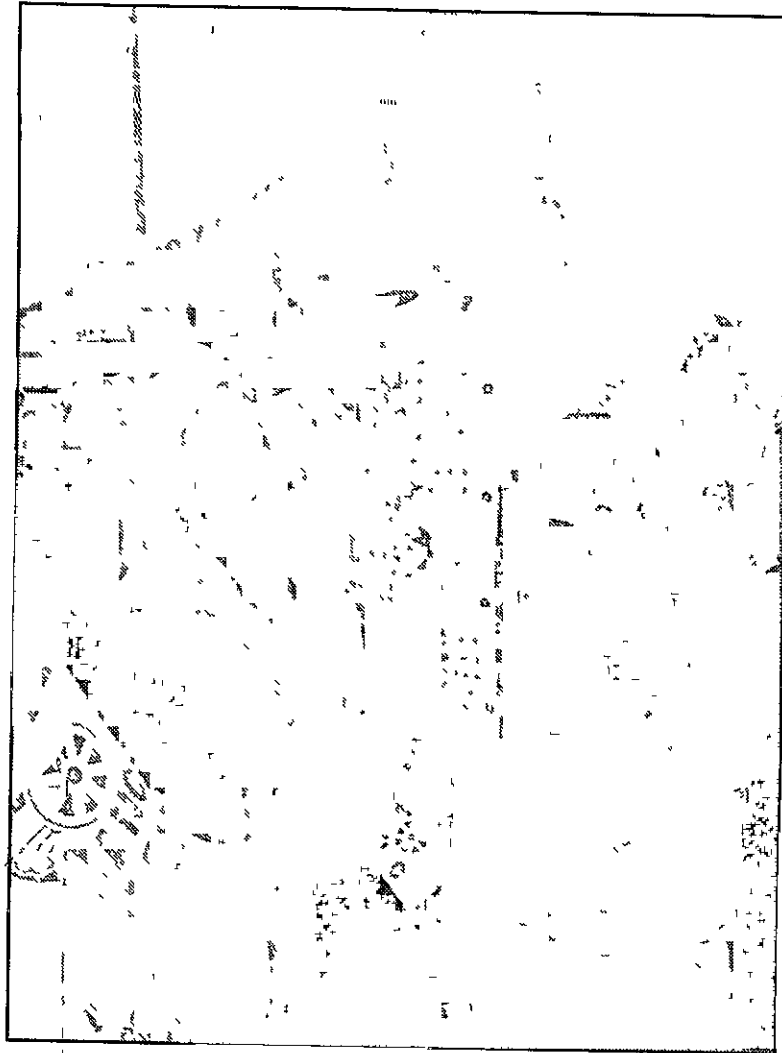
rights. The army will be used to defend the country and not for internal political matters. It will be used for productive purposes — such as the upgrading of youths' skills.

All in all the document promotes equality of all citizens by doing away with detention without trial and making the justice system more accessible. While it has its weaknesses, its intentions are good. How they are going to be paid for is the question the ANC and other parties in the new national unity government will have to come to grips with.



Nelson Mandela addressing the ANC's manifesto conference.

Police slammed for calling off hunt for strangler



ANC president Nelson Mandela is greeted by children on his arrival at an election campaign rally in Rustenburg.

PIC AP

ANC's Sowetan policy 31/1/94

By Themba Molefe
Political Correspondent

THE African National Congress has released its manifesto and is the first party vying for majority electoral support to do so.

But ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela was quick to warn that voting ANC on April 27 did not guarantee meeting basic demands for jobs, houses and education as many were anticipating.

He called on his lieutenants and followers alike to brace themselves for the reality of an ANC victory in the April 27 election.

Increased economic growth

In promising jobs, a growing economy, small business development, workers' rights, a just tax system, an end to rural poverty, land reform, more schools and 10 years of compulsory education, housing and free health care for children under five, the manifesto envisages greater public expenditure funded by increased economic growth.

But it will take time, Mandela warned, and it will fail without community participation.

BLACK POLITICS

1994 FEB.

Chris Under
11/18/94
after

Another

Sowetan 11/2/94

deadlock

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

11/2 813 624

State intervention 'still policy'

ANC may cut Thebe ties, Mandela hints

LLOYD COUTTS

ANC president Nelson Mandela hinted yesterday that the ANC could sever its ties with Thebe Investment Corporation, the controversial black-owned company that has been regarded as its investment arm.

Addressing businessmen and academics in Potchefstroom during his western Transvaal election tour, Mandela said the matter was of great concern to him personally and had been raised with the ANC's national executive committee. "We are dealing with this matter and hope to make an announcement soon."

He said it would not be fair for one company to be closely associated with a political organisation that was likely to be in government. It would be undesirable for a government to control a large organisation like Thebe that would be competing with other businesses.

Thebe was set up to raise funds for the cash-strapped ANC after 30 years in exile, but the ANC's profile had changed and it was now likely to be the next government.

Thebe MD Vusi Khanyile has denied that his company is the ANC's business wing.

Thebe has expanded rapidly since its inception just over a year ago, and has diverse interests in property, the scratch-card lottery industry, computers and printing, among others.

Its activities were criticised when it entered the school textbook publishing market last year in a deal with Macmillan Publishers. It recently announced a partnership with a Canadian consortium to operate a new airline, SA Express.

Mandela warned that the ANC would not deviate from its policy of state intervention in the economy where necessary. Al-

though the ANC had been forced to drop its policy of nationalisation because of the negative reaction from foreign investor countries, "remove from your minds that there will be no state intervention," he said.

The ANC would maintain and develop a free market economy, but would intervene when needed in the interests of growth and development. This was what the NP had done to improve the lot of poor whites.

Whites were now raising concerns about such intervention because the next government was likely to be black. "Let us look at the matter as South Africans. We have no policies of revenge. We regard you as our brothers and sisters and in that spirit we will address the problems of the country."

If SA was to succeed in creating a market-driven economy, the process of growth and distribution would have to be linked, and blacks would have to be raised to the same level as whites.

"We need to democratise the economy, reduce inequalities in income and wealth to get back into foreign markets," he said.

However, this could be achieved without robbing privileged people of their possessions, Mandela said.

Although the ANC had shifted on nationalisation, it believed the country's mineral wealth belonged to its people and mining houses should lose the right to mine from the state.

This had been the case until it had become apparent that a black government would come to power, and the present government had changed the law to sign

□ To Page 2

Thebe

B/day 11/2/94

□ From Page 1

over the rights to the mining houses, Mandela said. (11A)

Sapa reports that he also told farmers in Potchefstroom that they should not fear ANC rule. While there would have to be state intervention in the farming industry, this did not mean nationalisation. "It will not be possible for the farming industry to

develop without state assistance."

But Mandela stressed that the ANC's attitude towards farmers was very positive, although he appealed to them to allow workers political freedom.

● Picture: Page 3
● Comment: Page 6

Freedom Alliance talks founder as parties give up hope of agreement

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-

BILLY PADDOCK
11/21/94

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 Cronje 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 Walker 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."

ANC may sever links with Thebe

CT 12/94

ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela hinted yesterday that his organisation could sever its ties with what has been regarded as its investment arm, the controversial Thebe Investment Corporation

Addressing businessmen and academics in Potchefstroom, Mr Mandela said it would not be fair to industry for one company to be closely associated with a political organisation likely to be in government

He said the matter was of great concern to him personally, and had been taken up with the ANC's national executive committee

Thebe managing director Mr Vusi Khanyile has denied that his company is the ANC's business wing

Thebe has expanded rapidly since its inception just over a year ago, and has diverse interests in property, the scratchcard lottery industry, computers and printing, among others

Its activities were criticised when it entered the school textbook publishing market last year

Mr Mandela earlier told Western Transvaal farmers they should not fear ANC rule, and at the same time

appealed to farmers to allow workers political freedom

Very few farmworkers were allowed the morning off work to attend the meeting at the Boskop Agricultural Training Centre where Mr Mandela said there would have to be state intervention in the farming industry, but that this did not mean nationalisation

"It will not be possible for the farming industry to develop without state assistance," he said

Abuse of power

He urged farmers to adopt a more positive attitude towards the ANC and not to abuse their power as employers

The ANC leader said he was worried about reports that farmers were taking workers' identity documents in an effort to pressure them into voting for the NP

Reacting to Mr Mandela's comments, the president of the Transvaal Agricultural Union, Mr Dries Bruwer, said organised agriculture would not attach too much value to conciliatory statements by the ANC as another part of the organisation was creating unrealistic expectations — Own Correspondent, Sapa

'Let NP campaign in townships'

BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

Potchefstroom — It is not in the interest of ANC supporters to prevent the National Party from campaigning in townships

This was a message ANC president Nelson Mandela made repeatedly during his two-day campaign tour of the western Transvaal.

Star 1/21/94
He first began making the appeal at the organisation's Reconstruction and Development Conference 10 days ago

"Let them (the NP) have free political activity. We cannot demand free political activity if we ourselves make it impossible (for the NP to campaign)," he told a rally in Rustenburg.

He told ANC supporters that he did not want

the NP to lose the election and then say it could not put its views across to the electorate because of his organisation's activities. (IIF)

In Klerksdorp's Thlabane township, Mandela again appealed for political tolerance

"Give them a chance to put across their point of view. That is the best way to destroy them," he said.

State essential to farming — Mandela

Sowetour 11/2/94

■ **NEVER FEAR** Farmers have

'nothing to fear from the ANC':

AFRICAN National Congress leader Mr Nelson Mandela, on his election campaign in the Afrikaner heartland of the Western Transvaal, told farmers in Potchefstroom yesterday they should not fear ANC rule, and at the same time appealed to farmers to allow workers political freedom

In an election speech at the Boskop Agricultural Training Centre, Mandela said there would have to be State intervention in the farming industry, but said this did not mean nationalisation

"It will not be possible for the farming industry to develop without State assistance," he told the meeting

Mandela said farmers had no reason to fear the ANC and stressed that the attitude of the ANC towards farm-

ers was very positive

Very few farm workers were allowed the morning off work to attend the meeting

Mandela urged farmers to adopt a more positive attitude towards the ANC and not to abuse their power as employers

"We depend on farmers to feed the nation and to export food," he said "If the farmers want to vote for the National Party, that is fine, but they should allow farm workers political freedom"

The ANC leader said he was worried about reports that farmers were taking workers' identity documents in

an effort to pressure them into voting for the NP

ANC member Mr Jan Serfontein, a cattle farmer in the area, uses the centre to train his black workers

A former National Party supporter, he said it was vital for farmers to move with the times and change allegiances to survive

"Treat your staff with dignity and respect and productivity will soar," he said

By being involved with the ANC, qualified whites had an important contribution to make, Serfontein said — Sapa

Election launch for DP, PAC and NP

Sowetan 1/2/94

(Sowetan) (11A)

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 Hennrie 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.

force

Emphasis will be on 'local priorities and needs'

ANC plan for police

Star 11/2/94

■ BY ESTHER WAUGH
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Potchefstroom — ANC president Nelson Mandela has spelt out detailed plans for a restructured police force

An ANC government would stress community policing, or "consensus policing", as the most viable form of policing, he said yesterday

This was in line with international developments, Mandela added (11A)

Speaking at a rally in Potchefstroom's Ikageng township, Mandela said the focus should be on preventive and pro-active policing

The ANC would implement training programmes to ensure that communities and the police combated crime.

Police should be accountable to "local priorities and needs" and should be visible in the communities they served

Failed

A new police force should be non-partisan and impartial

"We don't want a police force that belongs to the ANC. It must serve the people of South Africa," he said

Problems besetting the SAP and homeland police forces had reached crisis proportions, Mandela said.

"They have failed to deliver the minimum level of public safety . . . crime and violence have reached unacceptable levels"

Mandela said 18 000 people had died in political violence since 1984 and the number of killings had increased from five to 12 a day

The SAP had never been seen to be an effective force, Mandela said.

He told the crowd that only 46 percent of killers had been prosecuted in 1992

'WE don't want a police force that belongs to the ANC. It must serve the people of SA,' Mandela tells rally

The ANC leader said the SAP was "part of the problem" — 865 charges had been laid against policemen in 1992 and 114 people had died in detention that year

As a result, an increasing number of people were taking the law into their own hands. Revenge killings in political violence were spiralling

He said 48 percent of the white community owned firearms and more than 500 000 whites had firearm licences.

Earlier yesterday Mandela addressed an audience at the Boskop agricultural training centre. He was due to address farmers and farm labourers, but commented that he was speaking to "the children of farmers"

Urging farmers to adopt a more positive attitude, Mandela said they need not fear an ANC government

"We want the farmers to be free to carry on with their farming activities. Our attitude towards farmers is very positive . . . irrespective of their political views," he said

The ANC was concerned about small farmers being displaced by big corporations entering the industry. Farmers should become internationally competitive but this could not happen without State intervention, he said

Addressing a group of white businessmen in Potchefstroom, Mandela said State intervention was absolutely essential for economic growth.

Open revolt in PAC Transkei branches

Star 11/2/94

East London — PAC branches across Transkei have come out in open revolt against the party leadership over the decision to suspend the armed struggle

Transkei PAC central publicity secretary Pasika Nontshiza warned yesterday that the situation was "explosive" in Transkei, the organisation's second biggest support base.

However, PAC deputy president Johnson Mlambo said yesterday he had visited Umtata at the weekend and he would be surprised if the situation was serious.

Nontshiza said branches from several Transkei regions had invited leading official Mkhangile Skwatsha to officiate at a meeting in Umtata on Sunday in di-

rect defiance of the party leadership's decision to suspend him for criticising the decision on the armed struggle.

This comes in the wake of a decision by the Butterworth branch to bar members of the PAC's national working committee from any activities in the area. Butterworth is near the Kentani home of Waters Toboti, also suspended by the PAC last month for denouncing the suspension of the armed struggle

While dissent within the party leadership seems to be spreading, it is difficult to assess exactly how widespread it is.

Mlambo said the suspension of Skwatsha and Toboti would be dealt with through party channels. — Ecna.



Picture OBED ZILWA, The Argus

FREEDOM FLAME: ANC president Nelson Mandela lights a torch outside Victor Verster prison as a part of a ceremony marking the fourth anniversary of President De Klerk's famous February 2 speech

ARG 2/2/94 (11A)

Mandela lights flame of freedom

Staff Reporter

AFRICAN National Congress president Nelson Mandela lit a flame of freedom and laid a wreath on barbed wire at Victor Verster prison today — four years to the day after President De Klerk unbanned the ANC and other political parties.

A predominantly ANC crowd gathered at the prison to launch a campaign of "never again".

Banners with the names of icons of the liberation struggle, from Hector Petersen to Steve Biko, were held by the chanting crowd.

Veterans of imprisonment and exile embraced as they readied themselves to re-enact the heady day in 1990 — nine days after the unbannings — when their leader walked free from the prison.

Among the crowd were the mother, Linda, and sister, Molly, of Amy Biehl and former city councillor Eulalie Stott.

But as much as the day was claimed to be a commemoration, it was undoubtedly a key part of the election campaign.

Each banner which urged "never again" also urged "vote ANC".

Western Cape ANC leader Allan Boesak poured scorn on a National Party newspaper advertisement which claimed Mr Mandela was lighting the flame in honour of President De Klerk.

"The fact we are here today is a tribute to all our people who have not shirked their responsibility to justice not even when they have had to give their lives."

Commenting on the barbed wire outside the gates of Victor Verster, from behind which warders and children watched proceedings, Dr Boesak said "We are not here to storm the prison."

Laying a wreath on the wire, Mr Mandela said he did so in honour of all who had suffered under apartheid.

Now it was time to unite and build the country, he said.

"I hope all of us, involved in the negotiating process or not, will recognise how important it is to avoid situations which might lead to bloodshed," Mr Mandela said.

Marchers then joined a motorcade to Paarl's Dal Josaphat stadium, where Mr Mandela was to address a rally this afternoon.



Picture: OBED ZILWA, The Argus.

FREEDOM FLAME: ANC president Nelson Mandela lights a torch outside Victor Verster prison as a part of a ceremony marking the fourth anniversary of President De Klerk's famous February 2 speech.

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Marchers then joined a motorcade to Paarl's Dal Josaphat stadium, where Mr Mandela was to address a rally this afternoon.

New bid for Freedom Alliance deal

ANC may back down on double ballot

Monday 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. (3/2/94)

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. (1/7)

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 elections on a double ballot, it could leave Buthelezi out on a limb.

□ To Page 2

Freedom Alliance Monday 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 preempt its outcome, reveals yet again that employers are extremely partisan." (3/2/94)

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."

(1/7) 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

ANC digs in its heels over Alliance

Govt in bid to break talks stalemate

B/Day 4/12/94

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. (SPPA IIIA)

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.

ANC demands blast arrests

THE ANC is to ask the TEC to intervene in investigations into the spate of bombings in the western Transvaal and the Free State in recent weeks. **Biday**

Four explosions in the two areas yesterday brought the total to 27 since November. All the latest attacks were against ANC-linked targets. **412194**

Police in both regions said yesterday they had not made any arrests or taken in anyone for questioning. **(117) (344)**
"When you strike you want to catch all the perpetrators," Law and Order spokesman Craig Kotze said.

Referring to claims by the ANC alliance that the right wing was responsible, he said

DAVID GREYBE

police had a "great success record" of more than 80% against right-wing terror.

Cosatu added its voice to those calling for a TEC probe, accusing the police of not taking effective steps to apprehend the criminals "This creates the clear impression to these elements that they are being given licence to sow terror and mayhem."

Recently, the offices of three Cosatu affiliates were badly damaged by bomb blasts in Klerksdorp and Harrismith.

Cosatu said if "serious" steps were not taken to arrest and charge the perpetra-

□ To Page 2

Bombings

tors, "we will have to investigate other methods of dealing with the problem"

The attacks began in November in the Free State with the bombing of power pylons and railway lines. But ANC offices and businesses linked to the organisation have become the latest targets. **(117)**

The ANC head office would request the TEC to intervene, ANC western Transvaal region deputy chairman Zakes Tolo said yesterday. ANC spokesman Ronnie Mamoepa said the TEC's law and order subcommittee would request police reports before looking into the matter.

On Wednesday night an explosive device was detonated at the gate of the Potchefstroom farm of Jan Serfontein, a white ANC member who accompanied ANC president Nelson Mandela during his tour of the western Transvaal this week. Damage was estimated at R2 000.

Early yesterday the ANC office in Letsopa township near Ottosdal in the western Transvaal was destroyed by commercial explosives and four shops in the predominantly Asian business centre in nearby Korannafontein were petrol-bombed. The owner of one of the worst damaged shops is an ANC member.

Tolo said a white minibus with no number plates and carrying at least five whites was seen at the scene of both attacks.

A mother and son living next to the ANC office in Letsopa were slightly injured in the blast which, according to the ANC, caused damaged estimated at R100 000. Tolo said 29 nearby houses were damaged.

The latest attacks brought the total in the region to 15 since December 22.

In the Free State, the ANC office in Turnahole township near Parys was bombed. Police said they had not yet calculated the extent of the damage, but the office had suffered structural damage and 74 windows had been blown out.

There have been 12 blasts in the Free State since November 11. Investigating officers were "very busy" with investigations, Free State police spokesman Capt Johlene van der Merwe said.

Western Transvaal police have offered a R100 000 reward for information leading to the arrest and conviction of the bombers.

Meanwhile, the right-wing-aligned Mine Workers' Union described as "laughable" an NUM accusation that it was responsible for a bomb blast that caused damage of R250 000 to the NUM's Klerksdorp office.

□ From Page 1

SA'S COMMUNISTS: Two views on the National Party's rooi gevaar campaign

In an editorial *The Star* of January 26 1994 says the South African Communist Party has a "history as a conspiratorial party, characterised by secrecy and deception". Charging the SACP with "conspiratorial" modes of operation, "secrecy" and "deception" may be accurate, but isolated from the context in which the SACP was forced to operate for 40 years, these charges do not amount to the truth.

In the Roman Empire before the conversion of Constantine the early Christian church was compelled to conduct its affairs as a conspiracy. Its congregants employed deception to avoid detection, used codes to communicate with each other and held their services, literally underground, in the catacombs beneath the city.

These were not methods the Christians had voluntarily chosen. Being discovered might have meant being thrown to the lions or being set alight. The imperial order faced Christians with a simple choice — operate in the open and permit us to crush you, or operate underground and you might survive.

Not even the sternest critic of Christianity would fault them for having chosen to go underground. And to suggest that their conduct betrayed a sinister purpose would be absurd.

Red-baiting, in South African politics, as in the rest of the world, is a favourite device the privi-

Red-baiters refuse to face the real injustices



Those who accuse the SACP of deception are forgetting that they were forced underground to survive — or face their torturers and possible death, argues **Pallo Jordan**

WJM 4-10/2/94

leged, the powerful and propertied classes use to evade searching interrogation of the oppressive systems over which they preside. During the course of this century virtually everyone who has raised a voice against injustice has been painted with the same brush — "Red". Incumbent power wielders, unable to refute charges of injustice and oppression levelled against them, have invariably called into question the motives of the social critic. The label "communist" has been convenient to silence such critics, scare off potential supporters and to direct attention away from the ills they have identified.

It is no accident that in South Africa before, but especially after 1950, the National Party stig-

matized anyone who challenged racial oppression and its apartheid policies as a "communist". The South African press — which as recently as 1993, despite all the evidence to the contrary, still insisted that Helen Joseph was a Marxist merely because the South African security police had labelled her as such — has all too often lent itself to these vile purposes.

Setting aside the genuine criticism that has been levelled against regimes established by communist parties in Eastern Europe, Latin America and Asia, the actual uses of anti-communism this century have not been to protect individual rights, let alone the civil liberties citizens enjoy under liberal democracies. In Europe,

Latin America, Asia and in Africa anti-communism has without exception been the standard around which the defenders of the unjust existing order rallied. It made little difference whether such political arrangements were colonialism, racism, feudalism, a rapacious capitalism or a military dictatorship.

In the United States throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s J. Edgar Hoover, the fanatically anti-communist director of the FBI, insisted on regarding the Civil Rights movement as communist inspired and persecuted its leader, Dr Martin Luther King until the very hour of his death. The gravest threat to the civil liberties of the average US citizen was not the weak communist party, but the witch-hunters led by Senator Joe McCarthy and his kindred spirits in the US Congress.

The brutal compact between Asiatic feudalism and a modern capitalism, often sustained by military dictators, has been the other beneficiary of anti-communism. The Vietnam War, which saw the full military might of the richest and most powerful nation on earth unleashed against a small under-developed country, had no other rationale. In a moment of refreshing candour, former President Dwight D. Eisenhower in his memoirs, *A Mandate for Change*, admits that US intervention was inspired by the knowledge that the communist, Ho Chi Minh, would win the 1956 elections. To prevent such an outcome, more bombs were dropped in Vietnam than were used during World War II. A whole generation of Americans still live with the trauma of that war.

No one has ever suggested that the US-sponsored alternatives to Ho Chi Minh, Marshall Ky and Thieu, were bearers of liberal virtues and modernity. They were representatives of a wealthy, collaborationist Catholic elite who had supported the French colonial regime in the past.

No doubt the high crimes, sometimes plumbing the depths of depravity, committed by communist party-led regimes have assisted in mobilising public sentiment against the cause they claim to espouse. The record of these governments has given every stripe of conservative and reactionary the perfect alibi. State criminality is today held up as the inevitable outcome of radical change not only by misguided, though sincere liberal opponents of Stalinism, but also by the likes of P. W. Botha. Those of us on the left who regard the liberties associated with constitutional democracy as part of our political patrimony have been the severest critics of the communist-led governments for that reason.

Before the NP declared it illegal in 1950, the communist party in this country ran its affairs in the full glare of publicity. It contested and won seats in the Johannesburg and Cape Town city councils and in parliament. Communists held office in trade unions, in professional bodies as well as in a number of political organisations, including the ANC. The communist party controlled a number of publications and its journalists were linked to one weekly newspaper, and a monthly, *Fighting Talk*. There was nothing secret or conspiratorial about it.

The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 faced South African communists with a choice between allowing their party and their cause to be quietly strangled or to operate secretly and purchase the chance of survival. Let us remember that after 1950 membership of the SACP entailed a five-year prison sentence. Advocacy of Marxism-Leninism could incur criminal sanctions. Add to that an array of persecutory devices the state possessed — banning orders, deportation, banishment, house arrest, detention without trial, torture. Factor in also the informal assistance the SACP often received from employers who sacked or refused employment to people whom the security police said were communists.

Can one blame communists for acting in a conspiratorial manner when their livelihoods and sometimes their very lives, were at stake? The profoundly uncharitable recent remarks about the SACP are not the consequence of ignorance of these facts. Those making them know them as well as I do. An anti-communist makes them unable to judge communists fairly, even when they are blameless.

Whatever the motives of those who echo the Red-baiters might be, there can be no doubt that they bring grist to the mills of the guardians of the old order, who would much rather debate who is or is not a "communist" than address the glaring injustices that are the real issue.

SACP: They aren't inside ... they are on top



The National Party cries 'rooi gevaar' .. but they may soon be in the cabinet with the South African Communist

Party, writes **John Kane-Berman**

THE main thrust so far of the National Party's election campaign is a hefty dose of rooi gevaar. Twenty-seven — more than half — of the top 50 names on the ANC's nomination list, so we are told, are members of the South African Communist Party, a figure which the SACP — with surprising defensiveness — disputes, saying it is not 27 but 16.

This little spat is not without its ironies. One is that, provided they do well enough in the election, some of these red-baiting members of the NP may find themselves serving not before long as handlangers in a cabinet where they are outnumbered by members of the SACP.

Publicly identified or otherwise though communist ANC nominees may be, it is diverting to see the NP and SACP slugging it out in the media. Thanks to the actions of February 2 1990 the communist party is once again a lawful organisation.

It will be particularly interesting to see how the NP fares against it on a "level playing field". Will it do better or worse than it did before these sporting analogies came into vogue to guide, dignify, or trivialise our politics?

Forty-four years ago the NP put the Suppression of Communism Act on to the statute book, and within two years had used it to expel Sam Kahn from the House of Assembly, to which he had been elected on a communist party ticket as a "native representative" by African voters in the Cape.

Not to be thwarted so easily, these voters sent two other communists to parliament to replace him — first Brian Bunting (who was also expelled), and then Ray Alexander (who was not even allowed into the building).

If African voters were going to play games like this, they would clearly have to be sent off the field. Paltry though their franchise was — confined to the Cape, and exercised on a separate roll for a maximum of three (white) MPs — the NP simply abolished it.

One Nat MP, Japie Basson, was expelled from the party's caucus when he objected. He said: "Parliamentary democracy is never exposed to greater and more actual danger than when a political party which is in power at a specific moment and which has been given a limited



SACP or ANC? More than half of the top 50 names on the ANC's list are apparently communist party members

mandate for a period of five years, uses the parliamentary machine to change the constitution of parliament in a way which, deliberately or otherwise, strengthens its own political position."

Nor did the NP stop there in its efforts to control the playing field. The Suppression Act was the first step towards building up not only some of the toughest security legislation in the world, but also what is reputed to be the planet's 10th biggest armaments manufacturing industry. Dozens of dead detainees, and billions of rands later, what do we have to show for this, other than some excellent products for export and a constitution about which the chairman of the SACP can say with a large measure of justification, "We got pretty much what we wanted?"

When NP officials express fears about "the strategically strong position into which the SACP has manoeuvred itself", one wonders if they are criticising the ANC or their own leaders.

Having already conceded some of the most important ANC/SACP demands — notably that the constitutional assembly will have substantial and comprehensive power — the NP seems resolute in its determination to keep fighting the last war. In his speech on February 2 1990, President F. W. de Klerk made clear that the collapse of communism the previous year had played a key role in his decision to lift the ban on that party. The collapse of communism, he explained a year later, had pulled the carpet from under the ANC. Evidently, however, the NP

thinks the communists have moved from under the carpet to under the bed.

Section 43 of the transitional constitution provides that members of the new national assembly have to resign their seats if they cease to be members of the parties which nominated them. The NP argued recently that this meant the ANC and the SACP were locked together and would "not be able to go their separate ways after the election". What is not clear is why the NP apparently objects to this provision, since it presumably agreed to its inclusion in the constitution in the first place.

Although calls are made from time to time from various quarters for the ANC and the SACP to get divorced, I have never understood the rationale behind expecting happily married people to separate — least of all when the divorce calls come from a party, the NP, which played a large part in brokering the marriage in the first place, when it drove so much black opposition underground and into exile.

Their opponents might not like it, but the record shows that the alliance between the ANC and the SACP has served both organisations extremely well, the communists bringing to the negotiations a single-mindedness of purpose and strategic perspective that has handed the alliance a clear victory on points on round one (the transitional constitution) and well placed to consolidate this victory in round two (the final constitution).

Another irony is that the more things change, the more they stay the same. For the last four and a half decades, apartheid has kept South Africa out of step with the rest of the world. Now it looks as if we will still be out of step. While so many other countries throw communists out of government, South Africa will soon use the ballot box to put them in.

Sam Kahn has the last laugh after all.

I have never understood the rationale behind expecting happily married people to separate — least of all when the divorce calls come from a party, the NP, which played a large part in brokering the marriage in the first place.

John Kane-Berman is executive director of the South African Institute of Race Relations

Pallo Jordan is the head of the ANC's department of information and publicity

YOUR COMPANY'S HEALTH BENEFITS

What happens when the servant becomes a monster?

At the risk of curdling your blood, consider how a seemingly serviceable health benefits package can, without your noticing it, turn into a monstrous menace. The gruesome truth is that as escalating health care costs continue to outstrip inflation, you are facing a spinechilling scenario in which the cost of health care will overtake the cost of providing retirement benefits.

As changes in the Medical Schemes Act cloud this ghoulish prospect still further, the health benefits field is becoming increasingly complex, with ongoing change the only constant. And if all the issues are not taken into account, any quick-fix, bolt-on plan could well become an employer's ugliest nightmare.

What you don't know can come back to haunt you

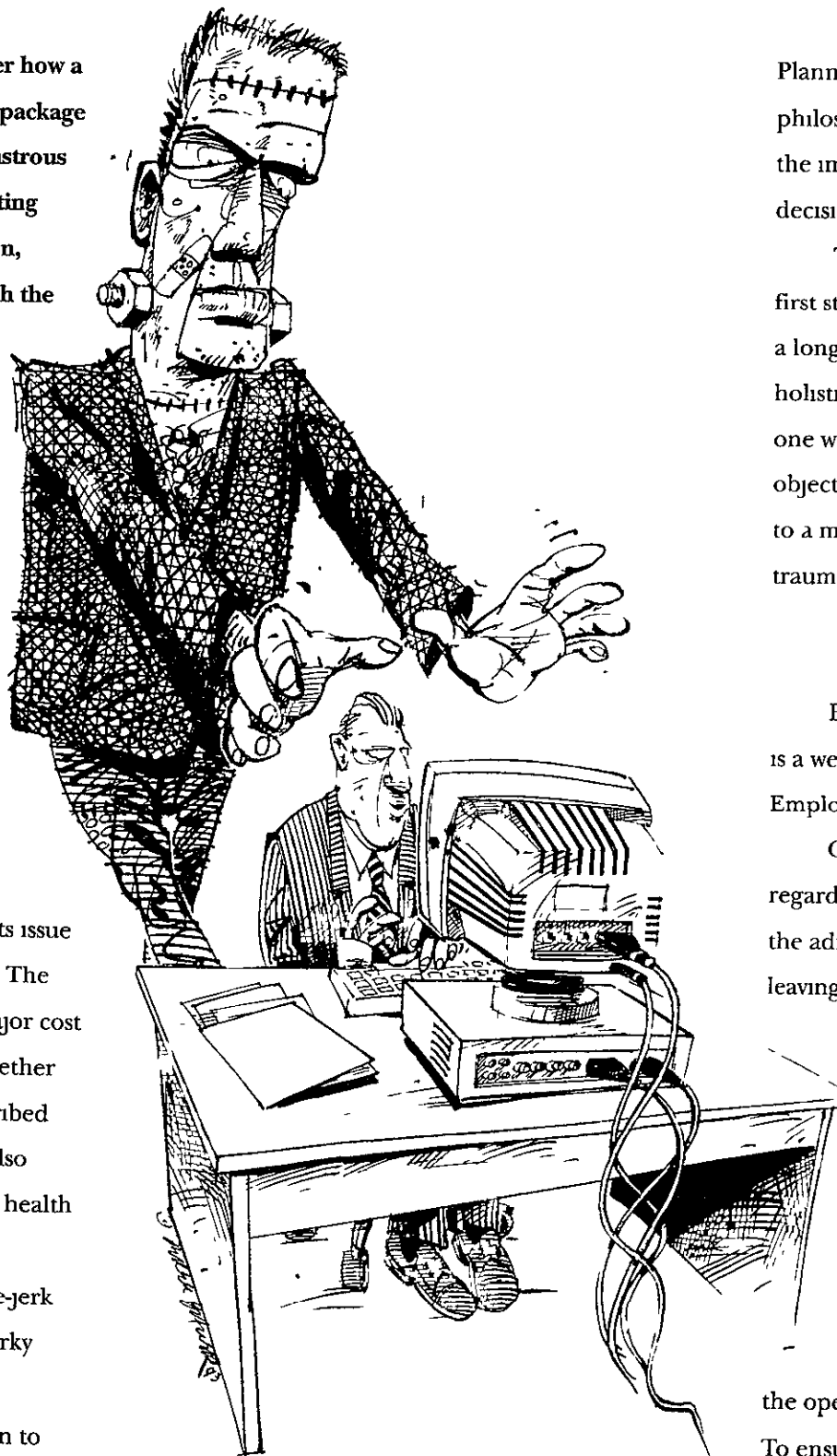
By far the most important health benefits issue is the crucial need for long term cost control. The benefit design must be able to contain the major cost drivers: the frequency of use by members, together with the type and extent of the services prescribed.

Long term management of the fund is also essential. What's needed is a forward-looking health benefits strategy, to avoid the grim spectre of unexpected future liabilities arising from knee-jerk decisions made in response to the current murky situation.

What's also needed is a management plan to match this long term strategy, because any change in the benefit structure of a fund changes the behaviour and attitudes of all participants. If the implications of this are not understood, both the organization and its employees could be exposed to debilitating financial side effects.

Pre-packaged cure-all vs customized diagnosis

None of the many 'one size fits all' health benefits packages on the market can hope to address all the above issues. At best, they are a crutch, or, worst, a placebo that fails to treat a potentially



terminal infirmity.

The only practical solution is to undertake a thorough diagnosis of each individual organization's unique mix of needs and challenges. This is the vital first step to developing a holistic approach: one that looks at all sides of a complex problem in the light of the continuously changing health benefits environment.

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Planning process helps sponsors to identify their philosophy towards health benefits and to examine the implications of various benefit structuring decisions.

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Bringing added value to the workplace. For the benefit of all.

Another twist following its suspension of the armed struggle, the Pan Africanist Congress is clandestinely pursuing election deals with those it used to call "surrogates of the regime".

The PAC's strange bedfellows, which it hopes will agree to stand under its banner, include the Inkatha Freedom Party, the National Peoples Party, Gazankulu's Ximoko Progressive Party, QwaQwa's Dikwankwela, kwanaQwa's Inkhando Yesizwe, kaNgwanetsi Inyandza National Movement and Ciskei's African Democratic Movement. "As we learn from the Bible," said PAC national organiser Maxwell Nema-dzvhanani, "Jesus Christ did not become a sinner by mixing with sinners, but instead upheld and moved them to repent."

Saintly PAC woos 'the sinners'

In pursuit of a place in the elections the PAC is choosing strange bedfellows, writes Vuyo Mvoko

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Revolutionaries shouldn't divorce themselves from the masses under the guise of maintaining their purity."

The PAC had previously given the impression that it did not want to work with the "regime's puppets", although it was revealed last year that a number of Ciskei cabinet ministers held dual membership in both the ADM and PAC.

Wounds have hardly healed since Bhigadler Oupa Gqozo's Ciskei Defence Force killed 28 people in 1992 as they tried to march on Bisho, yet the PAC hopes to take his ADM along on

a PAC ticket. The Ciskei government's failure to register in time for inclusion in the TEC, after it severed ties with the Freedom Alliance, might just be a bonus to the PAC.

Ciskei Council of State spokesman Cedric Harrop said the ADM would contest the elections either under its own name or as part of an alliance. He said no formal meetings had taken place with the PAC, but "sentiments expressed by Gqozo in the past indicated that he would be prepared to enter into such negotiations with the PAC. The only stum-

bling block could be violence".

It was not enough for the PAC to place a moratorium on the armed struggle, he said, "guarantees were also needed. We are convinced the PAC wants an end to violence, but its problem has been to commit Apia," he said.

The PAC's surprising policy shift follows last week's meeting between IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the PAC's Clarence Makwetu, allegedly brokered by former PAC stalwart and now IFP central committee member, Ziba Jiyane Nema-dzvhanani revealed

this week that violence and the double ballot were not the only issues discussed by the two leaders. He said other issues regarding a "necessary common strategy" to persuade other influential personalities and organisations to work with the PAC were also discussed.

Sources in Natal said this week the PAC's regional man-and-a-fax office had closed. Joe Mkhwanazi is now said to be organising in the rural areas where land is a drawcard, and is said to have the blessing of the IFP Amichand Rajbansi, of the

National People's Party, was the first party leader to enthuse over meeting the PAC "at the earliest possible time", said Nema-dzvhanani.

Rajbansi said that after elections were proclaimed, he would give the PAC six days to decide whether it wanted to enter an alliance with his party. Nema-dzvhanani maintained none of the political parties would win the elections on the basis of their membership — over nine million South Africans did not belong to a political party.

"A vote is a vote in an election, there is no reactionary or revolutionary vote. The vote of Rajbansi is identical to that of Makwetu. Anyone's vote must be used to put a principled organisation like the PAC into power," he said.

SOUTH BUSINESS

ANC hits the road

SOUTH H/2 - 8/2/94

THE ANC PLANS to take its economic and reconstruction plan to businesses and the community in a series of roadshows until the April 27 elections.

The series which will be organised by the Independent Business Forum — consisting of SOUTH, Mustaq Brey and Associates and Cornlife — the ANC's Western Cape leader, Dr Allan Boesak announced this week.

"As we approach the April elections, many businesses are asking about the future. Too few have adequate information about the comprehensive work the ANC has done on policy in areas covering every aspect of modern government," said Boesak.

"The Reconstruction and Development Programme, probably the most important document in South Africa today, outlines the full programme envisaged by the ANC

after elections

"Guided by the principles embodied in the title, this programme will serve as the cornerstone for the building of a fully democratic society in which all will have access to resources and opportunities."

The ANC will be approaching big businesses with the programme and will match ANC officials and other experts on the document with the particular company.

"We believe it is vitally important that a democratic government at least meets some of the great social needs in our country urgently if we are to maintain stability and build a strong and growing economy," said Boesak.

For more information about the roadshow contact N Game at the Independent Business Forum at (021) 638-5184 and fax (021) 638-3754

WAGHIED MISBACH

ALLAN BOESAK

Double ballot or bust

118 119

The door to Inkatha participating in April's election is still open, but only by a whisker. Though deadlines for resolving the constitutional issues barring its participation have passed with monotonous regularity, Inkatha president Mangosuthu Buthelezi said at last weekend's two-day special consultation conference in Ulundi that the final window of opportunity had shrunk to just 10 days.

If differences between the Freedom Alliance, government and the ANC can't be resolved by then, it will be too late. He emphasised his keenness to participate in an election. Inkatha, he claims, has more to lose than most by staying out. But it will abstain if issues of principle cannot be resolved.

There seemed little likelihood of that after Monday's "last ditch" trilateral talks collapsed in less than an hour. The one, faint hope as the *FM* went to press was that the ANC's national executive committee was sitting in emergency session to discuss the Freedom Alliance's proposals.

Inkatha's Walter Felgate says there are two fundamental sticking points in its five-point package: the objection to a single ballot and the autonomy and sovereignty of regional constitutions. Inkatha wants regions to have the right to write their own constitutions which can't be altered by central government without regional approval.

"ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa told us the two principles were absolutely non-negotiable and refused to discuss them," says Felgate.

However, there are those in the ANC who reckon that the election is the strategic objective and ask what will be lost should the ANC indeed acquiesce in the demand for two ballots.

The weekend message from Inkatha and the alliance was that they were not bluffing about boycotting the election.

"It's all or nothing," was the comment from a grim-faced Inkatha central committee member after a mammoth closed debate on whether to participate. That pretty well summed up the atmosphere at Ulundi.

The atmosphere of resigned determination was in sharp contrast to a simultaneous, exuberant ANC Durban gathering to launch its manifesto in the province — a celebration of the fact that the election countdown is under way in earnest.

On the face of it, little may have changed

as a result of the Inkatha meeting (attended by about 10 000 delegates from around SA) other than that the central committee will now make the final decision on participation.

Interestingly, though there has been speculation about civil war if Inkatha stays away from the polls, Buthelezi says that, though he has the blood of his warrior forefathers coursing through his veins, he is committed



to peaceful means of fighting for his cause. Felgate elaborates: "We're looking at the future where principles and democracy are at stake and must oppose a constitution which will damage SA's economic, social and political development and impair the process towards real democracy."

If the party stays out of the election, it won't have a blueprint of revolutionary activity, violence or insurrection. It is looking at a wide, almost infinite, range of democratic ways of opposing what is happening.

But the how is less clear. Felgate simply says Inkatha is in the mainstream of politics and "plays the balls as they bounce."

It will, as in its fight against apartheid and then the tricameral parliamentary system, play the whole political field, adopting a "multi-strategy approach," part of which hinges on what others do to it.

"We will claim our right to democratic protest. If that is impaired, the party will be radicalised," he warns.

ANC MANIFESTO

Populist pull

The ANC's election manifesto — unveiled by Nelson Mandela in a glitzy US-style launch that started with a train ride from Johannesburg's Park Station to Nasrec outside Soweto last Saturday — is a broad-brush version of its reconstruction and development programme (FM January 21 and 28) (11A)
Titled *A better life for all — Working*

FM 4/2/94
together for jobs, peace & freedom, it echoes the aims and sentiments of the Freedom Charter — save that there is no explicit reference to nationalisation. It symbolises the climax to an 82-year freedom struggle that will culminate in blacks voting for the first time on April 27-29. (11A)

Describing SA as "in a mess," the document avers that to eradicate the problems caused by apartheid, it "needs a government with the political will to meet the challenge. A government that understands the needs of the future because it understands the neglect and division of the past. A government that puts people first."

Most will be gladdened by the ANC's reiterated commitment to "a democratic society based on equality, nonracialism and nonsexism," cultural diversity, basic human rights and, crucially, the entrenched constitutional principles agreed on in the multi-party negotiations, "whatever" the size of its majority in the new constitutional assembly.

Similarly, the ANC commits itself to "strive for an open society that encourages vigorous debate: people must be free to express their views without fear, including criticising the government of the day. Freedom of the media will be essential" — a point Mandela went out of his way to stress as the essence of democracy. It is a point some of his lieutenants, irked, for example, by the FM's vigorous criticism of ANC economic ideas, should bear in mind.

Promising a new style, it says government "must be answerable to the people." In line with its populist flavour, the manifesto promises that forums representing all sectors of society will be strengthened to help in policy formulation.

But democracy means more than just the right to vote, says the ANC, it must be measured by the quality of life of ordinary people, and "the millions without jobs will be at the top of the ANC government's agenda... Various means will be employed to create more jobs and opportunities."

The ANC says it will work with others to create an environment of peace boosting investor confidence. It claims that "the international community is already responding to our call for massive investments."

A new trade and industry policy will focus mainly on job creation, strengthening manufacturing capacity and export industries.

At its heart is a national public works programme, which an ANC government will start immediately. Through this programme alone, "we aim to provide employment and training for about 2.5m people over the next 10 years, building roads and providing water, electricity, schools, clinics, housing and meeting other needs."

COULT P44

CURRENT AFFAIRS

FM
The ANC intends making it easier for people to start their own businesses, by changing licensing laws, providing access to loans and assisting women. "The government will give the small business sector some of its contracts to help it grow."

There is of course a commitment to full rights for all workers, including a guaranteed right to strike, promotion of centralised bargaining and strong trade unions.

Under "A just tax system," the manifesto says an ANC government will ensure an efficient tax system, end Vat on basic foods, reduce income taxes on those earning less than R4 000 a month, end unfair taxation on married and single women, and "ensure through efficient collection that every business pays its fair share."

On land reform, women are guaranteed equal rights to land and special assistance, small farmers are to be assisted in getting access to training, credit and markets, large-scale farming is to be encouraged, security of tenure and farm worker rights will be ensured, development agencies and marketing boards will be restructured to serve farmers and consumers, victims of forced removals are guaranteed restitution to be carried out fairly through a Land Claims Court, and State land will be used to aid land reform.

Education will receive priority, but, immense though the task is, "it will not require finding more money" than the R23bn al-

4/2/94
ready set aside. Emphasis will be on teacher training and upgrading, a culture of learning will be encouraged and a new curriculum introduced which "promotes technical quality and humane ideals" (11A)

A single educational system will be introduced, giving 10 years of free, compulsory education for all children.

Housing priority

On housing, the ANC says it will focus on the "7m squatters and the homeless." It calculates that it can, within five years, build 1m houses with running water and flush toilets, and electrify 2.5m homes.

The ANC intends to embark on an affirmative action programme. But "this will not be at the expense of others, nor lead to a lowering of standards" — which remains to be seen.

"We know that financing and implementing reconstruction and development will not be easy," the manifesto says, "but it is an opportunity to set the economy on a path of sustained growth and development."

Mandela was at pains to dampen expectations, saying those who believe things will change as soon as the ANC takes office, or within a year or two, should vote for another party.

He also warned members against complacency simply because recent surveys give the ANC 65% of the vote. ■

focus on the PAC

Sowetan 4/2/94

AN OPEN revolt of Transkei PAC branches against the party leadership over the suspension of the armed struggle could do serious damage to the party's prospects in the April election

PAC branches in Transkei — a crucial stronghold — have refused to shun top party officials who publicly criticised the suspension and have banned some national executive members from certain areas

Resistance to the armed struggle decision from militant membership in Transkei could hardly have taken national leadership by surprise, but their high-handedness in dealing with the problem has aggravated the growing dissent

It is unlikely Transkei PAC membership, a symbol of its grassroots support, would split from the organisation. But it could lead to them throwing down the gauntlet in a bid to replace a leadership they charge has sold out

Such a power struggle will be disastrous for the PAC. It will weaken its operational efficiency and detract from its preparations as a contender in the elections

Transkei is the only area countrywide with five PAC regions, representing nearly a quarter of its total membership. Historically it is the heartland of the PAC and it is also seen as a haven for its armed wing, Apla

Political analyst Gary van Staden describes Transkei as the "most important area for the PAC"

Hardline stance

Moreover the rank-and-file members in Transkei are known for their hardline stance. "You can see this from graffiti in rural areas and the reaction to Apla attacks," Rhodes University Sociology lecturer Geoff Woods says

First to criticise the suspension was Transkei Central regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha. He called the decision a "capitulation", accused leaders of contravening the mandate to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities

Skwatsha says he acted in response to numerous complaints from members to the Umtata office. PAC Central publicity secretary Pasika Nontshuza agrees. "He was not voicing an individual opinion but he was forced by the weight from grassroots — the people on the ground"

NEC member Waters Toboti supported this position during a speech in Umtata and both he and Skwatsha were suspended pending a disciplinary inquiry

Sociologist and PAC expert at Natal University Evan Mantzaras says "The PAC has thrown away one of its major trump cards to attract members — of Apla hitting hard and soft targets. Many PAC members are young, articulate and strong and the PAC's armed struggle is the epitomisation of the South African revolution"

Skwatsha claims the mood of an aborted inter-branch meeting in Umtata on Sunday was "totally anti-national's position"

The meeting was officially called to discuss

There is growing dissatisfaction with national leaders of the Pan Africanist Congress in Transkei which could seriously hurt the party in the elections, says **Claire Keeton** of the East Cape News Agency:



PAC president Clarence Makwetu and deputy president Johnson Mlambo face a revolt from PAC branches.

the implementation of conference resolutions. But it was postponed when NEC member Dr Peter Mayende arrived uninvited and deputy president Johnson Mlambo failed to attend

In direct defiance of the party's suspension, delegates at the meeting invited Skwatsha to address it

This came in the wake of a decision by the Butterworth branch to bar members of the PAC's national working committee from any activities in their area. Butterworth is near to the Kentani home of Toboti

Dissent

It is difficult to gauge exactly how widespread dissent with NEC decisions is, but it has clearly been spreading since the suspensions in mid-January

Blaming the NEC for the crisis, Skwatsha says "They are shooting (the PAC) in the foot. They are not addressing the problem and instead they use an iron fist"

This week he announced he did not recognise his suspension and refused to attend a disciplinary hearing, though he would be willing to meet with the NEC. Political Affairs secretary Jaki Seroke simply said the disciplinary committee would deal with the suspensions

Skwatsha said the Central region held an executive meeting on Tuesday and planned to take up the issue with the NEC

It appears the Central, Northern and Eastern regions are behind him judging from their representation at the weekend meeting

Butterworth falls into the Southern region and the Western region's position is not known

Nontshuza said "The situation is very volatile

and might explode any time"

The national office is playing down the rising tensions within Transkei apparently in the hope they will subside"

Mlambo said after spending the weekend there, he would be surprised if there were serious tensions

"If people felt strongly they could have come to me. I was in the area for three days and it was a good opportunity for addressing these issues"

Political analysts, however, suggest it is likely there is a solid groundswell of dissatisfaction in Transkei with the suspension of the armed struggle and their leaders

"It is obviously rankling," said Mantzaras, explaining that even in Durban people are confused about the sudden shift in policy

Van Staden said "I would expect some resistance, even open defiance"

More in touch

He thinks PAC leadership on the ground in Transkei is probably more in touch with what people are saying than national leadership

Skwatsha said their Umtata office got many messages of solidarity with their stand, not only from Transkei but also South Africa

This could have severe implications for the PAC in the run-up to the elections, both in preparations and the turnout

Mantzaras commented "Unless this is sorted out, the local leadership won't be prepared to help in the electoral campaign"

And if they don't bother with the campaign, there is likely to be a poor turnout in Transkei

But Wood says many people may vote PAC anyway and "fight it out another day"

Azapo starts on its anti-election trail

Sowetan 4/2/94

11A

By Josias Charle

■ **CAMPAIGN DRIVE** Door to door, seminars and workshops to drive opposition message home:

THE CENTRAL Transvaal region of the Azanian People's Organisation has launched a campaign to drive its anti-election campaign home

The campaign was launched at a Press conference in Pretoria yesterday where it was announced that seminars, workshops and house-to-house visits would be undertaken in a bid to encourage people not to vote in the general election set for April this year

The campaign would also include mass meetings and protest marches "to encourage people not to vote for the perpetuation of their misery"

"We are opposed to the forthcoming elections because they will not deliver what our people have struggled for all these years. Our people fought for majority rule, but the elections will offer them power sharing,"

Azapo said in a statement. Convener of the campaigns committee, Mr Themba Ncalo, said "After the elections our people will continue to be homeless and unemployed. A constituent assembly elected on the basis of the World Trade Centre agreements is not going to be sovereign, it will be forced to write the constitution according to limiting constitutional principles previously agreed to at the WTC"

Mr Nkosi Molala, Azapo Transvaal regional president, said people had to look beyond numbers when talking about majority rule. He said after the election there will be no power in the hands of black people because parties

obtaining as little as five percent will be entitled to rule

"The concept of power sharing negates the whole concept of majority rule"

Azapo officials said their campaign would be peaceful and stressed that there were no plans to physically disrupt the elections. Turning his attention to the media, Molala said the organisation depended on the Press to help convey its message to the masses. He also said the media had to explain reasons why Azapo chose to stay out of elections. He said issues such as unemployment, housing and rent matters were major focal points of Azapo's campaign

Azapo starts anti-election campaign

CT 4 | 2 | 94
PRETORIA — Mass meetings and protest marches discouraging people from voting will be part of Azapo's anti-election campaign, it was yesterday announced.

Transvaal central regional president Mr Nkhosi Molala said regional and branch anti-election committees would be established and house-to-house visits, seminars and workshops held to expose the "limitations" of the Kempton Park agreements "which offer blacks power-sharing instead of majority rule".

Azapo would not physically disrupt the election or use intimidation tactics, Mr Molala added. — Sapa (1A)

FA warned Star 5/21/94 against resorting to violence

HELEN GRANGE

KROONSTAD — ANC president Nelson Mandela has warned Freedom Alliance members that if they resort to violence, the ANC's double ballot concession will be the "last offer we make".

Addressing a rally at the Maokeng stadium yesterday, he reiterated his party's stance that in return for the double ballot concession, the ANC wanted an undertaking that the FA would take part in the election.

The day was marred when a section of the stadium roof collapsed under the weight of supporters. It crashed onto the crowd below, injuring nearly 30 people, none seriously. Eight of the injured were taken to hospital.

Extinction

Mandela started the trip in Sasolburg, immediately launching an attack on "the right wing, warning that "the people will lose their patience" if right-wing attacks against ANC targets continued.

He lambasted the National Party's federal congress, saying it was a "pathetic collection" of weaklings unable to reconcile themselves with the fate of extinction staring them in the face".

He said the NP's election list included no well-known black candidates, indicating it was "essentially a racist party".

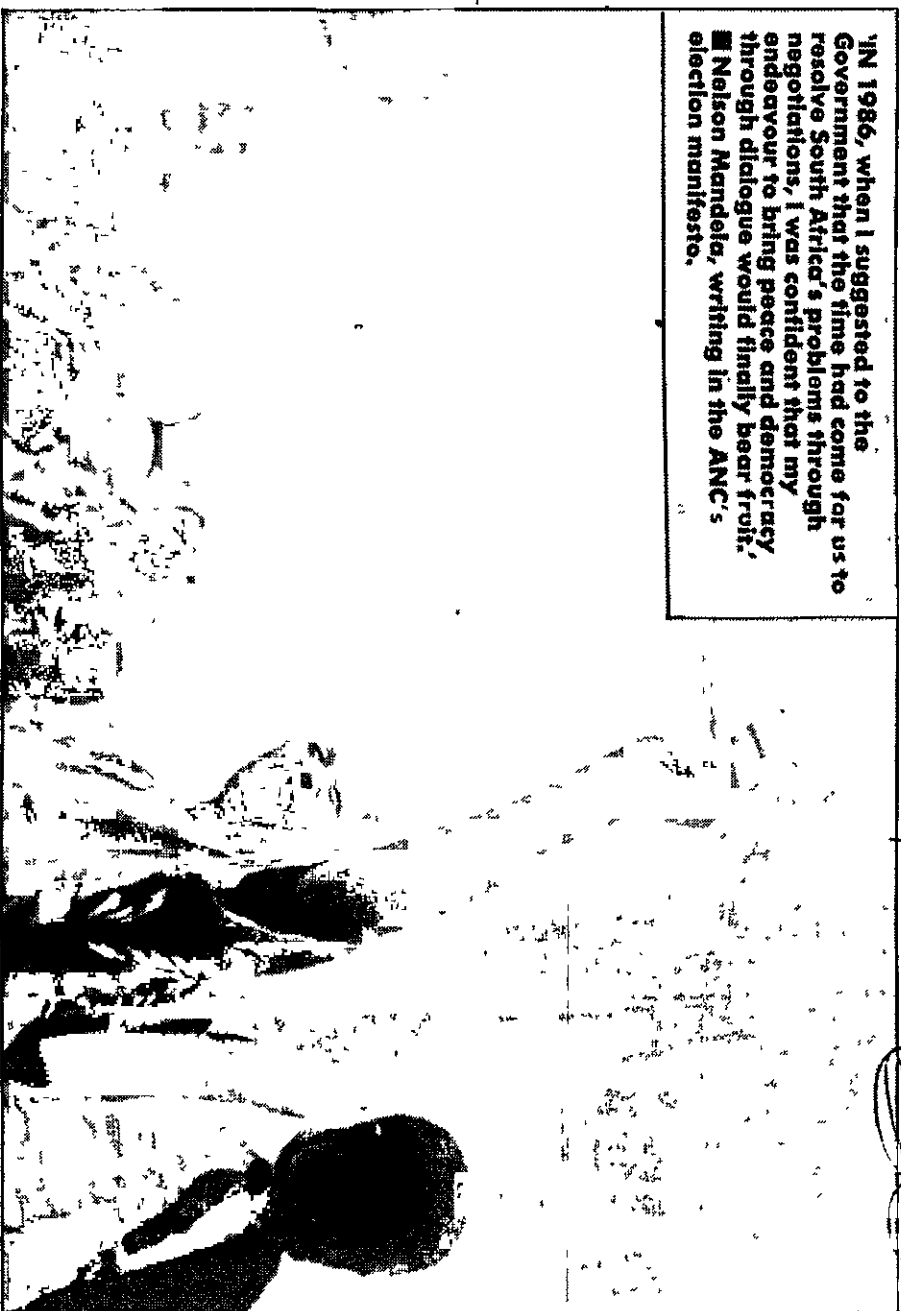
THE TWO MAJOR political leaders wave manifestoes around like magicians' cloaks, but what they contain add up to...

Motherhood and apple pie

Star 5/2/94

11A

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.



PEOPLE'S LEADER: Nelson Mandela greets his supporters at the launch of the ANC election manifesto.
 ● Photograph: GARY BERNARD

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 bucket-loads 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 first polls — rose from amid the smoke to unveil their election manifestoes and much pomp and ceremony.

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.

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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 "involve" 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

J. W. de Klerk, On February 21, 1994 he returned and then the Afrikaans and English newspapers will be working on the information, which is...

0.15. "Through this programme 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 2.5 million families, and electricity 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



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 manifestos 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

...these schools... out the prospect of Afrikaners-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 manifestos are thus 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 commone-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 manifestos 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 manifestos contain little more than motherhood and apple pie, and are functionally vague.

Everybody knew that politics after apartheid would get boring

EDYTH BULBRING asks SACP chairman Joe Slovo and central committee members Essop Pahad and Ronnie Kasrils what modern communists believe and what they plan to do about it when they get to Parliament

VOTE for the ANC and wake up the next morning in a bankrupt country, robbed of your swimming pool, your children and your god.

Communist domination of the most evil kind will follow if you vote for the ANC, the National Party tells us.

No wonder Joe Slovo is continually on the defensive. He appears tired, so very tired of having to answer the same old paranoid "Cold War questions" about the SACP.

Essop Pahad is different. He is eager to explain why, for him, communism is the highest form of humanism and democracy.

Ronnie Kasrils finds it difficult to get away from populist rhetoric. At times he comes across as an earnest romantic, struggling for pragmatism against his gut feelings.

Between them, they attempt to clear up three basic questions that have unnerved some sectors since it became known that 26 SACP members are in the top 100 of the ANC's national list of candidates for Parliament.

- What are the main planks of a modern SACP?
- What are the objectives of the SACP in Parliament?
- How and when does the SACP plan to achieve its long-term aims?

South Africa's communists say they have learnt a lesson from the failures and abuses of Eastern Europe. From their answers, it appears they have adopted a more pragmatic and progressive attitude towards property, democracy and the economy.

While the alienating jargon of the communism of yesterday is still evident, it now means something different. Or maybe it's the way they tell it now?

Mr Pahad says the main planks of a modern SACP are "democracy in socialism and a multi-form of ownership".

He also says the SACP is in the business of wanting to transform South Africa into a socialist society by — in the terminology of Marx —

socialising the means of production.

By this he means making major industries — those that affect society as a whole, like the mines, communications and power — accountable to civil society. He stops at small business, the retailer and trading.

"I don't believe public ownership expresses itself by state structures replacing all private structures in the running of enterprises. Obviously there have to be state structures to influence the general direction of the economy, but all levels of civil society must have a participatory role and exercise effective control, together with the structures at the upper levels."

Regarding business participation, there could be joint enterprise, Mr Slovo adds.

FOR Mr Pahad, socialism now means making the government and business enterprises accountable to effective democratic participation by the public.

"Whereas the state will play an important role in the economy, there will be many forms of ownership — state, co-operative and private ownership. Unless we have a balance, we will always have difficulties," he says.

Concurring, Mr Slovo explains the SACP's view of "democratic participatory socialism":

"A problem with a one-party state is that you don't have a competition of political ideas. Our people have had enough of an effective one-party state under the National Party. It is crucial that South Africa has a multi-party system," says Mr Pahad.

In the former Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, he says, "civil institutions always fell under communist control, so involvement in the decision-making process was a sham".

Thus, these organisations were never an effective check on the government. The SACP does not want to repeat this mistake, he says. One of the most strident complaints from the NP is that the SACP members on the ANC list will hijack the government to pursue their party's "filthy" objectives.

On this score, all three communists are equally adamant — their role in an ANC government is to help implement the ANC's reconstruction and development programme. It is their programme too; they helped write it.

"We are going into the elections as ANC members and that means we, as a party, are bound by the manifesto of the ANC," says Mr Kasrils.

As a communist, Mr Kasrils says, he is satisfied that the programme takes the country along progressive social lines.

He is anxious that one point is made absolutely plain: he will not be arguing for his party's long-term aim — the socialisation of the means of production — in the next five years when the ANC is implementing its reconstruction and development programme.

Nor will Mr Slovo. But Mr Pahad is refreshingly uncomplicated on this point: "Sure I see myself promoting in Parliament the socialisation of the means of production, because the programme of reconstruction and development offers us the basis to do that."

For some, it is difficult to understand how communists will just sit back, keep quiet and not attempt to argue for their long-term objectives for

five long years. Perhaps the reconstruction and development programme forms a basis for the SACP to bring about socialism?

On this point that Mr Slovo gets very defensive. At first, he says the programme is not in itself a basis for socialism. Then he concedes carefully: "I think, in a real democracy, all democratic objectives are facilitated. We believe ours is a democratic objective."

"The point is that, inherent in the question, I am afraid, is the sinister connotation that to us, the RDP (reconstruction and development programme) is not that important, that it is only there as a jumping-off point for something else."

"But the RDP in itself is the objective of the party, taking into account the challenges facing us in the trans-

formation period. It is in the interest of our constituency to see that it works, not just as a sort of basis for some hidden agenda for the future."

They see no possible contradiction in creating business confidence in the short term while holding out their long-term vision for socialism.

"You create the context and environment which ensures stability by addressing the needs of the community. We are not just going to take over; we are going to enter into a partnership with businessmen — for example, having an equity in partnership. I believe businessmen will have confidence if they think their investments are safe and there is an equitable rate of return," says Mr Pahad.

IT COULD fairly be said, says Mr Slovo, that the party pioneered the general shift away from simple nationalisation as the panacea for the country's economic ills.

"This is precisely what is happening in China, and businessmen are tripping over themselves to invest," he says.

When does the SACP split from the ANC and go for its long-term aims? This is the question that is met with amusement and head-shaking.

"Anyone talking about time frames really needs his head examined," says Mr Pahad.

For him, April 27 starts the process of shifting power away from big capital to the working class.

"We are not preparing for a putsch, or an armed seizure of power so we can declare a communist state. There is going to be an ideological battle for hegemony and we can only win this battle as a result of the implementation of the RDP," he says.

Mr Slovo says it would depend on how the situation unfolded. The key factor determining a split would be if the ANC and the SACP disagreed fundamentally on the way ahead at any given time.

"But, for the moment, we are at one with the ANC on the immediate and the intermediate objectives," he says.

Mr Kasrils has the last word: "The party might say that we have achieved a democratic state, and now we are going to stand as a socialist party. Then, good luck to us. Some in the ANC and business people might see the RDP as a good basis for capitalism. The voters will have the last say."

New South Africa will get a dose of 'new' ^{SITimes 6/2/94} communism ^(11A)



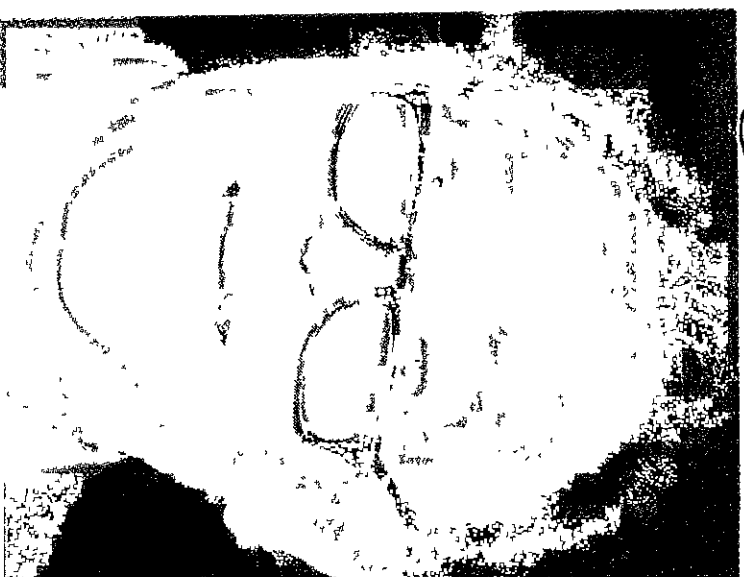
I don't believe that public ownership expresses itself by state structures replacing all private structures. But all levels of civil society must have a participatory role ...

JOE SLOVO



A problem with a one-party state is that you don't have a competition of political ideas. Our people have had enough of an effective one-party state under the National Party ...

ESSOP PAHAD



The Party might say that we have achieved a democratic state and now we are going to stand as a socialist party. Then good luck to us. The voters will have the last say.

RONNIE KASRILS

A legend lives for the people

SITimes 6/2/94

11A

IF ANC president Nelson Mandela is being assisted by American advisers on his campaign trail, their advice is not apparent.

His speeches are inappropriate, his meetings chaotic and he often displays an authoritarian streak. He is frail, hard of hearing and gets tired by nine at night — none of which he tries to hide.

All this should add up to a disastrous campaign for Mr. Mandela and the ANC for whom he is the star attraction.

By EDYTH BULBRING

Political Correspondent

But the voters love him. The reason is his past. One of the world's greatest living legends, he effortlessly co-opts people's support with his remarkable presence and warmth.

Visiting black townships in the western Transvaal last weekend, he was greeted by hysterical crowds that trod all over each other to get a glimpse of him.

But once he reached the platform, his speeches were esoteric and dull.

He told a packed stadium in Stilfontein about the ANC's negotiations with the Afrikaner Volksfront and how the new government would own the mineral rights of the country. On the first issue, the crowd couldn't have cared less. They misunderstood the second.

"We own the wealth. De Beers and Oppenheimer no longer own the mines," a jubilant youth shouted at the exit to the stadium.

By default, however, he has reassured an absent audience through the press, and given those attending rallies hope by his presence.

Clearly Mr. Mandela knows he has the support of the stadium crowds and is looking ahead at the hard task of government.

At the Johannesburg stadium, his speech extended beyond ANC policy to the virtue of hard work and reconciliation. Here he was the stern grandfather, brooking no nonsense from errant children.

"If you want to continue living in unbridled poverty without clothes and food — then go and drink in the shebeens."

"But if you want better things, you must work hard," he told them sternly. The crowd concurred. It made sense. He told them to

"Don't think on the 28th you will be able to drive a Mercedes-Benz. I would hope one day that you will all be able to fly your own aeroplanes, but have patience."

At times he came across as a benevolent dictator, and the crowd, trusting the legend, were reassured that he would bring order to their hopeless lives.

"Hey, marshal! Yes, you — I am talking to you making all the noise. I asked you not to make a noise. I know you are trying to keep order, but you too must listen to what I have to say," he instructed. The crowd loved it.

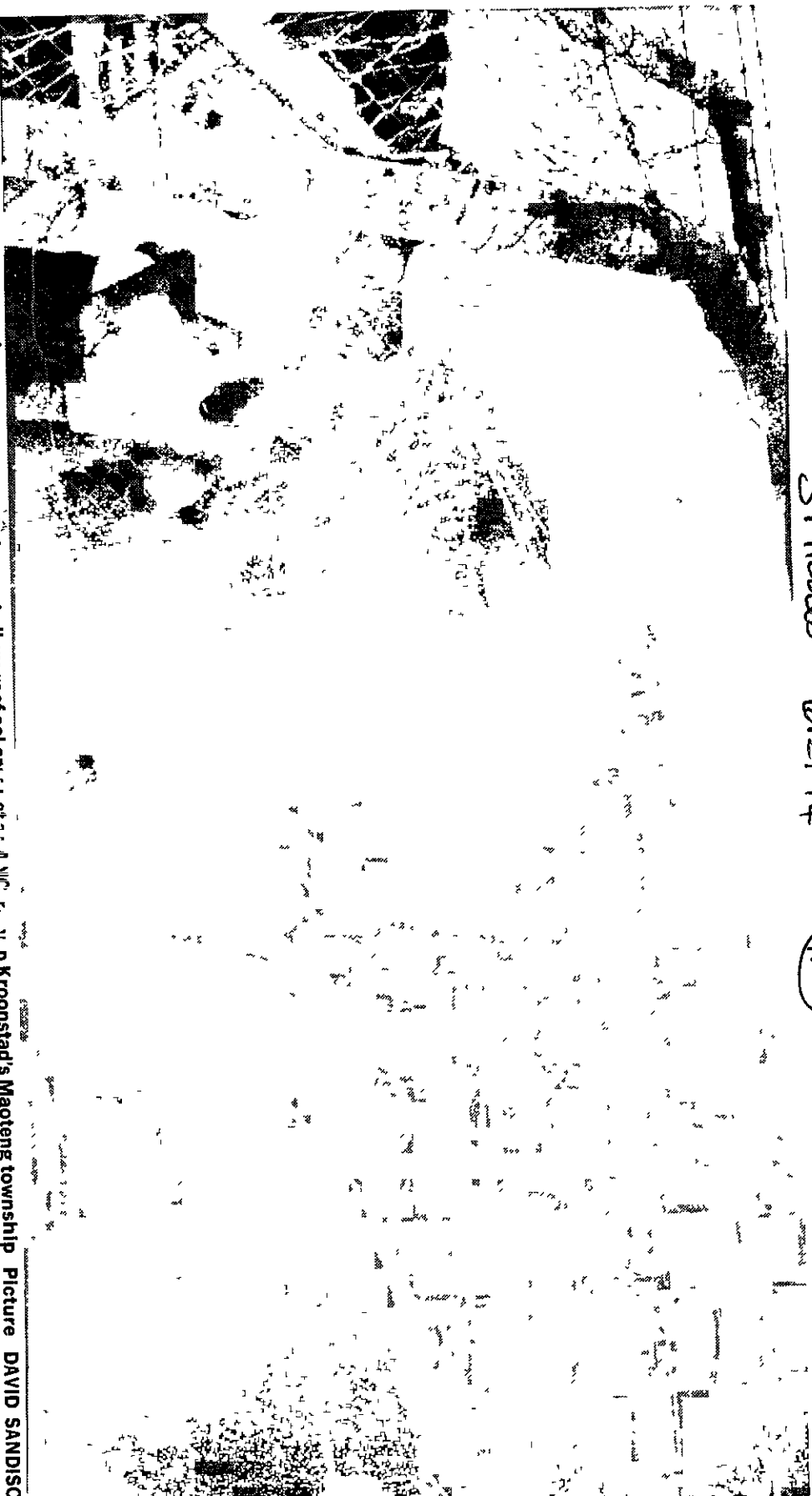
He doesn't try to avoid difficult subjects. In Potchefstroom, he told businessmen he was not prepared to sever the ANC's alliance with the SACP. They were selfish and only thinking of the white man, he told them.

If the campaign team has any sense, it will pay the American advisers to stay at home. This is a peculiarly African campaign. And it works.

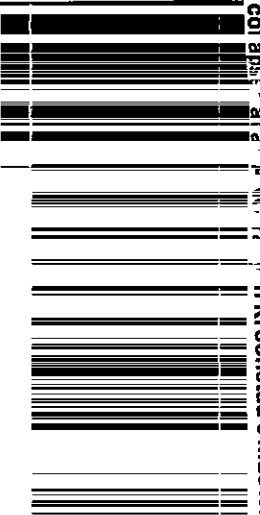
● An uncontrollable crush of people forced Mr. Mandela to call off a rally in Thabong township near Welkom yesterday as the ANC president started a three-day sweep through the Free State.

Some 30 000 people ignored drenching rain to jam into the stadium, but marshals were unable to stop the surge of people. Admonishing organisers for not taking adequate crowd control measures, Mr. Mandela urged people to go home.

"This rain is no good for you, it will make you sick. Go home and light fires and make sure you are warm tonight," he said.



COLLAPSE CHAOS . . . more than 20 people were injured when a stadium roof collapsed. Picture: DAVID SANDISON



MANDATELA

STORMS LION'S DEN

BY THEMBA KHUMALO
Political Reporter

ANC president Nelson Mandela this week defied mounting rightwing threats as he took his election campaign deep into Conservative Party and AWB strongholds in the Orange Free State.

Bearing the lion in its den, the ANC leader told cheering crowds that the rightwingers would not get a Boerestaat

Mandela told throngs of ANC supporters who crammed into the small Khotsoang Stadium in Bothaville that rightwingers, who have embarked on a spate of bomb attacks against ANC offices in a bid to drive the organisation out of the province, were wasting their time

Last October rightwingers in Bothaville, a conservative northern Free State doopie, prevented fiery ANC Natal Midlands chairman Harry Gwala from holding a rally

Crowds cheer as ANC president defies Free State rightwingers

Mandela's visit comes almost a month after the bombing of the local ANC offices. In recent weeks, several other ANC offices in the province have been bombed by suspected rightwingers

In spite of the attacks, Mandela reassured supporters that "no single organisation or individual will stop the democratic process taking place on April 27"

His whistle-stop tour took him to Sasolburg where he addressed white businessmen at a breakfast meeting and then party faithfuls in nearby Zamdela township

Later he moved on to Maokeng, near Kroonstad. Mandela urged the businessmen not to fear an ANC government, because it would fight for economic

growth

He said "I'm thankful that I'm being hosted by you and the chairman of the Sasol oil plant 12 years after my MK soldiers bombed the plant, setting it ablaze for three successive days"

After an enthusiastic welcome by supporters at Maokeng Stadium, Mandela was jeered when he pleaded with residents to accept in their ranks local mayor Caswell Koekoe

Residents blame Koekoe for establishing the notorious Three Million gang which, until last year, murdered and terrorised ANC activists

In pleading for the acceptance of the mayor,

Kids crushed as supporters rush

Supporters of Nelson Mandela's election campaign were crushed as they rushed to greet him at the Khotsoang Stadium in Bothaville, Orange Free State, on Monday. The ANC leader, who is being hosted by the Sasol oil plant, was greeted by a large crowd of supporters. The stadium was packed and many people were crushed. Some people were injured. The ANC leader said that he was pleased to be in the province and that he would continue to work for the liberation of South Africa.

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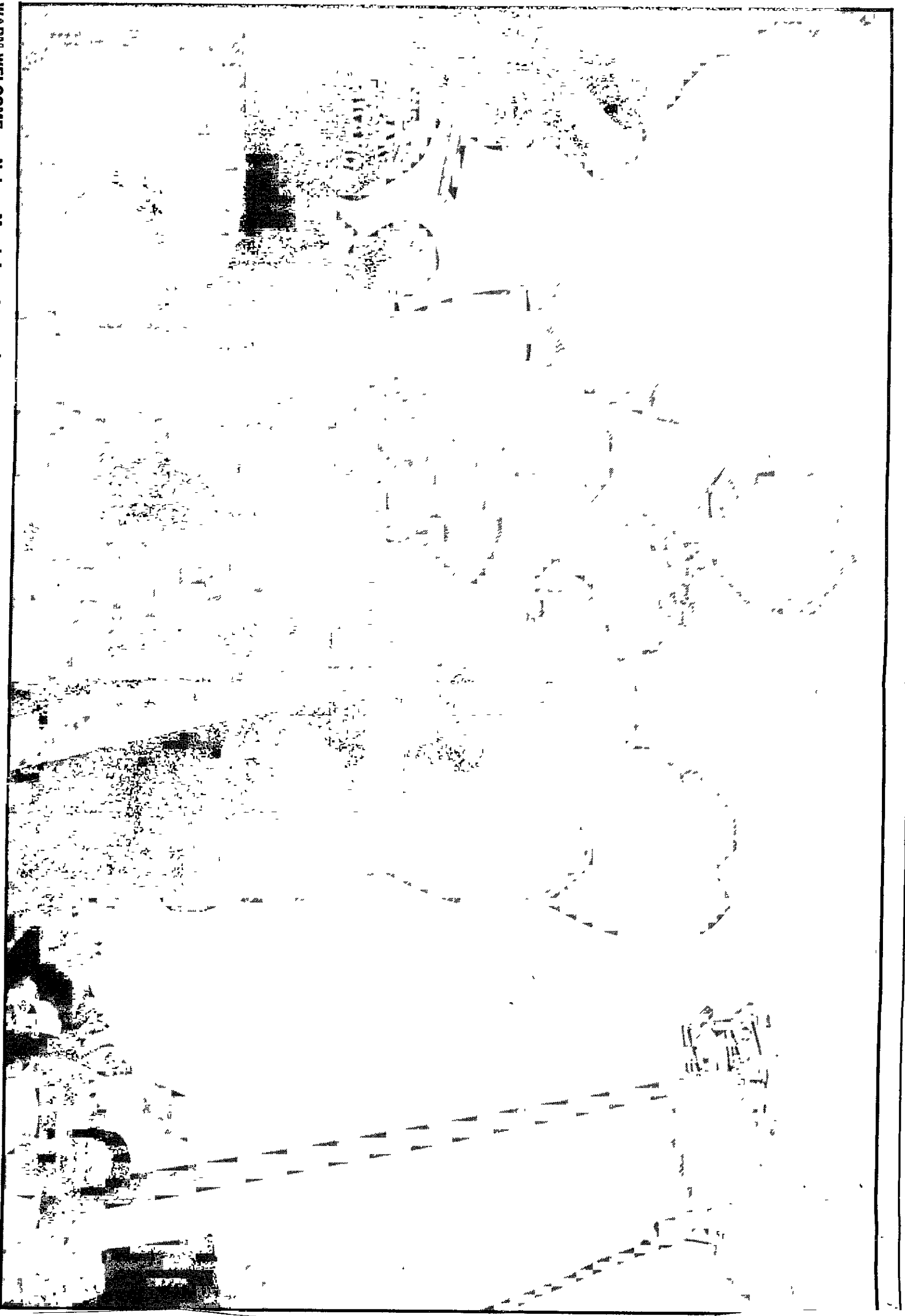
Mandela said "If I could forgive the NP (National Party) for what they had done to me, why can't you do the same with people like Koekoe?" This drew loud jeers

Minutes before his arrival at the stadium, several people were slightly injured when the roof of a pavilion they had climbed on collapsed

At Zamdela, Mandela told the largely youthful crowd that in spite of claiming to be a non-racial party, the NP was racist.

"Except for a sprinkling of inconsequential black names, all the candidates on their election list are whites. People are shunning De Klerk's party because they know its history," Mandela said

The ANC leader winds up his OFS tour today by visiting farm workers at Tweespruit and the National Peacekeeping Force which is being trained at a military base in Bloemfontein. He is also scheduled to address another People's Forum at Botshabelo, near Bloemfontein



WARM WELCOME . . . Nelson Mandela got a roaring reception at Maackeng stadium near Kroonstad this week. Eager supporters packed the stadium right up to the rooftops.

Mandela: We'll hit back

By RAY HARTLEY

IN his strongest warning yet to the right wing, ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would consider using Umkhonto We Sizwe to retaliate if attacks on ANC offices continued.

Referring to statements from Volksfront leader Constand Viljoen that the right wing was considering limited violence, he said "We won't make it a limited type of violence when we retaliate."

Mr Mandela, addressing nurses at Thabong hospital outside Welkom, said ANC attitudes were hardening because of right-wing attacks.

"We have our own forces, but we are restraining them. We have MK inside and outside the

country and they are better equipped than the ultra-right

"They are playing with fire, but we don't want to speak that language. We are trying hard to dampen that fire."

Referring to the nurses' strike, Mr Mandela said "We want you to be on duty to safeguard lives."

"The TPA gave a R500 bonus to Baragwanath nurses in the honest belief that they were acknowledging the special role played by nurses because of the violence."

But, Mr Mandela added, the TPA had miscalculated badly and should have given the bonus to nurses at all other hospitals.

"We hope that in future they will realise how dangerous unilateral action is."

● Meanwhile, in Lichtenburg, in the western Transvaal, Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging

leader Eugene Terre Blanche yesterday promised "total war" if Afrikaners were not given their own republic, reports Sapa.

"Mandela, give us a volkstaat or you'll have total war in South Africa," the AWB leader said at an Afrikaner Volksfront rally at the Lichtenburg showgrounds (UFA)

The 400-strong crowd cheered wildly when the AWB leader made his threat.

Earlier, quoting private security companies, Mr Terre Blanche said 41 bombs had exploded in the western Transvaal in the past few days.

"Professionals are destroying South Africa's railway tracks to fight the ANC. More explosions will occur from tonight (Saturday)," he said.

In a disparaging reference to the NP election campaign to gain black votes, Mr Terre Blanche

said the NP had become "a party of kissing (black) girls and garden kaffirs".

At the same rally AVF leader Tienie Groenewald said, evidently contradicting Mr Terre Blanche, that the AVF would use any peaceful means to achieve its goals.

Pessimistic about the final round of talks between the Freedom Alliance, the government and the ANC tomorrow, General Groenewald said he expected no settlement at the end of this negotiation phase. The AVF had been told that there would be no more concessions.

"We now have to face the reality of resistance," he said, stopping short of using the term armed resistance.

CP leader Ferdi Hartzenberg said CP leadership would meet on Thursday to consider its options regarding the elections.

● See Page 6

Transkei revolt could deal PAC a blow

By CLAIRE KEETON

AN open revolt by Transkei PAC branches against the party leadership over the suspension of the armed struggle could do serious damage to the party's prospects in the April election.

PAC branches in Transkei - a crucial stronghold - have refused to shun top party officials who publicly criticised the suspension and have banned some national executive members from certain areas.

Resistance to the armed struggle decision from militant Transkei members could hardly have taken the national leadership by surprise - but their high-handedness in dealing with the problem has aggravated the growing dissent.

It is unlikely that the PAC's Transkei PAC membership, a symbol of its grassroots support, would split from the organisation. But they could throw down the gauntlet in a bid to replace a leadership they charge has sold out.

Such a power struggle will be disastrous for the PAC. It will weaken its operational efficiency and hinder its preparations as a contender in the elections.

Transkei is the only area countrywide with five PAC regions - representing nearly a quarter of its total membership. Historically it is the PAC's heartland and it is also seen as a haven for its armed wing, Apla.

Moreover the rank-and-file members in Transkei are known for their hardline stance. "You can see this from graffiti in rural areas and the reaction to Apla attacks," said Rhodes University sociology lecturer Geoff Woods.

Taking this into account, the PAC leadership may have expected resistance to the suspension of the armed struggle - but they probably did not expect outrage in public.

First to voice criticism was Transkei Central regional secretary Mfanelo Skwatsha, who called the decision a "capitulation" and accused leaders of contravening the mandate to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Skwatsha said he acted in response to numerous complaints from members to the Umtata office PAC Central publicity secretary Pasika Nontshiza agreed. "He was not voicing an individual opinion - he was forced by the weight of opinion from the grassroots."

NEC member Waters Toboti supported this position during a speech in Umtata and both he and Skwatsha were suspended pending a disciplinary inquiry.

Natal University sociologist and PAC expert Evan Mantziras said: "The PAC has thrown away one of its major trump cards to attract members - of Apla hitting hard and soft targets. Many PAC members

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are young, articulate and strong and the PAC's armed struggle epitomises the South African revolution."

Skwatsha claims the mood of an aborted inter-branch meeting in Umtata last Sunday was "totally against the national executive's position".

The meeting, called to discuss the implementation of conference resolutions, was postponed when NEC member Dr Peter Mayende arrived uninvited and deputy president Johnson Mlambo failed to attend.

In direct defiance of the party's suspension, delegates invited Skwatsha to address the meeting.

This came in the wake of a decision by the Butterworth branch to bar members of the PAC's national working committee from any activities in their area.

Butterworth is near Toboti's home in Kentani. Blaming the NEC for the crisis, Skwatsha said "They are shooting (the PAC) in the foot. They are not addressing the problem - instead they use an iron fist".

This week he announced he did not recognise his suspension and refused to attend a disciplinary hearing, though he would be willing to meet with the NEC. Political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke simply said the disciplinary committee would deal with the suspensions.

Skwatsha said the Central region held an executive meeting this week and planned to take up the issue

with the NEC.

It appears the central, northern and eastern regions are behind him judging from their representation at the weekend meeting. Butterworth falls into the southern region and the western region's position is not known.

"The situation is very volatile and might explode any time," said Nontshiza.

The national office is playing down the rising tensions with Transkei, apparently hoping they will subside. After spending the weekend there, Mlambo said he would be surprised if there were serious tensions.

"If people felt strongly they could have come to me."

But Mantziras said even in Durban people are confused about the sudden shift in policy. "It is obviously rankling. Unless this is sorted out, the local leadership won't be prepared to help in the electoral campaign."

And if they don't bother with the campaign, there is likely to be a poor turnout in Transkei.

But Woods said many people may vote PAC anyway and "fight it out another day". The PAC has a history of bitter disputes, he said, but most times people do not cross the floor to the opposition or start a new organisation.

As long as the dispute is not resolved, Skwatsha warned, there will not be easy relations between the branches and their national leadership - Ecna.

Transkei revolt could deal PAC a blow in elections

CIPress 6/12/194

By CLAIRE KEETON

AN open revolt by Transkei PAC branches against the party leadership over the suspension of the armed struggle could do serious damage to the party's prospects in the April election

PAC branches in Transkei - a crucial stronghold - have refused to shun top party officials who publicly criticised the suspension and have banned some national executive members from certain areas.

Resistance to the armed struggle decision from militant Transkei members could hardly have taken the national leadership by surprise - but their high-handedness in dealing with the problem has aggravated the growing dissent.

It is unlikely that the PAC's Transkei PAC membership, a symbol of its grassroots support, would split from the organisation. But they could throw down the gauntlet in a bid to replace a leadership they charge has sold out.

Such a power struggle will be disastrous for the PAC. It will weaken its operational efficiency and hinder its preparations as a contender in the elections. Transkei is the only area countrywide with five PAC regions - representing nearly a quarter of its total membership. Historically it is the PAC's heartland and it is also seen as a haven for its armed wing, Apla.

Moreover the rank-and-file members in Transkei are known for their hardline stance. "You can see this from grafiti in rural areas and the reaction to Apla attacks," said Rhodes University sociology lecturer Geoff Woods.

Taking this into account, the PAC leadership may have expected resistance to the suspension of the armed struggle - but they probably did not expect outrage in public.

First to voice criticism was Transkei Central regional secretary Mfaniso Skwatsha, who called the decision a "capitulation" and accused leaders of contravening the mandate to negotiate a mutual cessation of hostilities.

Skwatsha said he acted in response to numerous complaints from members to the Umtata office PAC Central publicity secretary Pasika Nontshiza agreed. "He was not voicing an individual opinion - he was forced by the weight of opinion from the grassroots."

NEC member Waters Toboti supported this position during a speech in Umtata and both he and Skwatsha were suspended pending a disciplinary inquiry.

Natal University sociologist and PAC expert Evan Mantziras said, "The PAC has thrown away one of its major trump cards to attract members - of Apla hitting hard and soft targets. Many PAC members

are young, articulate and strong and the PAC's armed struggle epitomises the South African revolution."

Skwatsha claims the mood of an aborted inter-branch meeting in Umtata last Sunday was "totally against the national executive's position".

The meeting, called to discuss the implementation of conference resolutions, was postponed when NEC member Dr Peter Mayende arrived uninvited and deputy president Johnson Mlambo failed to attend.

In direct defiance of the party's suspension, delegates invited Skwatsha to address the meeting.

This came in the wake of a decision by the Butterworth branch to bar members of the PAC's national working committee from any activities in their area. Butterworth is near Toboti's home in Kentani. Blaming the NEC for the crisis, Skwatsha said "They are shooting (the PAC) in the foot. They are not addressing the problem - instead they use an iron fist."

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ber Mr Colin Buthelezi during an argument. Police went to the home of one of the attackers and arrested four suspects.

civilians killed in the hills behind the capital. *Briefs Sowetan Correspondents and Sapa*

Ten policemen killed this year

Sowetan 7/12/94

THREE policemen were killed in separate incidents at the weekend, bringing to 10 the number of policemen killed this year. Police spokesman Captain Evan Johnson said Constable HN Marshane (37) was shot and killed in Attendgeville, Pretoria, on Saturday night. He was robbed of his service pistol, Johnson said.

Two other off-duty policemen were killed, one in KwaThema in Springs and the other at Otsoodal in the Western Transvaal.

Police said one of the off-duty policemen, Constable IB Fanti, was hacked to death by three unidentified assailants at Otsoodal on Saturday. Fanti was admitted to hospital with back wounds to his head and neck. He died later in hospital. The motive for the attack was not known. Police spokesman Major Eugene

Opperman said the off-duty policeman who was shot dead in KwaThema would not be identified until his next of kin had been informed.

He said the policeman lived in Daveyton on the East Rand. "The motive for the killing would appear to be robbery," Opperman said.

He said the policeman was also robbed of his firearm "just as the firearms of many policemen who were killed during 1993 were also stolen by their killers".

South African Police liaison officer in Pretoria Major Burger van Rooyen said about seven policemen had been killed since the beginning of the year.

About 260 policemen and women were killed last year, Van Rooyen said — *Sowetan Reporter and Sapa*

Mandela defies Bop roadblock

Sowetan 7/12/94

TWO ROADBLOCKS MANNED by members of the Bophuthatswana police and defence force stopped the ANC election road show headed by the organisation's president, Mr Nelson Mandela.

The second roadblock at a turn-off to ThabaneNchu led to a border crisis with members of Mandela's party trying to contact Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope to find out about passage for the ANC leader to lay a wreath at the grave of the late ANC pioneer, Dr James Moroka.

When the party arrived at the turn-off, ANC NEC member and Free State presidential candidate Patrick "Terror" Lekota, left his car to speak to the Bophuthatswana Defence Force members manning the blockade. "I spoke to them and they said we should not enter but we went in any-

BORDER CRISIS ANC president

lays wreath at Dr Moroka's grave:

way," Lekota said. At the wreath-laying ceremony at the grave of Dr Moroka, a member of the family said they could expect trouble because of the visit "but we are happy anyway".

The roadblocks at all turn-offs to ThabaneNchu had been dismantled by the time the convoy left the Moroka farm and re-erected closer to the town.

The ANC party was stopped once more but allowed to continue. Earlier, at the first roadblock between Bloemfontein and Tweespruit, Mandela ordered the convoy of ANC and Press vehicles to stop despite their having been waved through. He wanted to try

and find out why the roadblock had been set up. At the first roadblock a tape cassette belonging to SABC radio journalist Marron Edmunds was confiscated.

Mandela was informed that the officer in charge of the first roadblock was not available and the person in control could not answer any questions. "There is no point in getting a junior officer into trouble," Mandela said.

The car carrying AFP reporter Brian Pearson was stopped at a roadblock in Tweespruit. The car's boot was inspected and he was told no journalists would be allowed beyond the roadblock.

— *Sapa*

● See page 6.

Muslims make it big on ANC candidates list

DENNIS CRUYWAGEN

Political Staff *ARC 7/2/94*

MUSLIMS have assumed a prominent position — out of all proportion to their actual numbers — on the African National Congress's list of candidates for the national assembly

The Call of Islam noted in its newspaper that 20 of the 200 people on the list — 10 percent — are Muslims, even though they form only 2,5 percent of the country's population

The organisation said in an editorial "For the first time in the history of South Africa, Muslims have the chance to play an important role in running this country, write its constitution and make sure that the spirit of Islam is felt in government" **(IA)**

Muslims had built up goodwill by sharing the tears and joys of the majority of South Africans, being banned themselves, killed, detained and exiled, said the organisation.

Among the 20 named are Call of Islam national secretary and ANC (Western Cape) treasurer Ebrahim Rasool; Muslim Judicial Council member Imam Hassan Solomons, lawyers Dullah Omar and Essa Moosa; Islamic Council of South Africa president R Saloojee, South African Municipal Workers' Union leader Salie Manie and University of the Western Cape academic Kader Asmal

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 Croome 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.

Croome said that as far as the alliance was concerned the talks were between it

BILLY PADDICK

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 discussion 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.

Mandela slams Mangope

Star 7/2/94

Botshabelo — ANC president Nelson Mandela launched a scathing verbal attack on Bophuthatswana President Lucas Mangope in a packed stadium in Botshabelo yesterday.

This followed incidents at roadblocks in the small section of Bophuthatswana around Thaba Nchu in the Free State.

The roadblocks seemed to be set up to prevent Mandela from laying a wreath on the grave of former ANC president Dr James Moroka. (11A) (12A)

ANC NEC member and the or-

ganisation's Free State presidential candidate Patrick "Terror" Lekota said: "We were told we would not be allowed through — but went anyway."

Mandela told 30 000 supporters. "Mangope on several occasions has said: 'Why does the president of the ANC single me out from other homeland leaders?' The question is answered by him throwing up roadblocks preventing people carrying on free political activity. This makes us loathe him from the bottom of our hearts." — Sapa.

Star 7/2/94

Fast, chaotic OFS jaunt

◀ From Page 1

(11A)

Mandela addressed cheering farmworkers, whom he said were treated with contempt by farmers and the Government

On entering Tweespruit, the SAP was, for the first time during the trip, highly visible. This was, in part, due to threats by right-wing farmers in the area that Mandela's meeting would be disrupted.

The farmer hosting the meeting said he was concerned for his well-being considering his neighbours' attitude to his decision to welcome the ANC.

Mandela said the ANC had received information — although without concrete proof — that farmers were telling their workers who to vote for and taking possession of their identity documents.

In another report of intimidation, Bophuthatswana police are alleged to have disrupted a voter

education meeting, apparently forcing attendants to chew their pamphlets

Lawyers for Human Rights have investigated the allegations and forwarded a memorandum to President de Klerk, said Mandela.

On entering Thaba Nchu, in Bophuthatswana, a journalist travelling with the entourage had a video cassette confiscated by police manning a roadblock.

In Welkom, Mandela made a strong appeal to white businessmen to accept the ANC's bona fides on nationalisation.

The ANC held the same position as in Canada, "where nationalisation is one of the strategy options if necessary".

He also assured foreign investors they would be entitled to repatriate their profits and dividends under an ANC government

Star 7/2/94

Mandela wraps up OFS tour

■ BY HELEN GRANGE

Bloemfontein — The ANC has asked the Goldstone Commission to investigate a report that notorious former Namibian-based SADF Battalions 31 and 32 — meant to have been disbanded two years ago — still existed and are intimidating voters in the northern Cape

(11A)
Addressing a press briefing

in Bloemfontein yesterday to wrap up his three-day visit to the Free State, ANC president Nelson Mandela said a report from an ANC source in the northern Cape said the two battalions were attempting to force coloured voters in Posmasburg to vote for the NP

Mandela said it was an attempt by the Government to stop the ANC achieving a two-thirds majority vote and called

on the press to investigate the matter further

Mandela's personal assistant, Jessie Duarte, said the Goldstone Commission was liaising with the UN Observer Mission in South Africa in the investigation of the report

Mandela's three day trip was chaotic and fast, inciting him to visible anger at times

In Tweespruit yesterday,

▶ To Page 3

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 triateral talks between the

Sowetan 7/2/94
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 (~~TEC~~ (IIA))

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 electoneering 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

Mandela defies Bop roadblock

Sowetan 7/2/94

11A

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The car carrying AFP reporter Brian Pearson was stopped at a roadblock in Tweespruit. The car's boot was inspected and he was told no journalists would be allowed beyond the roadblock

— Sapa

● See page 6.

Mandela's tough talk to rightwing

Sowetan 7/2/94

IN a grim warning to rightwing extremists, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela warned that his military wing could retaliate against rightwingers who attacked ANC offices and homes

He said Umkhonto we Sizwe could muster far greater forces, both inside and outside the country, than the right wing if it was deemed necessary

Speaking in Bloemfontein on his three-day election campaign in the Free State yesterday, Mandela said if the Government did not act against white bombers, the ANC would have to take steps before the April 26 to 28 election

Mandela was commenting on 29 attacks on ANC offices, homes, electricity pylons and railway lines since December. Two people have been killed in the attacks, believed to be the work of

rightwingers determined to achieve a white homeland through conquest

AWB leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has warned of total war if the Afrikaner did not achieve his homeland. (117)

The AWB received the freedom of Lichtenburg in the Northern Transvaal on Saturday

"Mandela, give us a *volkstaat* or you'll have total war in South Africa," said Terre'Blanche

The 400-strong crowd roared their approval at Terre'Blanche's threat, which he backed up by promising more bomb attacks in the Western Transvaal

Two bombs exploded last Friday, one destroying an electricity pylon that supplies Lichtenburg. The other damaged a railway line near Leeudoringstad, derailling three carriages

We'll retaliate, BDay warns Mandela

DAVID GREYBE 7/12/94

BLOEMFONTEIN — The ANC would retaliate with force against the ultra-right wing before the April election if attacks on the organisation continued, ANC president Nelson Mandela reiterated yesterday.

Two people have died in 29 attacks on ANC offices and electrical and railway structures since the start of December.

Speaking on the last day of a three-day election drive, Mandela said: "Sooner or later we must take counter-measures, and when that happens many innocent people — black and white — will die" (IA)

Cosatu also announced it was considering mass action, including consumer boycotts, in the western Transvaal if the spate of bombings continued.

Cosatu spokesman Bheki Nkosi said it was up to the police to maintain law and order, and to arrest the perpetrators. Otherwise Cosatu would have to use its organisational strength to object.

Cosatu and the ANC will ask the TEC this week to investigate the attacks.

Three railway carriages were derailed and an electricity pylon damaged in two separate explosions in the western Transvaal and West Rand on Friday, Sapa reports.

Mandela said that the ANC could not allow the right wing to continue bombing its offices and officials' homes — 10 or 11 to date in the western Transvaal and Free State.

□ To Page 2

Warning

BIDAY 7/12/94

□ From Page 1

The ANC was prepared to use its armed wing Umkonto we Sizwe (MK) to retaliate, he said during an address outside Welkom at the weekend. (IA)

"We have MK inside and outside the country and members are better equipped than the ultra-right." But the ANC was "restraining" its forces. (IA)

Mandela's warning of imminent action came after AWB leader Eugene Terre-Blanche threatened "total war" unless whites were given a volkstaat.

"Mandela, give us a volkstaat or you will have total war," Terre-Blanche told a rally in the western Transvaal town of Lichtenburg at the weekend. He promised more bomb attacks in the area.

"Professionals are destroying SA's railway tracks to fight the ANC. More explosions will occur," he said.

There was no such thing as "limited violence", Mandela said, referring to Afrikaner Volksfront leader Gen Constand Viljoen's statement that the right wing was considering using limited violence to achieve a volkstaat.

"We won't make it a limited retaliation"

The ANC wanted to avoid a confrontation, but was being hampered by the lack of decisive action by government.

Mandela said during a meeting with business people in Welkom at the weekend he believed government was a "pathetic collection of weaklings who are unable to take any decisive action to protect the interests of the people".

If the government was made up of weaklings, the ANC would have to "take steps even before it comes to power", Mandela warned. However, he sincerely hoped such a situation would not arise.

Mandela said he expected the government of national unity after the April election to deal with the issue of right-wing violence.

He compared the present stage of the negotiations with the right wing to that with government eight years ago in 1986 when the peace process began secretly.

It had taken almost eight years to achieve the TEC and an election date, and it would be foolish to expect negotiations with the right wing to proceed any faster.

conomic policies depended upon which audience was being addressed.

Business bodies urge voter drive

Bo Day 7/12/94

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.

intake of volunteers... army but had not signed up in advance crowded around the entrance after being refused admitt

Slovo ready to meet farmers' union boss

Bo Day 7/12/94

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.

Boesak tops ANC's final election list

TOS WENTZEL
Political Staff

(11A)
APR 8/2/94

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 Olifant, Jonathan Arendse, Nomatyala Hangana, Rob Davies, Bulelani Ngcuka, Jean Benjamin, James Swigelaar, Amos Lengisi, Gertrude Fester, Christmas Tinto, Ngconde Balfour, Mildred Leseia, Essa Moosa, Mavis Makeleni, Graeme Bloch, Amanda Younge, Zola Nqose and Alan Roberts.

Other candidates of the ANC, including Jan van Eck and Jannie Momberg, are on a central list for the assembly.

The other 41 candidates for the Western Cape legislature are

Cameron Dugmore, Vincent Diba, Lerumo Kgalako, Johnny Issel, Hilda Ndude, Chris Nissen, Ebrahim Rasool, Tasneem Essop, Leonard Ramatlakane, Nomaindla Mfeketho, Russel McGregor, Rose Sonto, Lynne Brown, Tony Ruiters, Yusuf Gabru, Garth Strachan, Joe Cupido, Rampi Ramotshama, Nontsikilelo Mgayiya, Virginia Engel, Enver Daniels, Theresa Solomon, Rashieda Abdullah, Noel Williams, Lanval Reid, Sorub Oosthuizen, Rhoda Joemat, Stan Nyongwana, Lizo Ngqunwana, Mcebisi Skwatsha, Connie September, Arthur Jacobs, Dhesigen Naidoo, Xoliswa Sibeko, Mbulelo Grootboom, Ben Tengimfene, Lizo Kapa, Zora Mehlomakulu, Mandla Gxanyana, Neville Naidoo and Nobom Santo.

ESTHER WAUGH
Political Correspondent

JOHANNESBURG — The spotlight at today's Transitional Executive Council meeting will fall on the appearance of Kwazulu Police Commissioner Roy Durrig

Lieutenant-General Durrig had — of 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 Durrig 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 KFP members, had been killing people in Natal

General Durrig 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 Durrig

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

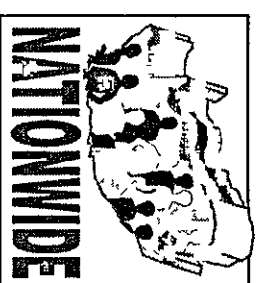
IRREPRESSIBLE Afrikaner Weerstandsbeweging leader Eugene Terre'Blanche has promised to give up and go home if Afrikaners do not want a volksstaat after all but they must be given a referendum to decide the issue

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 Barotsu Holomas'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 of other 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 Basolburg at the weekend

PAC president Clarence Makwini 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 Afrikaner 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 Holomas, was flouting the organisation's policy on detention without trial

Nazo Mativane, suspected of involvement in the SADF raid on an Umataka 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 WENTZEL
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 Manne, Naledi Pandor, Danny Ollant, Jonathan Aredede, Nomakwala Hangana, Rob Davies, Bulelani Ngcuka, Jean Benjamin, James Swagelaz, Amos Lengisi, Gertrude Rester, Christmas Tinto, Ngconde Balfour, Mildred Lessa, Essa Moosa, Mavis Makeneni, Graeme Bloch, Amanda Young, Zola Ngose and Alan Roberts

Other candidates of the ANC, including Jan van Eck and Jannie Momberg, are on a central list for the assembly

The other 41 candidates for the Western Cape legislature are:

- Cameron Dugmore, Vincent Diba, Lerrimo Kgaleko, Johnny Issel, Hilda Ndude, Chris Nissen, Ebrahim Rasool, Tameem Essop, Leonard Ramatlala, Kane, Nomanda Mfekiho, Russel McGregor, Rose Sontu, Lynne Brown, Tony Butters, Yusuf Gabru, Garth Strachan, Joe Cupido, Rampi Ramot-Sanna, Nontsikalelo Mgawya, Virginia Engel, Ever Daniels, Theresa Solomon, Rashieda Abdullah, Noel Williams, Lanyal Reid, Sorub Oosthuizen, Rhoda Joerna, Stan Nyongwana, Lizo Ngunwana, Mcebisi Skwasha, Connie September, Arthur Jacobs, Dhsigen Naidoo, Xoliswa Sibeko, Mthulelo Grootboom, Ben Tengimilene, Lizo Kapu, Zora Mhlonimakuhi, Mandla Gxanyana, Neville Naidoo and Nobom Santo

ANC wants more even spread of media power

Biday. 8/2/94

AMANDA VERMEULEN

THE ANC would consider introducing legislation — if it wins the election — to dilute the over-concentration of power in the four main media companies, says media liaison head Carl Niehaus. "We will not intervene in editorial practices but the current ownership structures need addressing. The recent moves by the Argus Group to unbundle are not sufficient," he said.

The ANC was not entirely happy with the recent establishment of a new ownership structure for the Sowetan as it did not vest enough power in black interests. The transaction between Argus and Nthato Motlana's New Africa Publishers, the company which acquired the majority share in Sowetan, was still under investigation, Niehaus said.

The ANC had no immediate plans to launch a daily newspaper but would use the organisation's prestige abroad to secure funding for an independent paper that represented black interests.

Niehaus said the future role of the SABC should be that of a public broadcaster providing both educational programming and entertainment. The ANC was opposed to pri-

vatation of SABC channels as it would undermine this role.

The Independent Broadcasting Authority (IBA) should grant licenses to new radio and television operators so that more voices could be heard.

"Although the ANC envisions only three or four television channels, there needs to be greater diversity. However, a future ANC government will not intervene if the processes are transparent and independent."

Niehaus said details of the organisation's election media campaign were sensitive and would not be revealed. "The campaign will, however, concentrate on food, jobs, housing and security, focusing on the positive rather than the negative."

He believed the most important medium in SA was radio because of high illiteracy rates and low income levels. For this reason the ANC recommended the continued existence of all the black language stations.

Niehaus said the government lacked the political will to close down right-wing radio stations which operated illegally. "Other stations

prepared to abide by the law are being penalised and consequently fewer voices are being heard."

The issue of implementing 11 official languages would be decided according to need. The ANC proposed English should be the official language of record and each region would promote a language according to its priority. He said the language issue should follow an affirmative action policy and translations should be available on request. (IJA)

Niehaus said despite adverse publicity from some media, the ANC would abide by the regulations of the IBA and the Bill of Rights which guaranteed free speech. He believed the Bill of Rights should be implemented before the establishment of the first democratic government to prevent current controls over broadcasting created by President F W de Klerk being exploited by the ruling party.

"If my party is criticised and the present controls over the media are available, I cannot say that I would not use them to the party's advantage. Having a Bill of Rights would prevent that situation from happening," he said.

Mandela lashes out at Kriel

'Cheap NP politicking' slammed

Star 8/2/94

(1A)

■ BY BRENDAN TEMPLETON

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night accused the National Party of making "cheap political capital" out of recent bomb and arson attacks against the ANC.

Law and Order Minister Hernus Kriel had condemned Mandela's weekend warning to the right wing that the ANC would respond to its limited violence with "unlimited violence"

Kriel said Mandela's threatened action would only unleash a further cycle of violence and showed there was no difference between right-wing terrorism and "the violent instincts of the ANC/SACP"

Mandela said last night that Kriel's statement amounted to an abuse of his office

"Instead of using his office to convey important facts to the SA population, he has rather attempted to parasitically use this event to resort to the kind of politics for which the NP in general, and Minister Kriel in particular, are justly infamous

"In this instance, where the

ANC leader launches scathing attack on Law and Order Minister over right-wing campaign against the ANC

SAP appears to have made some breakthrough against right-wing terrorism aimed at the ANC and its allies, Minister Kriel is unable to desist from making cheap political capital against the victims of this terrorism — the ANC."

Mandela welcomed yesterday's arrest of five suspects in connection with the terror campaign. He said he hoped it signalled the beginning of a "comprehensive strategy designed to bring to justice those elements that wish to frustrate nonracialism, peace and democracy".

He added: "Such action . . . can only serve the process of restoring the image of the SAP as a force capable of impartial and effective action on behalf of all South Africans"

ANC's final candidates for W Cape

Star 8/2/94

Cape Town — The ANC western Cape region's final lists of candidates for the provincial legislature and National Assembly released yesterday revealed some significant changes.

Topping the 41-member list for the provincial government is ANC regional chairman Dr Allan Boesak.

Leading the list of 21 candi-

dates for the National Assembly is advocate Johnny de Lange and former secretary-general of the South African Municipal Workers Union, Salie Manie

Ms Naledi Pandor, has rocketed from 17th to third on the list

Two new entrants are Jonathan Arendse — now at number five — and Labour

Party MP for Dyseldorp, James Swigelaar, at number ten.

Others nominated to the National Assembly are Danny Olifant (4), Nomatyala Hangana (6), Professor Rob Davies (7), Bulelani Ngcuka (8), Jean Benjamin (8) and former ANC regional secretary, Amos Lengisi (11). — Sapa.



PAC to hold election launch in Sasolburg

Star 8/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL
CORRESPONDENT

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The Pan Africanist Congress will launch its election campaign in Zamde-la township outside Sasolburg at the weekend, according to PAC political affairs secretary and acting publicity director Jaki Seroke.

The organisation will also issue its election manifesto at the launch.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu is scheduled to deliver a keynote address at the function.

The ANC, the National Party and the Democratic Party have already launched their respective

campaigns.

Seroke told The Star that unlike the ANC and the DP, his organisation's campaign launch would not be American in any way. Instead, it would be an out-and-out African affair.

"We will cut the cloth according to our size," he said.

However, the PAC's lists of candidates for the 400-member national assembly and the nine provincial legislatures have not yet been finalised, and will not be released at Sunday's launch.

Seroke said the earliest the lists would be made public would be around the middle of next week.

ANC quiet on Holomisa

Own Correspondent

(11A) 1033

CT8/2/94

EAST LONDON — The ANC evaded suggestions yesterday that a prominent candidate on its election list, Transkei's military ruler Major-General Bantu Holomisa, was flouting the organisation's policy on detention without trial

Mr Nzuzo Matiwane, suspected of involvement in a SADF raid on an Umtata home, has been detained un-

der the homeland's security laws for the past four months

Spokesman Mr Ronnie Mamoepa said in Johannesburg yesterday the ANC continued to oppose detention without trial. He repeated this six or seven times when asked whether Gen Holomisa, who is 13th on the ANC's national election list, was not causing embarrassment to the organisation.

Right plans passive resistance

No further concessions, says Alliance

BIDAY 9/2/94

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. (BIDAY) (IA)

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 Volksume 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

BIDAY 9/2/94

From Page 1

under way.

"The people will decide how the campaign unfolds, not me or Constand (Viljoen)," Groenewald said. (BIDAY) (IA)

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.

Sowetans 9/2/94

ANC, NP bury hatchet

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 (11A) ~~(11A)~~

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

No more talks without further concessions, says FA

Right is set to resist

Star 9/21/94

~~SAPA~~
IIR

ALLIANCE stands firm on its demands for regional autonomy, says Rowan Cronje after meeting in Pretoria

■ 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 Tieme 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

law into their own hands — and the creation of alternative government structures

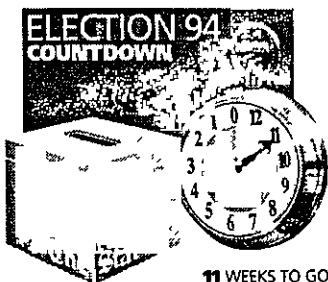
AVF spokesman Stephen Maninger told The Star "We are sliding towards civil war"

The AWB 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)



NEWS No polls — Azapo

Anti-poll campaign gets hotter and hotter

Sowetan 9/2/94

By Mzimasi Ngudle and Political Staff

THE Azanian People's Organisation is set to intensify its anti-elections campaign after reviewing progress from regions later this month

Azapo secretary general Mr Don Nkadameng said the organisation's national council conference would be held in Umtata from February 25 to 28 to focus on elections and adopt strategies to ensure that more than 50 percent of the black electorate did not vote

"The primary aim is that less than 50 percent go to the polls. So far we are doing well and will do more to make sure the swing vote turns into sure no-votes," Nkadameng said

Flooded with requests

Nkadameng said Azapo had been flooded with requests from African National Congress youths in Lebowa and Venda who wanted to join the organisation.

"The youths object to the names of Brigadier Gabriel Ramushwana and Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike appearing on African National Congress lists

"Yesterday I attended a meeting of 60 chiefs from the Northern Transvaal who wanted to know whether they would get their land back

"I told them no because the present constitution only talks about land from which people were removed by force," Nkadameng said.

Futility of voting

The organisation would make sure the chiefs convinced their subjects about the futility of voting in the coming elections

Nkadameng was confident that the Government of National Unity would not deliver the goods

He said that in the period after the elections, Azapo would explain to the people the Government's failure to address their needs

PAC election flip at Zamdela

Sowetan 9/2/94
(11A)

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE PAN Africanist Congress of Azania will launch its manifesto at a public rally on Sunday — the day after registration of parties for the election

It will be presented by PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu at Zamdela township, Sasolburg

PAC sources said the organisation would be making strenuous attempts to draw the crowds following recent polls showing that the PAC was struggling to gain more than one percent of the electorate

PAC political affairs secretary Jaki Seroke said candidates' lists were still being drawn up at regional level, but they would be publicly announced later next week

The manifesto would dwell on the issue of land redistribution and new forms of taxation, he said

The PAC was still negotiating with the Government and the TEC defence sub-council on participation in transitional structures. However, the PAC was still demanding that all armed formations in the country should fall under the command of international military personnel



Clarence Makwetu

However, a TEC source said yesterday the PAC was poised to join the TEC structures "within the next two weeks". He expected that the PAC would overcome the obstacles preventing it from participating in military structures — therefore opening the door to the TEC as well

Seroke confirmed that the Azanian People's Liberation Army was still holding discussions with the SA Defence Force

He said tentative plans were being made for senior officers from both armed forces to meet in Harare soon "to sort out technical problems"

Star 9/2/94

ANC plans big election rally on East Rand

(11A)

■ BY CHRIS WHITFIELD
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC is to hold what it expects to be a huge rally on the border of Tokoza and Katlehong this weekend to launch its East Rand election campaign and welcome the SA Defence Force into the area.

The rally, to be held in a field at Radebe Section between the two townships — scenes of unprecedented carnage in recent months — will also mark the launch of an ANC peace campaign in the area.

The plans are understood to have been greeted with concern by the security forces.

The Inkatha Freedom Party has opposed the replacing of the police's Internal Stability Division in the East Rand townships by the SADF.

Another matter of concern for the SADF in the area is understood to be the fact that at present its power to carry out policing functions is extremely limited.

However, a senior security force source said yesterday that he believed this problem would be resolved within the next few days. He added that it would not be necessary to declare unrest areas for certain policing powers to be given to the SADF.

The task group which will oversee the peace plan to be implemented on the East Rand could be up and running by the end of the week, the source said.

ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale, who will address the Sunday rally, said it would take the form of a "people's forum" gathering — similar to those in recent weeks across the country.

The ANC's Obed Bapela said last night that the ANC was expecting a very big rally.

Familiar ANC figures may be regional premiers

THE ANC has released its lists of candidates for five of the nine regional parliaments which indicate that familiar ANC figures and NEC members Tokyo Sexwale, Matthew Phosa, Patrick Lekota, Jacob Zuma and Allan Boesak are likely to become regional premiers.

The ANC also released its lists of provincial candidates for national parliament for the same areas yesterday.

Tokyo Sexwale came top of the ANC's PWV list for provincial parliament, followed by Obed Bapela, Robert McBride, Amos Masondo, Romme Mamoepa.

Regional nominees from the PWV are led by Carl Niehaus, followed by Janet Love, Aubrey Mokoena, Abe Nkomo and Max Coleman.

TIM COHEN

The ANC's top five Natal candidates for provincial parliament are Jacob Zuma, Harry Gwala, Bheki Cele, Fatuma Nahara and Sibusiso Ndebele. The top five regional candidates for national parliament in Natal are Scott Mpho, Yunus Carrim, Mac Makume, Sipho Gcabashe and Ben Martins.

Sapa reports from Cape Town that ANC western Cape secretary Lerrumo Kalako said yesterday that lists of regional and national election candidates had been changed in accordance with the affirmative action principle, giving women one-third of the positions on each list. Other changes emanated from the inclu-

sion of names which had been balloted in the December regional nominations conference, but which were omitted from provisional lists released on January 8.

Revised lists of candidates for the western Cape parliament and the national assembly were released on Monday.

ANC western Cape chairman Allan Boesak now heads the provincial list as the ANC's candidate for the regional premiership.

Other leading candidates for the provincial legislature include ANC western Cape organiser Cameron Dugmore, regional vice-chairman Vincent Diba, Lerrumo Kalako and regional executive committee members Johnny Issel and Hilda Ndude.

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 Riverdale 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 Hodggen, Van Rensburg will file a new affidavit for consideration by Eastern Cape Judge President Mr Justice Neville Zietsman. 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.

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" — *Ecna*

Makwetu,

FWW 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".

Mandela returns to Wood Cape vote

ANC, NP locked in fierce battle for support of coloured community

ARG 10/2/94 (11A)



FANS AND FLOWERS: Triumphant Eliana Meyer, with winner's bouquet, completes a lap of honour followed by some of her many fans after winning the 5 000m event at a track meeting in Stellenbosch. Full report and picture on page 18.

Picture OBEID ZILWA, The Argus

Political Staff

NELSON Mandela is to act to quell fears among coloured voters that they will be marginalised under a government of national unity led by the African National Congress.

The ANC leader is to make a significant policy statement, which insiders say will counter National Party propaganda, at a rally on Sunday at Allenby Stadium, Retreat.

His election visit to the Western Cape will take place shortly before President F.W. de Klerk embarks on a NP election swing through the region, starting with a series of meetings along the west coast next week.

The two parties are locked in a fierce battle for support in the coloured community, with opinion polls consistently showing that ANC support there lags behind that of the NP.

At the same time, the Democratic Party is gearing up for battle, with its youth wing poised to lodge a formal complaint with the Independent Electoral Commission over alleged obstruction of its activities by the ANC-supporting Students Representative Council at the University of the Western Cape.

In the Argus Marketing and Media Research poll, details of which were published last week and earlier this week, the ANC's support in the coloured community was placed at 13 percent in the Cape province,

compared to the NP's 46 percent and the DP's eight percent.

ANC regional treasurer Ebrahim Rasool said today that because of the magnitude of the pledge Mr Mandela was expected to give coloured voters, Sunday's rally would be a solemn one.

"We take seriously feelings of alienation in sections of the coloured community," he said. Mr Rasool said the ANC president would tell coloureds their status as second-class citizens would end if the ANC won South Africa's first all-race election in April.

Spoken at the South African and have a place in a democratic society," said Mr Rasool. Mr Mandela has never shied away from saying coloureds are in the majority in the Western Cape.

Mr Mandela was keen to tell coloured voters that all people discriminated against would benefit from democracy. Mr Rasool said: "There are real fears in the coloured community. Our experience is that the NP propaganda machine is feeding on these fears."

He said Mr Mandela's pledge would include an assurance that the ANC was concerned about coloureds feeling threatened by blacks. "We do not believe affirmative action should apply only to the African community."

Mr Mandela would also tell coloureds they would benefit from the ANC's plans to tackle the housing crisis head-on. (Report by D Cuywagen, H S Robertson and T Weitzel, 122 St George's Mall Cape Town.)

More politics on page 4

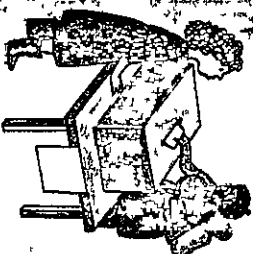


LAST year was a momentous turning point in South Africa's history, filled with drama, tragedy and triumph and culminating in an interim constitution and the proclamation of the April election.

Starting on Monday, The Argus will carry the most detailed account yet of the events of 1993 in three special daily pull-out sections entitled *The Struggle for Peace*.

They will reveal for the first time, behind the scenes details of an exciting saga as it unfolded and contain expert analysis and spectacular photographs.

Let's vote!



Do you need to know how to vote, or even why you should vote in the election?

Starting on Monday, The Argus will publish an informative series in cartoon strip form in full colour, telling you everything you need to know about the election. It will run on Mondays and Tuesdays for six weeks.

The voter education series is sponsored by BP in the interests of a free and fair election. It has been prepared by the Educational Support Services Trust and is also available in book form.

Mandela pledges to protect workers

Biday 10/2/94

ERICA JANKOWITZ

ANC president Nelson Mandela said worker rights would be protected under an ANC-led government, but told NUM congress delegates long-term foreign migrants without SA identity documents would not be eligible to vote in the election.

Speaking at the NUM's national congress in Pretoria yesterday, in a meeting modelled on the ANC's "people's forum", Mandela was adamant laws would not be changed to allow the migrants to vote

He said migrants from neighbouring states who did not qualify for permanent residence status or citizenship, including NUM president James Motlatsi who is from Lesotho, could not cast their ballots

"You may not like it, but you have to accept it because they must comply with the existing laws of the country," said Mandela, who is the union's honorary life president.

On Monday, the NUM congress adopted a resolution to approach the TEC on the issue of foreign workers' eligibility to vote in the election. The resolution was motivated by Motlatsi and carried unanimously

However, Mandela allayed fears that identity documents granted by national states, including Bophuthatswana, would not be accepted as proof of eligibility in the April poll. He said the ANC urged residents of these states to apply for documents and prepare to vote.

On the issue of worker rights, Mandela said the ANC would protect the right to organise and form trade unions as well as the right to strike

"Workers have fought long and

hard for the right to organise and it will be one of our first duties to declare it.

"The ANC will be put in power by workers and it will be our task to address your problems as your new government. The right to strike is a fundamental right for each and every worker throughout the democratic world," he said to tumultuous applause. (2A) (11A)

Mandela reiterated the ANC's position on mineral rights, saying these would revert to state ownership with mining companies leasing the right to exploit reserves by paying a consideration to the state.

He said existing laws were changed once government had realised that majority rule was a very real possibility

"This was a conspiracy between the NP and the mining houses which we are expected to accept, but this is not going to happen. SA's mineral wealth will be owned by the state and the people"

He said the ANC wanted to establish the principle that the mining sector would be open to small business, although he realised capital expenditure constraints would prevent this from happening immediately.

In introducing Mandela, Motlatsi pledged financial support for the ANC's election campaign, although this was still illegal in terms of existing labour legislation.

However, amended legislation allowing trade unions to contribute funds to political parties is expected to be passed before the election

Report by E. Jankowitz, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

Boycott of election in the offing

Star 10/21/94

◀ 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.

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)

Right-wing election boycott looms

Star 10/21/94

BY SHAUN JOHNSON AND CHRIS WHITFIELD

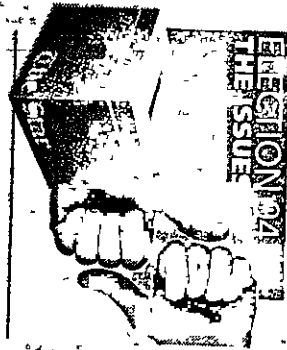
South Africa's first all-race election will more likely than not take place in the face of an active boycott by significant conservative political groupings, sources in the Government and ANC now believe.

The two sides are treating the possible scenario following the frustrating lack of progress in this week's talks aimed at dissolving 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 Rowan Crooke 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 enact 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.

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.

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THE WANDER SHEET

Government and ANC are offering: The FA is being asked to:

- A double ballot
- Take part in the election
- 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 re-incorporation
- An open-ended approach to self-determination
- Continue negotiations

Star 10/2/94

Mandela rejects volkstaat

BY JOVIAL RANTAO
and ESTHER WAUGH

ANC president Nelson Mandela yesterday rejected out of hand demands by the Afrikaner Volkfront for a racially exclusive volkstaat and said talks with the Freedom Alliance (FA) would resume only if it showed flexibility.

His comments came amid increasing gloom over the prospect of rightwingers and their FA partners being drawn into a political settlement

It now seems unlikely that the FA will meet again this week with the Government or ANC.

Sapa reports from Ulundi that the KwaZulu Legislative Assembly plans to oppose the Interim Constitution and resist the general election.

The Legislative Assembly said yesterday it had taken this decision after talks had failed to produce a settlement which guaranteed pluralism in political, economic, social and cultural life

Mandela's blunt comments came as he addressed the National Union of Mineworkers congress in Pretoria yesterday. "There will never be a volkstaat in South Africa," he said.

He added that the ANC would not over-compromise in the trilateral talks.

His comments appear to dash Government hopes of making a last-minute change to the Constitution which would make provision for self-determination and, possibly, the creation of an Afrikaner homeland

Mandela also warned right-

wingers suspected of being behind the bombing campaign in the Transvaal and Free State that they were playing with fire "We won't negotiate under coercion," he said

It now seems highly unlikely that another round of meetings between the FA, Government and ANC will take place

Saturday is the final day for parties to register to take part in the election

Meanwhile, Kalzer Nyatumba reports that the collapse of trilateral talks with the FA was not a prominent feature at yesterday's meeting of the ANC's national working committee, according to reliable ANC sources

(Report by J Rahtao, E Waugh and K Nyatumba
47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

Nats have shameful past, says Slovo

Star 10/2/94

The National Party is using the communist bogey in the hope of rubbing the ANC among sections of middle-class black minorities, says SACP chairman Joe Slovo

Speaking at an ANC meeting in Mayfair last night, Slovo said the NP's anti-communist offensive was "little more than a cover-up for the fact that they have a shameful past and very little positive to offer for the future"

While the SACP had identified every commu-

nist on the ANC's election lists, the NP had not identified members of the secret Broederbond on its lists, he said

Unlike the Broederbond, communists on the ANC list would subject themselves to all the decisions of the ANC caucus in Parliament, Slovo said

The SACP had decided in 1989 that nationalisation was not "a generalised panacea of our economic ills", he added. — Political Correspondent

(Report by E Waugh, 47 Sauer St, Johannesburg)

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

FM 112/94 (377A) (48) (11A) (10)
 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 FM 112/93 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. (30/1/93)

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*. (11A) (10A)

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 Feigate 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." Feigate accuses the ANC of intransigence; Ramaphosa accuses Inkatha of shifting the goal posts.

Continued on page 48

Freedom Alliance talks continue

Volksfront calls boycott of elections

Biday 11/21/94

THE Afrikaner Volksfront announced last night it was boycotting the April election and would do everything possible to peacefully prevent the poll taking place. (MAX 117)

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/Say 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" (B/Say).

All were possible, whether the interim constitution remained in place or was amended to suit the alliance (11A).

The second option was to "abstain from

□ To Page 2

Alliance report B/Say 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 (B/Say) (11A)

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 AWE" and Bophuthatswanan independence would have to be sacrificed.

series of questions to be 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

B/Soy 11/2/94



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, Alektor 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 Africaners' 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 stagnating 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 "fumble" 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 Boer-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 burdensome 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 plucking 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 mostly 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

DEBATERS on nationalisation continue, following ANC threats direct-

ly, 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 intervention 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 serve 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.

Mandela talks to Mangope

Sowetan 11/2/94

Sowetan Correspondent

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela met Bophuthatswana leader Chief Lucas Mangope on Monday, the Bophuthatswana government has confirmed

The meeting, which took place in Johannesburg, was the first face-to-face encounter between the two leaders and came after repeated and strong attacks on Mangope by Mandela

ANC sources said earlier this week it was now probable that Mangope — whose civil servants were becoming increasingly concerned about their pensions and future — could be persuaded to agree to the reincorporation of the homeland into South Africa

The sources said the ANC was presently discussing Mangope's concerns and might soon be in a position to make him an offer which could secure his participation in both the transitional process and the April election

Of the four nominally independent homelands, Bophuthatswana has been the most resistant to reincorporation, with Mangope repeatedly repressing political organisations in the homeland and warning Bophuthatswana civil servants not to join the ANC (100)

In a brief statement yesterday, Bophuthatswana's Department of State Affairs confirmed Monday's meeting between the two leaders and said they had agreed to establish a joint committee composed of six members from each side to continue negotiations (11A)

ANC sources said Mandela and Mangope were to meet again soon. The sources said as differences became pronounced and tension mounted within the Freedom Alliance, there was a real possibility Bophuthatswana might be lured into the transitional process and into a united South Africa if Mangope's fears were addressed

(Report by K Nyatumba, 47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

82 years on - ANC now political party

■ BY JOVIAL RANTAO

After 82 years of being a liberation movement which sought to overturn the State by every means, including its armed struggle, the ANC registered yesterday to overturn the Government through the ballot

Nelson Mandela closed an old era and opened a new one when he handed in a 17-page registration form and a R70 000 cheque to register the ANC as a party to contest elections for the national assembly

and the nine new provinces

The ANC president, accompanied by, among others, ANC election department head Popo Molefe and SACP chairman Joe Slovo, said afterwards that the registration would not change the character of the ANC

"We're still a broad national liberation movement whose task is to ensure that the policy and manifestation of apartheid is eradicated. That goal has not been achieved. We are here to register in terms of the

existing laws," Mandela said

After he had handed in the ANC's registration form, Mandela paid a courtesy visit to Mr Justice Kriegler, chairman of the Independent Electoral Commission

Mandela said he had assured the judge that the ANC would do everything in its power to ensure there were free and fair elections and that other parties would be allowed to canvass where they wished

The ANC became the fourth political party to register be-

fore the deadline at noon tomorrow. The Democratic Party registered on Wednesday

The newly formed African Christian Democratic Party and the Cape Town-based Merit Party have already registered

The National Party did not register yesterday as expected, nor did the Pan African Congress of Azania, probably due to the death of Apla commander Sabelo Phama

(Report by J Rantao, 47 Sauer St. Jhb)

2 Cape Times, Friday, February 11 1994

11A

Apia man dies: 'Shock' for ANC

JOHANNESBURG — The ANC was deeply shocked by the death of Mr Sabelo Phama, the commander of Apia, the PAC's military wing, said ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

He said Mr Phama's death would have been shocking at any other time, but it was even more so at this critical hour.

The PAC said yesterday a meeting between Apia and the SA Defence Force scheduled for Harare next week was in

the balance following Mr Phama's death in a car accident in Tanzania on Wednesday.

PAC secretary of political affairs Mr Jaki Seroke said Mr Phama's death could lead to the rescheduling of the meeting. "Mr Phama, among other things, was on his way to consult and prepare the way for a meeting with the SADF," he added.

The meeting was supposed to finalise details about a new army after the April

election and amnesty for Apia cadres as well as the release of those still in jail, he said.

Mr Phama was travelling between Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania, and Harare, Zimbabwe, when his vehicle collided with a truck near Morogoro in Tanzania on Wednesday morning. He was on his way to consult with the Organisation of African Unity's Liberation Committee in Harare. He leaves his wife Dudu and twin sons Sandile and Andile — Sapa-Reuter

ANC registers as party for election

CF 11/2/94 (11A)

JOHANNESBURG — ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday registered the ANC for the April election, but said in doing so the organisation would not change its character

"The ANC remains a broad national movement whose task is to ensure that the policy of apartheid is overthrown and all its manifestations eradicated," Mr Mandela said

He said he had congratulated Independent Electoral Commission chairman Mr Justice J Kriegler on the IEC's excellent work

Mr Mandela was accompanied by SACP chairman Mr Joe Slovo and Cosatu general secretary Mr Sam Shilowa

Mr Mandela said he had told Judge

Kriegler that the ANC would do everything in its power to ensure free and fair political activity

ANC supporters should not interfere with the rights of other political organisations

Four parties, including the ANC, had registered for the April general election by yesterday afternoon

The Pan-Africanist Congress is among those planning to register today

Mr Sol Schkolne, the leader of the Merit Party, which has also registered, said last night the official launch of the party's campaign was expected to take place next week at Stellenbosch University, where it had the backing of Director of Economic Research Jan Sadie — Sapa, Own Correspondent

ANC's 200 civil servants

Senior ANC members are being trained to take over key positions in the civil service, writes **Mduduzi ka Harvey**

THE African National Congress has earmarked some of its most senior members for top civil service positions after the elections. Two hundred cadres are presently being trained world-wide to take over key positions in the country's white male-dominated public service.

Among the top candidates are leading members of the ANC's Civil Service Unit, which is chaired by constitutional affairs chief Zola Skweyiya. The prospective departmental directors have wide-ranging experience in diplomatic and administrative work. Many have headed the organisation's missions abroad.

Those expected to be catapulted to the top are the so-called pilot group, trained in the United Kingdom in 1992 after ANC president Nelson Mandela asked the British for help in redressing the current imbalances in the civil service. Among the pilot group members who could become Pretoria mandarins are:

● **Jostiah Jele (63)** — A member of the ANC's national executive, he headed the organisation's international department in exile and was the chief of the ANC mission to the World Peace Council in Finland. He later worked at ANC headquarters in Lusaka in a number of senior positions. He is the

CSU's head of prisons and correctional services

● **Sindiso Mfenyane (53)** — An NEC member until 1991, he was the administrative secretary at ANC headquarters in Lusaka. He is presently the head of the parliamentary unit of the CSU.

● **Sipho Makana (58)** — An NEC member until 1991, he was the ANC's chief of mission in Moscow. He heads the police administration commission.

● **Anthony Mungalo (57)** — After heading the ANC mission in East Berlin, he returned to Zambia where he took charge of Oliver Tambo's office. He now heads Thabo Mbeki's office at Shell House. He was an NEC member until 1991.

● **Stanley Mabizela (61)** — Like Mungalo, he was an NEC member until 1991. In charge of ANC structures in Swaziland before heading the organisation's missions in Zimbabwe and Tanzania, he currently works in the department of international affairs, where he is responsible for resource development.

● **Eddie Funde (50s)** — Before his appointment as chief of the ANC mission in Australia, he headed the organisation's youth structures. He is now the secretary of the Civil Service Unit.

According to Funde, the ongoing long-term training programmes are aimed at creating a pool of competent and committed public servants. "We want to make our civil service representative of society as a whole. This process will continue even after the elections, with many more people

being trained."

Training has been offered or is taking place in the United States, Britain, Canada, Botswana and locally.

But some candidates for senior government positions will not be going on any courses because it is felt that they are sufficiently qualified already.

Among them are:

● **Professor Aaron Ndlovu**, an academic at the University of Zululand who lectures in public administration.

● **Professor Sibusiso Nkomo**, head of the Canadian International Development and Resource Centre in Johannesburg.

● **Job Mogoro**, a lecturer in public administration at the University of Western Cape.

● **Mamathu Netsianda**, who works for Matla Trust.

● **Manala Manzini**, who heads the policy department of Nelson Mandela's office.

● **Lucy Nyembe**, from the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of the Witwatersrand.

● **Itumeleng Mokata**, from the Department of Public and Development Management at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Responding to fears that many incumbents will be removed from their posts to accommodate the trainees, Funde said: "Even the present legislation provides for people to be moved from one department to another if it is in the interests of the civil service."

He was optimistic the problem would balance itself naturally, as "eight percent of staff leave the civil service annually."



MEMORIES ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday cut a lonely figure on his return to Robben Island's limestone quarry where he swung a pick axe for 18 years

From page 1

Mandela looks back

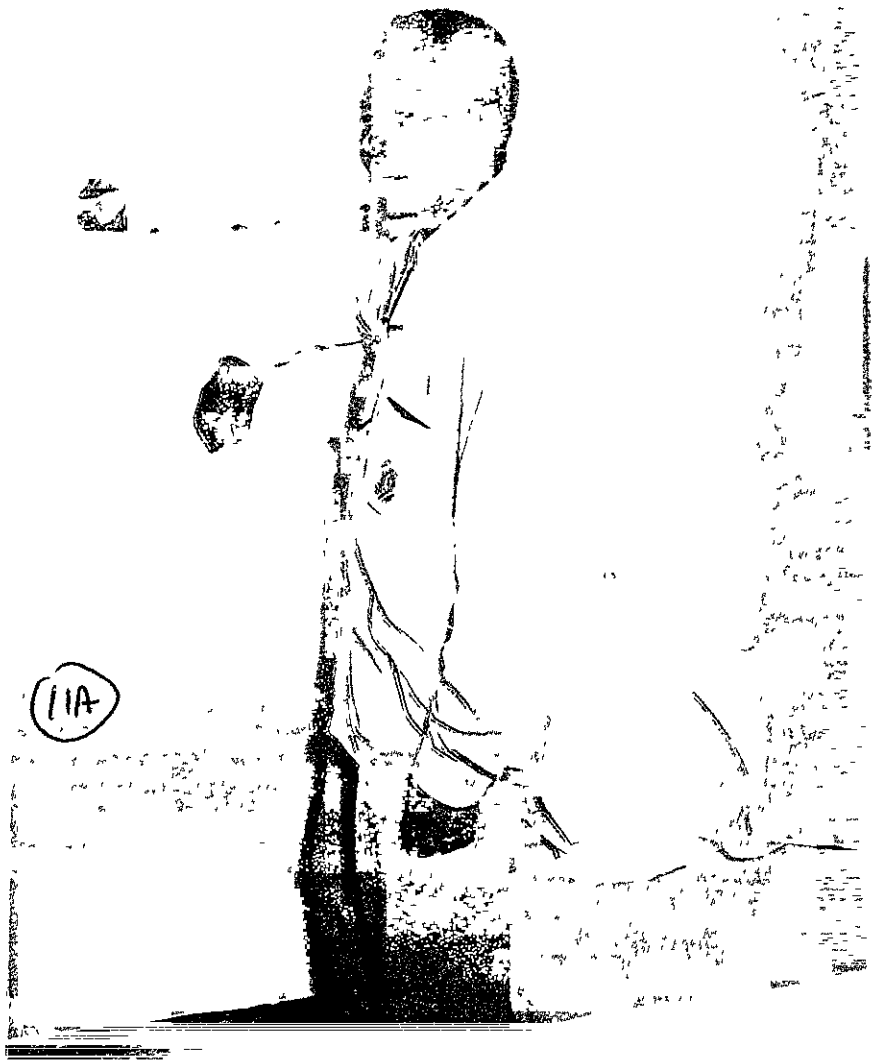
jail and the government's refusal to allow him to attend the funerals

During the island walkabout the trialists returned to the lime quarry in which they had swung picks and Mr Mandela's famous No 7 cell now occupied (except for yesterday) by an unnamed common-law offender (one of 737)

Mr Mandela had high praise for former Justice Minister Mr Kobie Coetsee, who in mid-1986 kept the critical initial contact quiet and "opened the door" for President F W de Klerk

"He risked his whole political career — not a single other NP member was prepared to be associated with my release," he said

He revealed that during the final months (at the Victor Verster prison) of his 27 years, his warders took him on drives throughout the Western Cape on the pretext of "seeing the specialist".



INSIDE BUT OUT . . Mr Mandela next to the bed in the tiny cell in which he spent the major part of his prison term on Robben Island. He visited the island yesterday with five other Rivonia trialists

Pictures CLIVE SMITH

Nelson: Keep island's history

By CHRIS BATEMAN

ROBBEN ISLAND could be "attractive" if it was developed for tourism — as long as all the historical symbols of the "Freedom Fight" were preserved as a museum, ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela said yesterday

He said such a museum, which would include the prison, quarries, graveyards and other historical buildings, would contribute strongly to the development of tourism on the island

"For example the graveyard here is out of bounds but we once pestered the authorities to allow us in — it is fantastically rich in history, especially the graves of all those who contributed to the struggle"

The commanding officer of Robben Island, Colonel Hennie de Beer, revealed that the Department of Correctional Services had set 1996 as a target date to "move off" the island

However, a new prison to accommodate the 737 common-law offenders presently housed on the island had yet to be built and existing ones were full, he said

Col De Beer said he felt the island should be "kept as a conservation area"

Mr Mandela also revealed that he and his fellow Robben Island prisoners learnt their craft under the watchful eye of "the more progressive" warders

Relaxed and expansive in spite of a day fielding hundreds of questions from a large press corps on the island yesterday,

Mr Mandela said the prisoners would share their catch with their warders

"The water was very clear and the crayfish were plentiful on the side of the island where the sewage pipe was"

"We would search them out among the rocks and then braai them on drums on the beach — the warders we would reward with some," he said

He said he felt he could live with having violated a marine reserve all those years ago

Fellow former prisoner and seafarer Mr Govan Mbeki was heard to comment with authority after one particularly bad sea roll of the Proteus "This boat takes the sea quite well — not like the Dias or the Susan"

Elections in grave danger



A BLANKET APPROVAL . . . Nelson Mandela gets dressed up in traditional garb to attract votes. ■ PHO THULANI SITSOLE

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 CDPs 13/2/94 deadlock

continues

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 Vuli Mlambe and 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 ability 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 Crooke said this assurance should be contained in one of the constitutional principles.

The ANC is wary of this concession as it will bind the constitution as a whole to agreements on detail entered into before the election. The ANC is only in favour of frameworks of principle in which the constitution itself 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 Volksfront for the Afrikaner farmers, self-determination for Bop and a KwaZulu monarchy.

The ANC as the dominant negotiating partner cannot accept this.

Report by Sakhile Sibeko, 2, Hesk St, New Devon, Durban, 4000, 031-274-1111

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 a fool's paradise", countered Mr P W Saaman, MP for Mid-Karoo and the NP's No 2 Northern Cape candidate for the national Parliament after chief whip and MP for Kimberley South Johannes "Kepies" Niemand.

"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 CP into power," said Mr Saaman. "We are taking the Northern Cape, that's for sure."

In Kimberley, Mr William Steenkamp, 29, a former University of the Western Cape student and former lecturer in engineering science, is secretary-general of the ANC in the Northern Cape and in charge of its Kimberley branch office.

On some farms, he said, his field workers had been chased away and threatened with assault and even death by right-wing farmers.

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

SI Times 13/2/94

11A

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 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.

"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, AWBs, 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 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,

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 Upington and Keimoes voted in the past for the Labour Party, of which he is organiser in the area.

"Now the coloured people are throwing their weight behind the ANC because we believe the ANC is sincere with its reconstruction and development programme."

"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 65 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 Saneer

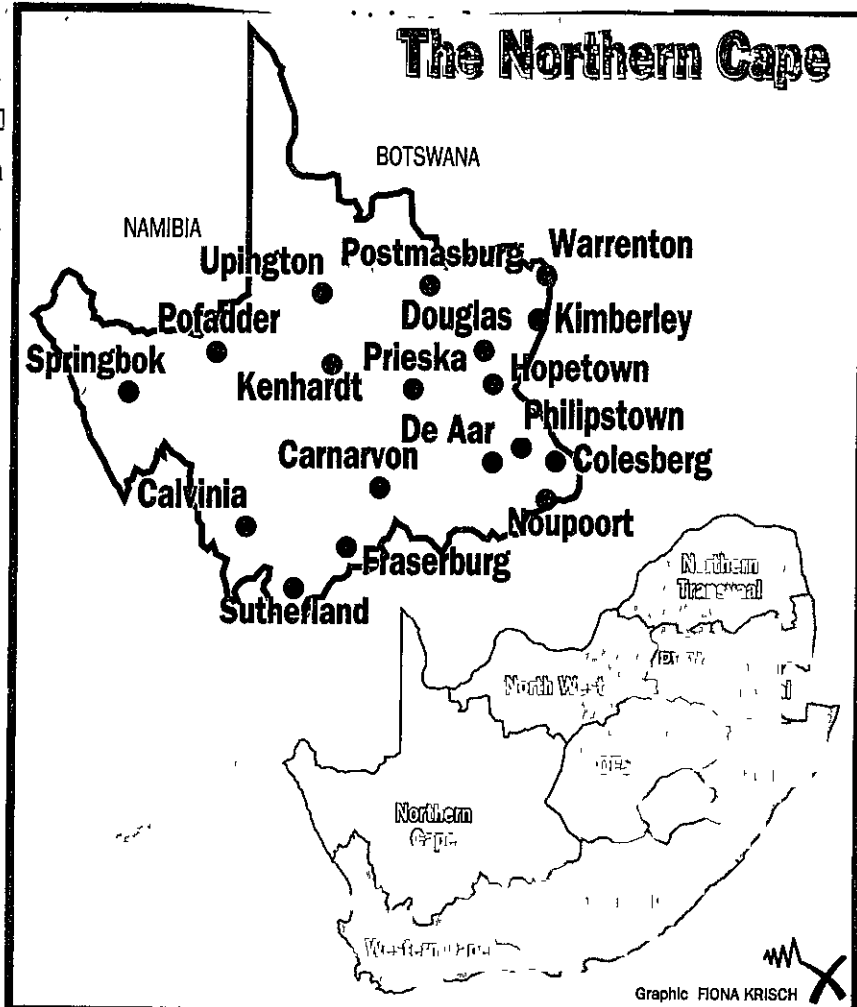


analysis of the NNSDP and the work of the Consultative Forum, to pose the issues of which future interventions must take cognizance.

The NNSDP was instituted in September 1991 with an initial annual budget of R220 million. Its goals were, ostensibly, to develop

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* 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 so 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).

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* Assessment of the application procedures (Figures 5.6 and 4) underscores the considerable bureaucracy which has to be surmounted before funds become available to an applying organisation (for example, World Vision, Santa, Tree) who must in turn still dispense the "bundle of goods" to the individuals, groups and communities they

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. *S. Times*

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. *12/2/94*

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. *(S. Times) (IA)*

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 Skulpadsaal in Pretoria. It was then ditched after those at the meeting objected to it.

(News by E Bulbring, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

NPA



National

TROOPING THE COLOURS ... enthusiastic ANC supporter Bertus Vermeulen

Bertus, the Boer who flies the ANC's flag

By NORMAN WEST

ONE of the most avid ANC supporters in the Northern Cape is 32-year-farmer Bertus Vermeulen who causes boere fannies to drop their shopping baskets and stare in amazement as he goes shopping in Prieska wearing his ANC T-shirt

Mr Vermeulen mines salt and farms hardy dorpers at Jonkerwater, a former Griqua stronghold 30km west of Prieska.

He gets a mischievous kick out of seeing the looks of astonishment on the faces of conservative fellow boere when he dons his white T-shirt with "ANC" in yellow, green and gold emblazoned on the front and "MANDELA" on the back.

"When I wear this T-shirt in town people stop and stare as if I am from another planet. But I am not a hypocrite. I am not afraid to state what my convictions are," he said

Mr Vermeulen, a former corporal and section leader in the SADF, said he underwent his Damascene conversion while fighting the Border war.

"We had no business being there in the first place. Many of my fellow soldiers, the sons of loving mothers and fathers back home in South Africa, died not even knowing why they were at war in the first place.

"To my mind all we really did was murder and rob innocent blacks, sometimes simply because they were black, in the name of apartheid. We were so indoctrinated by the army brass that we genuinely believed we were acting out our Christian duty while on murder sprees under instructions from our superiors. Today I feel ashamed of what I was part of."

Jonkerwater is reached along a rugged and winding gravel road that runs through

Dorper and Van Rooyen sheepland, dotted with white salt pans. (HA)

Mr Vermeulen came from a "Sap" family that had never supported the NP. Neither were they liberal by tradition.

He displayed no interest in black politics "until the Kempton Park negotiations started and I listened to the reasoned logic of sophisticated black leaders like ANC chief Nelson Mandela, secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa and so-called communist devils like Mr Joe Slovo.

"I must confess, though, I have a problem with the militants in the ANC, especially some of the youth who seem to engage more readily in violence," he said.

"But, quite frankly, I find more political reasonableness and realism in the policies of the ANC and their so-called communist partners than in the NP and the CP."

When it became known Mr Vermeulen had ANC leanings, fellow-farmers looked at him askance

"Some tried to avoid me and even ostracised me — but I was more bemused than worried because they were so steeped in racial supremacist ideology and colour prejudice that their souls were trapped. They will in time come round to realities — just like I did."

He doesn't share the view that the Northern Cape is not economically viable.

"There is poverty here, for sure, but it is artificial poverty. In the past, apartheid kept the coloureds and blacks poor while it allowed white farmers to enrich themselves by keeping their workers underpaid, uneducated and in a state of modern-day slavery.

"They were entirely dependent on the largesse of their masters."

(News by Norman West, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town).

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

C1 News 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.

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

Mandela assures voters on Flats of place in sun

ANC 14/2/94 (119)

ANCYL
DBSA
DRC
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RMS
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**DENNIS CRUYWAGEN and VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporters**

NELSON Mandela was enthusiastically cheered by thousands of people as he spoke at rallies on the Cape Flats and assured coloured voters of their place in the sun under an ANC government

The ANC leader went to the heart of coloured fears at a rally in Allenby Drive sportsground in Retreat yesterday, and assured more than 10 000 people he would not abandon them.

He said that in the Western Cape coloureds and blacks needed each other to overcome the legacy of the past

And he told thousands of cheering people in Nyanga Stadium yesterday that it was time to vote out the National Party because it was a government with "too many thieves, liars and sinister characters"

"These people are robbing you now and they will also rob when they are in parliament," he said to loud applause

At Retreat Mr Mandela said the ANC had a record of working together with all people over many decades

"To abandon you (the coloured people) would be to abandon our principles and many of the people who helped bring us to where we are today

"I will never allow this to happen The ANC will never allow this to happen The ANC is our common home"

The rally, which will be a difficult act to follow, was a lesson in how to win votes

It had three main themes

● Assuring coloureds they were part of the black community

● Reminding them what the National Party had done to them

● Promising them they too had a place in the sun under an ANC-led government

Mr Mandela said the ANC was committed to developing the Western Cape to give a better life to coloureds, Africans, Indians and whites

"The coloured people deserve a better life — together with all the oppressed people"

He pledged that the ANC would see to it that the Western Cape had its fair share of investments

The movement would also protect the rights of workers and trade unions and would end discrimination

"In some cases the impression has been given that affirmative action is only for African people This is not true

"I want to assure you that by affirmative action the ANC means opportunities must be opened to all who have been discriminated against as coloured, African, Indian, women or the disabled"

He slammed as "mischievous" companies which claimed they were following ANC policy by appointing only blacks

The ANC planned to combat the housing shortage of coloureds and blacks by building a million houses over five years

"I know some political parties are telling you your homes will not be safe under an ANC government I want to give you my assurance and that of the ANC that your homes will be safe under an ANC government"

(News by D Cruywagen and V Bavuma, 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. 142194

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). (2047) (11A)

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 142194

□ 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 (2047) (11A)

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.

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.

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)

Scuffles as Mandela addresses coloureds

Star 14/2/94

At a rally marred by scuffles between African National Congress and National Party supporters, ANC president Nelson Mandela went to the heart of coloured fears and assured more than 10 000 people gathered in Retreat, near Cape Town, yesterday that he would not abandon them.

Mandela said the ANC was committed to developing the Western Cape to give a better life to coloureds, Africans, Indians and whites.

The ANC planned to combat the chronic housing shortage for

coloureds and blacks by building 1 million houses over five years. He said he knew the pain suffered by the coloured community when evicted from places like District Six. (11A)

Mandela said the ANC would provide electricity to 2,5 million homes over five years, and running water and flush toilets to 1 million families.

After the rally scuffles erupted between ANC and National Party supporters outside the Allenby sportsground.

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

PAC list for PWV released

BY SHIRLEY WOODGATE

Lawyer, author and PAC United Nations representative Dr Motsoko Pheko is the organisation's unanimous choice as premier of the PWV region, it was announced at a press conference in Johannesburg yesterday.

Weighing in at number 83 out of 200 on the provincial list is World Boxing Federation lightweight champion Ditau Molefyana, well behind white Pretoria University law lecturer Professor Deon Basson, who is a longstanding member of the party and nominated

at number six.

Also among the top 10 names on a list of 100 candidates released yesterday are Professor Count Pietersen of Sebokeng in second place, followed by West Rand deputy chairman Crecentia Mofokeng, who is the first of 15 women on the list

Fourth is SA Breweries economic forecaster Simon Ramogale, and then comes central Transvaal chairman Jacob Matlala.

Seventh is PAC relief and welfare director Bonga Majola.

Vaal region chairman Ike Makiti is eighth, Ivory

Park leader Mandla Songa was voted in at number nine and Ennerdale branch chairman Basil Douglas is number 10

The proposed PWV provincial candidates for the National Assembly are headed by West Rand regional chairman Ntsundeni Madzunya, followed by lawyer Moses Mavundla, who is regional chairman of the central Transvaal, and Mostho Petlane in third place

Fourth in the total of 43 names is Pretoria advocate Ben Ngoepe, then

Nactu secretary-general Cunningham Ngcukana, trade unionists James Mdlalose and Phillip Dlamini at 6 and 7, Independent Development Trust staffer Molefe Mafole in eighth place, Gabriel Sihlangu at number nine and education officer in Harare Clayton Sibiyi in tenth place

Maja Serudi, professor of African languages at Unisa, is in 14th place and 13th is former Soweto mayor the Rev David Thebèhali, who is a Rhema church minister

► PAC's PWV list - Page 8

Star 14/2/94 PAC's PWV list

The PAC's candidates for the PWV province are:

- 1 Dr Motsokò Pheko, 2 Professor Count Pietersen, 3 Crecentia Mofokeng, 4 Simon Ramogale, 5 Jacob Matlala, 6 Professor Deon Basson, 7 Bonga Majola, 8 Ike Makiti, 9 Mandla Songa, 10 Basil Douglas, 11 Mandla Cebekhulu, 12 Thami Plaatjes, 13 Joe Khumalo, 14 Thabiso Mosokotso, 15 Gabriel Sihlangu, 16 Irene Motlana, 17 Gaseitsiwe Mangope, 18 Pinky Monyane, 19 Peter Raboroko, 20 Siphwe Sithole, 21 Bonginkosi Mhlanga, 22 Gcinaphi Modupo, 23 Ariel Haskin, 24 Mhlanga Skhosana, 25 Thembekile Boyce, 26 Norman Simelane, 27 the Rev Daniel Lephoko, 28 Philemon Tefu, 29 Moses Lee Thulo, 30 Nombulelo Pietersen, 31 Donald Morwatsehla, 32 Molahlehi Mmutle, 33 Maleshwane Majoe, 34 Gopolang Sekobe, 35 Marcus Makhan, 36 Star Sibanyoni, 37 Paul Mahlangu, 38 Bafana Sibanda, 39 Andrew Lesito, 40 Ellen Ntuli, 41 Collin Molebatse, 42 John Ganya, 43 Thomas Molefe, 44 Peter Malotsi, 45 Alfred Mataboge, 46 Louisa Thabethe, 47 Molotsi Molefe, 48 Elias Ntloedibe, 49 Philip Modau, 50 Israel Sithole, 51 Thabo Motanyane, 52 Tihankie Moeketsi, 53 Phillip Lukhele, 54 Loxley Mthopeng, 55 Sonnyboy Mmatli, 56 Solly Mautjana, 57 Steve Molefe, 58 Mike Rantho, 59 Rossina Williams, 60 Lungile Stimela, 61 Susan Khumalo, 62 Emily Mokoena, 63 Mbuyiswa Gantsu, 64 Esther Mavumba, 65 Adelaide Thato, 66 Isaac Bodibe, 67 Pedro Raboroko, 68 Amos Mthapo, 69 November Nkosi, 70 Jacob Nkabinde, 71 Elizabeth Marokane, 72 Mike Limbané, 73 Dorah Nowata, 74 Sheila Masote, 75 Solomzi Selane, 76 Collin Kotu, 77 Khulu Rashama, 78 Reggie Nikiwe, 79 Bethuel Natsabu, 80 Johannes Hlalela, 81 Zacharia Mayane, 82 Ernest Kenoshi, 83 Ditau Molefyane, 84 Zakes Mohanoe, 85 Joel Moia, 86 Michael Maimane, 87 Gladys Ngeleza, 88 Phineas Makhale, 89 Aubrey Seloto, 90 Mpiyakhe Mgubi, 91 Siphso Simanga, 92 Caff Sehloho, 93 Zacharia Moraka, 94 Sibane Chibane, 95 Nichodemus Medupi, 96 Steve Mahlangu, 97 Kgabi Diale, 98 Thomas Molefe, 99 Sello Thimane, 100 Sello Maneloa

PAC package's white surprise

Sowetan 14/2/94

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff



THE Pan Africanist Congress has nominated a white University of Pretoria professor, Dr Deon Basson, for the PWV regional assembly

He appears sixth on the list of 100 candidates — which means that if the PAC gets about eight percent of the regional vote, he will be elected

Topping the list is Dr Motsoko Pheko, PAC representative to the United Nations — and, therefore, the movement's premier candidate

A surprise candidate is former Soweto mayor the Rev David Thebehali, now a Rhema church minister, who is number 13 on the 43-member list for national assembly

The PAC issued its PWV regional list and PWV national assembly list at a provincial congress at Zamdela township yesterday

Fifth place

Candidates included National Council of Trade Unions secretary general Mr Cunningham Ngcukana in fifth place on the national assembly list, and Nactu president Mr James Mdlalose, in sixth place

Second to Pheko on the provincial legislature list is the PAC's Vaal regional deputy chairman Count Pietersen — a former PAC representative in the United Kingdom, the UN and Dar Es Salaam

The PAC's West Rand deputy president Ms Crecentia Mofokeng is third (and the only woman likely to be elected to the regional assembly), while businessman Mr Simon Ramogale obtained fourth position

PAC's central Transvaal deputy chairman Mr Jacob Matlala is fifth PAC director of repatriation and relief aid, Mr Bonga Majola, is seventh

Topping the provincial list for the national assembly is Mr Ntsundeni Madzunya, a business manager and Western Transvaal regional chairman

Pretoria lawyer Moses Mavundla, who is in partnership with PAC legal affairs boss, Mr Willie Serite, is number two. He is expected to be on the national list

Human rights

Third on the list is Mosotho Petlane — chairman of the PAC's youth wing Azanian National Youth Unity — while an advocate Mr Ben Ngoepe of the Pretoria Bar is fourth

African languages professor Dr Serudu Maja is 14 and human rights lawyer Mr Mandisa Tsotsi is number 26. City Press journalist Sandile Memela is 22nd

PAC president Clarence Makwetu is expected to release the party's election

manifesto and national list for parliament in the Western Cape next Sunday
PAC candidates for national assembly from the PWV

1 Ntsundeni Madzunya 2 Moses Mavundla, 3 Mosotho Petlane 4 Ben Ngoepe 5 Cunningham Ngcukana 6 James Mdlalose 7 Phillip Dlamini 8 Molefe Mafole 9 Gabriel Sihlangu 10 Clayton Sibuya 11 Mandla Cebekhulu 12 Gopolang Sekobe 13 Rev David Thebehali, 14 Dr Serudu Maja 15 Tlhaki Lekgenyane 17 Gregory Mokholwa 18 Anna Phetoe, 19 Elias Mahome 20 Joe Madungandaba 21 Irene Khumalo 22 Sandile Memela 23 Mofasi Lekota 24 Ike Mkiti 25 Mhlanga Skhosana, 26 Mandisa Tsotsi, 27 Mxolisi Masoka 28 Rosina Williams, 29 Themba Madibi 30 Siphwe Sithole, 31 Oscar Malgas, 32 Neil Blandford, 33 Siphu Simanga, 34 Nyakane Tsolo, 35 Tumediso Modise, 36 Themba Mdlou, 37 Khotle Daniel Khunou, 38 Lebelo Mdau, 39 Mankoku Molete, 40 Benny Ntoele, 41 Neil Dinky Phakathi, 42 Victor Nkabinde, 43 Gilbert Nogale

PAC candidates for PWV regional Assembly (100 candidates for 86 seats)

1 Dr Motsoko Pheko, 2 Count Pietersen, 3 Ms Crecentia Mofokeng, 4 Simon Ramogale 5 Jacob Matlala, 6 Dr Deon Basson, 7 Bonga Majola, 8 Ike Mkiti, 9 Mandla Songo, 10 Basil Douglas, 11 Mandla Cebekhulu, 12 Thami Plaatjes, 13 Joe Khumalo, 14 Thabiso Mosokotso, 15 Gabriel Sihlangu, 16 Irene Motlana, 17 Gaseitsiwe Mangope, 18 Pinky Monyane, 19 Peter Raboroko, 20 Siphwe Sithole, 21 Bonginkosi Mhlanga, 22 Genaphu Modupo 23 Ariel Haskin, 24 Mhlanga Skhosana, 25 Thembekile Boyce, 26 Norman Smelane, 27 Rev Daniel Lephoko, 28 Philemon Tefu, 29 Moses Lee Thulo, 30 Nombulelo Pietersen, 31 Donald Morwatsheia, 32 Molahlehi Mmutle, 33 Maleshwane Majoo, 34 Gopolang Sekobe, 35 Marcus Makhari, 36 Star Sibanyoni, 37 Paul Mahlangu, 38 Bafana Sibanda, 39 Andrew Lesito, 40 Ellen Ntuli, 41 Collin Molebatse, 42 John Ganya, 43 Thomas Molefe, 44 Peter Malotsi, 45 Alfred Mataboge, 46 Louisa Thabethe, 47 Molotsi Molefe, 48 Elias Nploedibe, 49 Philip Nodau, 50 Israel Sithole, 51 Thabo Motanyane, 52 Thankue Moeketsi, 53 Phillip Lukhele, 54 Loxley Mothopeng, 55 Sonnyboy Mnathi, 56 Solly Nautjana, 57 Steve Molefe, 58 Mike Rantho, 59 Rossina Williams, 60 Lungile Sumela, 61 Susan Khumalo, 62 Emily Mokoeng, 63 Mbuyiswa Gantsu, 64 Esther Mavunba, 65 Adelaide Thato, 66 Isaac Bodibe, 67 Pedro Raboroko, 68 Amos Mothapo, 69 November Nkosi, 70 Jacob Nkabinde, 71 Elizabeth Marokane, 72 Mike Limbane, 73 Dorah Nowatsa 74 Sheila Mosote, 75 Solomzi Selane, 76 Collin Kotu, 77 Khulu Rashama, 78 Reggie Nkawe, 79 Bethuel Matsabu, 80 Johannes Hialela, 81 Zacharia Mayyane, 82 Ditau Molefyane, 83 Zakes Mohanoe, 84 Joel Mputa, 85 Michael Mamane 86 Gladys Ngelexa, 87 Phineas Makhale, 88 Aubrey Seloto, 89 Mpiyakhe Mnguni, 90 Siphu Simanga, 91 Caff Sehloho, 92 Zacharia Moraka, 93 Sibane Chubane, 94 Nichodemus Medupi, 95 Steve Mahlangu, 96 Kgabi Diale, 97 Thomas Molefe, 98 Sello Thinane, 99 Masello Manatsoa, 100 Ernest Kenosi

● PAC nominates Tukkie's prof

SOWETAN Monday February 14 1994

ANC plans to build a million houses

By ANTHONY JOHNSON
Political Correspondent

THE ANC planned to build one million houses over a period of five years, ANC leader Mr Nelson Mandela told an election rally in Cape Town yesterday.

"This plan includes building houses for the coloured community in the Western Cape," he told 6 000 cheering supporters in Retreat.

Emphasising his regional election campaign message that an ANC-led government would look after the needs of coloured

people, Mr Mandela said special attention would be given to the areas of jobs, housing, education, affirmative action, pensions, education standards, small business support and property rights.

Coloured people account for almost three fifths of Western Cape voters.

At the Retreat rally, which served as the highlight of the ANC's four-day election drive in the Peninsula, the ANC received the backing of a number of prominent personalities including boxer Derek Whiteboy, soccer star Duncan Crowie and beauty

queen Amy Kleynhans.

Mr Mandela stressed the ANC's affirmative action programme did not apply only to African people but to all those who had suffered discrimination in the past — including coloured people.

The ANC would ensure that job creation and the assistance of small business enterprises in this region would be a priority.

Turning to housing, Mr Mandela said many Capetonians had been paying rent to the city council and divisional council for more than 30 years and now deserved to own

them.

He urged councils to negotiate with community representatives to transfer the top floor of their homes when the ANC came to power were false, he said.

Departing from his text, Mr Mandela said there were some people who believed they must be "given" their own land. "That will not happen. We will not give away any part of South Africa to any ethnic group, whether black or white," he said to extended applause.

Moving to the education arena, Mr Mandela again struck a responsive chord when he said the ANC would not allow education standards to be lowered.

He promised to improve teacher salaries and teacher training schemes, double the number of text books, increase and modernise schools, provide a national bursary and loan scheme to students and extend pre-school education.

He said it was "madness" that teachers were being retrenched.

CR 14/2/94





ANC PWV region chairman Tokyo Sexwale at a news conference yesterday following his return from a visit to Angola at the invitation of the MPLA. Picture GARTH LUMLEY

Sexwale plea to right on its civil war threat

ANC PWV leader Tokyo Sexwale made an impassioned plea for the right wing to reconsider its threats of civil war on his return from a three-day visit to Angola yesterday, warning that the people of SA would resist.

The ANC PWV region's delegation had seen what the Angolan civil war had done to the country, and had returned with an appeal for the "fascist" Freedom Alliance to "stop in their tracks and reconsider".

Sexwale said the delegation, invited by the ruling MPLA, had seen "bloated bodies of newly born babies blasted by mortar and rocket fire rotting in the scorching sun".

"We saw bodies of women and men butchered by those who lust for power against the popular will of their own countrymen expressed in a popular election."

But he also called on all South Africans to have the courage and the tenacity to stand up in united action to protect what had been achieved so far.

If push came to shove, it would have to be the madam and the maid that would

have to stand together against the right-wingers next door, he said.

He said in response to Inkatha Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's rejection of the latest constitutional proposals that the organisation had shifted the goalposts again, and warned it should avoid painting itself into a corner.

"We believe in a common SA. Use this opportunity to clean your name," he said.

South Africans must show their disgust not simply with letters to the editor, he said, without specifying how ordinary people should demonstrate their feelings.

"The right wing must get a feeling from all of us that we are not afraid of them."

Addressing SA's possible future relationship with Angola, Sexwale said the organisation supported a negotiated settlement, but insisted that a precedent should be set by insisting that all parties respect governments elected in free and fair elections.

● See Page 7

Report by T Cohen TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

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'Alliance plans B/Day 14/2/94 entail destruction'

AN ANC delegation would visit Angola today to see a country ravaged by civil war so that it could look at the future planned for SA by the Freedom Alliance, ANC PWV chairman Tokyo Sexwale said yesterday

Sapa reports that he told several thousand supporters at a rally in Thokoza on the East Rand "It's a future called Somalia or Sarajevo or Angola that the Freedom Alliance has planned for us." (117)

Sexwale warned the alliance that it was about to commit the most serious political mistake in SA history. "We have put our lives down in the past for freedom and complete liberation of this country. If we have to do it again we will not hesitate."

He said the alliance must be "very careful" of its next step. "It will be a very bad war." He pleaded with farmers in particular not to go to war as they were "too valuable", adding they were vulnerable targets sitting alone on their farms.

The rally was organised to celebrate the replacement of the internal stability unit in East Rand townships by the SADF. The SADF declined an invitation to attend, saying it would tarnish its political neutrality, but Sexwale said the invitation came from the community, not from the ANC.

Sexwale said the SADF did not have a

clean slate. It was only because of the "despicable behaviour" of the internal stability unit that people were willing to give the SADF a second chance.

"Now let us remove the king of the (internal stability unit), (President F W) de Klerk, in the election. We want to have him unemployed after the election," he said.

JOHANNES NGCOBO reports that ANC PWV deputy secretary-general Obed Bapela told the rally that whites should be limited to owning only one firearm and that any surplus would be removed by an ANC government.

Bapela said all the guns community members bought for their defence and guns the self-defence units were using would also be taken away by an ANC government. However, he said it would also encourage black people to apply for firearms legally.

Speaking in Cape Town yesterday, ANC president Nelson Mandela said that on April 27, the people of SA would make a choice between five more years of despair, and freedom. "It is a choice of having an ANC government which understands the needs of the future because it knows the neglect and division of the past. We do not want a government who would like us to believe that the past does not exist."

Report by M Coetzee, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb, and J Ngcobo, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

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 Fanus 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, Tswanas, 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 fall. 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.

● See Page 2
● Comment Page 4

Report by W Paddock and J Ngobo. Tel. 11 Dagonal St. Jhb. and C Doornik, Sapa 330 West St. Dbn

Star 15/2/94

ANC may lose funds from foreign govts

BY JOHN SODERLUND

Foreign government funding of the ANC and PAC may be in jeopardy if the Department of Foreign Affairs manages to stop the United Nations from financially assisting the New York offices of the two parties

Pik Botha has appealed to UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali to halt funding provided by the Special Committee Against Apartheid for the running of the ANC and PAC offices

If the UN agrees, it could set a precedent for other governments to withhold funding from the ANC, which is now a recognised political party campaigning in an election.

NP spokesman on foreign affairs Myburgh Streicher commented. "It is unheard of that an organisation which was previously a liberation organisation and is now a political organisation should be funded by a foreign government"

(47 Sauer Street, Johannesburg)

NEWS State President tells of 'polit

ANCYL meeting Sowetan 15/2/94 disrupted in Bop

By Isaac Moledi

A MEETING to launch a branch of the ANC Youth League at Mogogelo village near Hammanskraal on Sunday ended in disarray when Bophuthatswana police allegedly harassed and assaulted those who attended.

The local ANCYL said it would take the matter to the Transitional Executive Council after an official, Mr Lawrence Makitla, and civic association chairman Mr Daniel Laka were arrested.

Illegal gathering

Police spokesman Colonel Dave George said police used teargas to disperse an "illegal gathering" but denied that the two officials were among the 10 people they had arrested and released on Sunday.

"Police used a small amount of teargas to disperse an illegal meeting. There were no injuries and 10 people were arrested for questioning under government security regulations but were later released," he said.

ANCYL official Mr Jackey Shiluba

(A number of people, among them pensioners, were injured when the police went into the village and started harassing and assaulting residents)

said on Sunday night the two men had not yet been released. (Sowetan 15/2/94)

He said the police also confiscated a number of books, money and T-shirts. An ANC flag was torn up, he claimed.

Shiluba alleged that a number of people, among them pensioners, were injured when the police went into the village and started harassing and assaulting residents.

He said this occurred after a fight began between police and the youth.

Azapo plans poll boycott

JOHANNES NGCOBO

AZAPO would draw up its plan of action on an election boycott at a national council meeting, Azapo president Itemeleng Mosala said yesterday.

Mosala said its strategy would include co-ordinating rallies and the production of placards and pamphlets stating why Azapo believed blacks should boycott the April 27 poll.

Mosala said a "manifesto" of the election boycott would be made available at the national council meeting in Transkei from February 25 to 28.

Azapo would back a vote only if it dealt with a constituent assembly, the return of land to blacks, the transfer of power from the minority to the majority and economic empowerment of blacks.

Meanwhile, Azapo also announced details of the assassination of one of its members, Letsatsi Mosala, who was killed on Sunday night by unidentified attackers at his house in Soweto.

Azapo said Mosala's killers opened fire on him while he was about to move out of his yard in his car. After shooting Mosala, the killers reportedly fired into the air before fleeing in the stolen car.

ANC's 'no' to

king's

Southern 16/2/94

demand

~~11A~~ 11A ~~11B~~

By Mathatha Tsedu and Sapa

THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS yesterday shot down the demand by Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini for a Zulu state

This comes as the country holds its collective breath in anticipation of State President Mr FW de Klerk's reply to the demand tomorrow.

The demand, made by the Zulu king at a meeting with De Klerk in Durban on Monday, amounts to a secession from South Africa.

It has raised political temperatures and fears that violence may erupt in the run-up to April elections

Political organisations reacted sharply and differently to the move, with the ANC rejecting the demand outright, and the Conservative Party supporting it.

Shooting down the demand, ANC Southern Natal regional secretary Mr S'bu Ndebele said Zwelithini had singled out IFP president Mangosuthu Buthelezi as "God's gift to the Zulu people", which was an "inconceivable position" since royalty was not supposed to be politically aligned.

"The majority of the king's subjects do not belong to the IFP. The Zulu nation is not a single, monolithic bloc united in its support for a partisan political policy," he said

He charged that Buthelezi had used the king for party political purposes.

However, in a statement from Johannesburg, the ANC extended a hand and said it was willing to send an emissary to see Zwelithini immediately to discuss his fears.

The CP said Zwelithini's demand was a "justifiable claim giving expression to the aspirations of his people."

Afrikaner's demand justifiable

CP leader Mr Ferdi Hartzenberg added that the Afrikaner nation's demand for freedom and self-determination in its own republic was also a justifiable claim which needed to be addressed.

De Klerk said yesterday a negotiated solution with Zwelithini and the far right was still possible before the election date, but would require them to move from their fixed positions on certain issues.

He told a Press conference in Pretoria that parties had at most a week to reach agreements which would pave the way for their participation in the April elections.

Asked whether the election could be postponed, De Klerk said "Anything is possible but we are very determined not to allow such a situation to develop"

(Report by MTsedu, 61 Commando Rd, Industria West, Johannesburg, and G Ardé, 330 West Street, Durban.)



Amendments to constitution likely

Plan to call

Special session of Parliament

Biday 16/2/94

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. 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 departmental negotiator and 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 Volkfront, 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 Croome 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 a settlement could result in a constructive outcome then

To Page 2

Parliament Biday 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. These could include introducing a double ballot; introducing a 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".

See Page 18

Report by D Greybe and W Paddock. TML, 11 Disagonal St, Job. B. Mcheleni, Sapp. Press Gallery, Parliament, and G. Aude Sapa 330 West St. Dbn.

ANC emissary to discuss Zulu demands with king

Star 16/2/94

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

The ANC yesterday described Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini's demand for the restoration of the status of the Zulu kingdom as it was before colonialism as a negation of the course of history. However, it said it was willing to send an emissary to Zwelithini to discuss the matter with him.

In its official response to Zwelithini's demand in Durban on Monday, the ANC said the king's call negated not only the course of history, but also the struggle for democracy.

"The issue of the monarchy in Natal, as in other provinces, can best be addressed within the framework of democratic provincial constitutions.

"The democratically elected Natal provincial legislature will

have the responsibility of determining the role of the monarchy to the best interests of the people of Natal," the ANC said.

In Pretoria yesterday, President de Klerk warned that all State agencies would be mobilised against any threat to the April election.

Asked during a Union Buildings press conference whether the election could be postponed, De Klerk responded. "Anything is possible, theoretically, but we are determined not to allow such a situation to develop."

■ Mike Tarr, IFP central committee member and former DP MP, has come out in favour of a referendum in Natal to determine how many people in the province support Zwelithini's demands for the restitution of a pre-1834 KwaZulu kingdom.

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 (11A)

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. (11A)

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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ANC unveils concessions to Alliance

BDay 17/21/94

ANC president Nelson Mandela last night unveiled a package of far-reaching constitutional concessions aimed at securing the Freedom Alliance's participation in the April elections.

The proposals include provisions for the consideration of a volksraad, new constitutional powers for regions, two ballot papers, changing Natal's name to Kwa-Zulu/Natal and extending the registration date for the elections.

"We are firmly of the view that these proposals remove all the remaining obstacles" for those parties that have not yet registered, Mandela told a news conference at Jan Smuts Airport before leaving on a two-day fundraising trip to Holland.

"This is our mark of good faith," he said. **BILLY PADDOCK** reports that the Freedom Alliance's initial reaction was positive, with chairman Rowan Cronje saying, "This is most interesting, but we will have to look at it more closely, look at the exact wording and assess the implications before we can give a more carefully considered response."

Another alliance source said Mandela's announcement was a major step forward in meeting the Alliance's demands. However, the Inkatha Freedom Party said it would reserve judgment until it had seen a copy of the text of the proposed constitutional changes. Inkatha negotiator Walter Feigate said he suspected the ANC was only "engaging in hot air".

Mandela said the ANC would recommend that the TEC convene as early as next week a special session of the multi-party negotiating forum to discuss and adopt the proposed amendments to the

DAVID GREYBE

Constitution

The forum could then convene a special session of Parliament to adopt the agreed constitutional amendments, as well as extend the registration date "by a few days".

The package of ANC concessions could be implemented only if it did not result in the postponement of the April 27 elections, Mandela stressed. Furthermore, they could be adopted only if SA's integrity and sovereignty, as defined in the interim constitution, was not tampered with.

President F W de Klerk told a hastily convened news conference in Pretoria that the ANC proposals offered all parties, including the Freedom Alliance, the opportunity to take part in the elections.

"The road to peaceful participation in the election is, in our opinion, now open to all parties and government expresses its hope that the Freedom Alliance will now place the interests of SA and of its own voters first," he said. **(IP) (IP)**

The ANC's concessions included:

- A constitutional principle on self-determination, and mechanisms for the consideration of a volksraad.
- Acceptance of demands for two ballot papers at national and regional levels in the election.
- A constitutional provision for separate regional finances, such as raising own taxes, based on agreements reached in negotiations with the alliance.
- A constitutional provision allowing regions, in drafting regional constitutions, to determine their own legislative and executive.

To Page 2

Concessions

BDay

17/21/94 From Page 1

tive structures.
 Amendments to the interim constitution to ensure powers are not "substantially diminished" when the final constitution is drafted after the elections, and

Regional legislatures will decide on names for their regions, with Natal being renamed KwaZulu/Natal in the interim.

The package of concessions had been adopted by the ANC's national working committee which had "reaffirmed" decisions of the organisation's national executive committee. **(IP) (IP)**

Mandela said the ANC was prepared "to bend over backwards" to try to find an inclusive political solution. However it hoped the alliance parties would act as the ANC had "and make compromises so all can participate in the election".

If the ANC did not take the threats of civil war seriously "we wouldn't have made such far-reaching concessions".
Asked whether this was the last chance

for the alliance to join the process, Mandela said it depended on the parties themselves. "But we are making every effort that those outside the process come in". He reiterated the ANC's readiness to meet Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini "on issues of concern to the monarch and other traditional leaders".

The ANC recognised the right of parties not to take part in the election, "but no one has the right to disrupt the elections. No one should be allowed to do so," he warned. Mandela issued a reminder "to those who think they can use force to disrupt the democratic process. The people of this country have both the capacity and the will to use their power to defeat these attempts. History and future generations would judge the current SA leadership harshly if we failed to take all the necessary measures to resolve SA's problems peacefully and through dialogue".

Report by D Greybe and W Paddock, TEL. 11 Disraeli St. JHB
● Comment Page 8

NEWS FEATURE *Voting for enemies*



EARLIER DAYS Lebowa Chief Minister Nelson Ramodike and his former ally, Mr FW de Klerk.

Young ANC lions angered

Sowetan 17/2/94

COLLECTING VOTES *Youth anxious*

over 'agents of oppression' on ANC lists:

THE INCLUSION in the ANC list of homeland leaders, formerly referred to by the organisation as puppets of the apartheid regime, has sparked a bitter row within the rank and file in the Northern Transvaal

The young "lions" were indoctrinated that homeland leaders, including Lebowa chief minister Mr Nelson Ramodike and his Gazankulu counterpart, Mr SDW Nxumalo — who were seen as agents of oppression — would be ousted through the bullet or the ballot, whichever comes first

But if the ANC wins the April elections the two leaders would be retained in the new government as they have been nominated into the ANC list for the National Assembly

Had he not relinquished his politics to command the newly formed National Peace Keeping Force, former Venda military strongman Major General Gabriel Ramushwana would have been part of the outcry. He too appeared in the ANC list

This is the king-size equation which the less sophisticated ANC followers cannot solve

"We are being asked to vote for people who represented everything we risked our lives to eradicate," one youth summed up

Reports of rebellion

The controversy deepened at the weekend following reports that Ramodike's party the United People's Front, and Nxumalo's Ximoko Progressive Party have registered to contest the elections as independent parties

ANC media officer in the area Mr Jack Mokobi accepts that the issue has raised concern but dismissed reports of rebellion as "absolute propaganda"

He concedes that the organisation did not embark on a massive programme to explain the new developments to the general membership, especially the youth

Putting the jigsaw puzzle together, Mokobi said "Besides the fact that the homeland leaders were voted in democratically, people should understand that these leaders were members of the Patriotic Front, whose paramount objective was to reduce the National Party support base

"These leaders have supporters and, by winning them over to the ANC, we are reducing threats of a civil war after the elections

"It is a strategy to safeguard peace in future. We do not want to exclude some leaders who would then unleash violence to make the country ungovernable

"Some people might argue that Nxumalo and Ramodike pose no threat as they have neither sufficient members nor military capacity to wage war. But the reality is that Unita leader Jonas Savimbi was a nonentity in Angola in 1975. But he plunged the whole country into a civil war which has been raging for the past 15 years"

Motivation to woo

But if the ANC's motivation to woo the homeland leaders was to reduce opposition, why did the UPF and Ximoko register?

Mokobi maintained both leaders are pro-ANC and the registrations were done without their approval. He argues that was the reason Nxumalo made a Press statement saying that Ximoko's registration was illegal as it was done by a "suspended" official, Mr Eddy Ngobeni

He said there were sharp divisions within the UPF and Ximoko. Some officials want the parties to remain independent while others want to form an alliance with either the ANC or the NP

Asked if it was fair that the two leaders should be given two chances to go to Parliament, Mokobi said they should decide whether they are for or against the ANC

"We cannot allow a situation where nationally they support the ANC while in their regions their parties are campaigning against the ANC

"They should join the ANC because they understand and agree with its policies and not because they see the organisation as an elevator to take them to parliament," said Mokobi

While for Mokobi and other intellectuals, this argument might make a lot of sense — what matters most is the number of votes and not a "clean" political record — it has yet to filter down to the young lions

(Khatu Mamala, 61 Commando Road, Industrial West, Johannesburg)

PAC leaders

Urge supporters to be disciplined

AR 18/2/94
[Handwritten initials and scribbles]

☐ 'Violent actions besmirch name'

ROGER FRIEDMAN, Staff Reporter

PAN Africanist Congress leaders have appealed to their supporters for discipline, saying violent acts were "plunging the organisation into a quagmire" and "besmirching" its name.

National leaders Patricia de Lille, Benny Alexander and Maxwell Ndamazivhanani, and regional secretary Bathembu Lugulwana addressed a memorial service for Azanian People's Liberation Army commander Sabelo Phama in St George's Cathedral last night.

Their call was heeded and the roughly 400-strong crowd made their way homeward without incident. This was in sharp contrast to incidents following a memorial service held on Wednesday in Gugulethu when cars were stoned and set alight.

Manifesto ready

Staff Reporter

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu will unveil the organisation's election manifesto at a rally in Khayelitsha Stadium on Sunday.

PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander told a Sabelo Phama memorial service at St George's Cathedral last night the organisation's election manifesto started with a short introduction on strategic objectives.

He said the manifesto would cover questions like the land issue, health, education, economic policy (including the nationalisation of industry) and tax policy (including a wealth tax for the rich).

(News by R. Friedman, 122 St. George's Mall, Cape Town)

Secretary general Mr Alexander said PAC members "had always been known by the fact they were disciplined" and so when you go home tonight you will have to demonstrate that this has been a meeting of the PAC.

Mr Alexander said the incidents in Gugulethu had taken him by surprise as the crowd inside the NY 149 Stadium were "well-behaved".

"We understand you are angry and suspicious of the circumstances surrounding Comrade Phama's death, that's why we have sent our own team of investigators to look into the matter."

"But at the same time we must be disciplined if we want to remember Comrade Phama, as he was disciplined."

Mr Lugulwana said he wanted to "reinforce" Mr Alexander's statements.

"It is important that we all accept that position," he said. "If we act as individuals we are plunging the organisation into a quagmire."

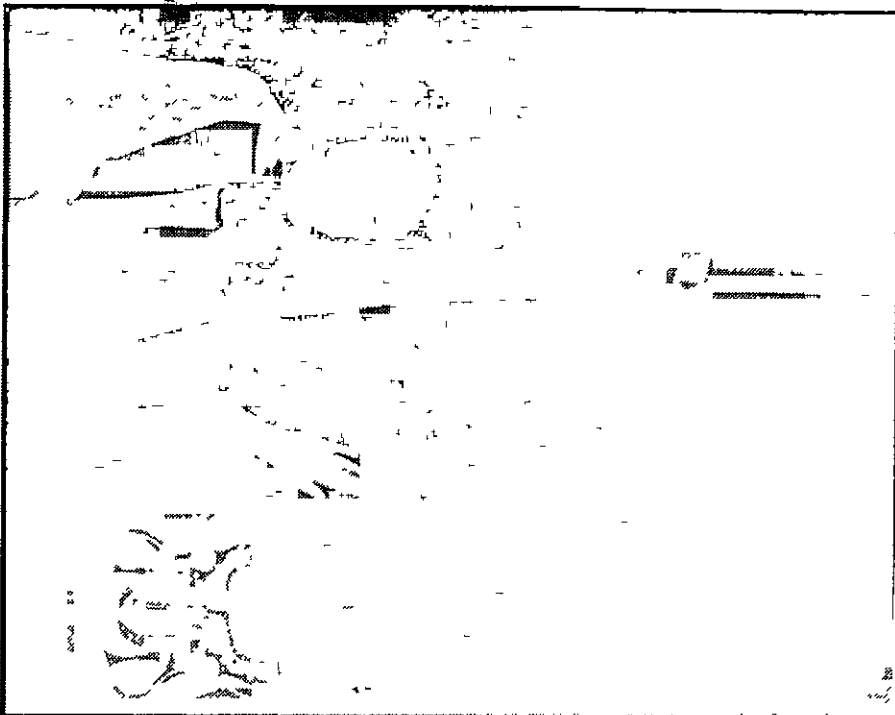
He also told the youthful crowd that press harassment was "unacceptable" and would "besmirch" the name of the organisation.

"We will deal with those comrades and they know what we will do to them," he warned.

Mrs De Lille provided the gathering with a brief resumé of Mr Phama's life and work.

After the service the mourners surged down St George's Mall with a hefty police contingent in tow. A witness claimed a youth tried to kick in a shop window but this was not confirmed.

(News by R. Friedman, 122 St. George's Mall, Cape Town)



Picture OBED ZILWA. The Argus
GREETINGS: Watched by Cape Town's Anglican Dean, Colin Jones, controversial Pan Africanist Congress member Patricia de Lille speaks at a memorial service in St George's Cathedral for Azanian People's Liberation Army commander Sabelo Phama



ANC 'understands plight of working-class'

APG 18/2/94

(11#)

CLIVE SAWYER, Staff Reporter
COLOURED voters have been assured they will be looked after by the African National Congress

the past to stay the same".
 "If you want to make the problem worse, vote for the National Party"

"Do not make the mistake of voting for the people who made your lives so miserable all these years."

The ANC would continue talks with financial institutions to give people easier access to finance for houses, cars and businesses.

National Assembly ANC candidate Salie Manie told a Cosatu election rally at the Civic Centre that his party understood the plight of the working class poor.

Addressing himself to coloured people — to be met with a request to speak Afrikaans — he said he had been asked by co-workers to join the ANC election list

He warned those in central and local government that attempts to feather their nests before April 27 would result in reviews afterwards

Replying to a question, National Union of Mineworkers assistant-secretary and ANC candidate Marcel Golding said concessions offered by Nelson Mandela on a double ballot and the possibility of a Volksstaat had been done for the sake of reconciliation and peace.

In an attack on the Democratic Party, he told the audience of 1 000, many of whom were municipal employees: "You know who controls the municipality, and voting for them is voting for the problems of

do you think I am going to forget where I come from?" he asked

All races who had worked hard and honestly were assured an ANC government would not "take away pensions, money or cars".

He claimed that the ANC would seize them to build houses for Africans were promised in the highest ranks of parliament.

(News by C Sawyer, 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

ANC's US fundraising fiasco

(11A) WM 18-24/2/94

Millions of dollars raised during Nelson Mandela's fundraising sweep through the US have not materialised, reports **Stephen Laufer**

ANC treasurer general Thomas Nkobi admitted this week the organisation was struggling to finance the critical last 10 weeks of the election campaign

"We are managing to pay salaries at the moment, but the election is a problem," said Nkobi. "We have not reached our target of \$17-million (R58,3-million) in contributions from the international community, and we are afraid to borrow — because of course we would have to pay for it."

The \$17-million international fundraising target is believed to be significantly lower than originally planned.

Fundraisers on both sides of the Atlantic are locked in a battle with the ANC's chief Washington representative, Lindiwe Mabuza, over large American campaign donations promised to Nelson Mandela, but never received by ANC headquarters.

At stake are millions of US dollars. Repeated requests to Mabuza to transfer the funds, raised during Mandela's US trip last July, have fallen on deaf ears, say sources in the US and South Africa.

Mabuza refused this week to discuss the issue when telephoned in Washington, saying she was answerable only to the ANC leadership. "I don't want to discuss this in the media," said Mabuza. "I don't even know really how much was transferred or not — I don't keep the books."

The election cash crunch would be eased, say insiders, if Mabuza were to transfer almost \$500 000 (R1,7-million) in cash and cheques raised during Nelson Mandela's US trip last July. A further \$1,8-million (R6,2-million) in pledges has also failed to materialise, because Mabuza has not followed up on the promises made to Mandela.

Mabuza, who has been nominated to a safe position within the top 102 on the ANC's list for the national parliament, is understood to be the sole signatory to the organisation's Washington bank accounts. The \$500 000 was deposited after Mandela's fundraising swing last year, which took him to New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and other centres.

Asked about his department's difficulties with Mabuza, Nkobi was unspecific, saying "Nelson Mandela



Main attraction . Millions of dollars were pledged to Nelson Mandela, pictured here with Los Angeles mayor Tom Bradley. PHOTO AP

brought about \$10 000 (R34 300) back with him" after the July US trip, and that "most of the rest was pledges which are not being fulfilled".

An audit of the ANC's Stockholm office while Mabuza was chief representative in Sweden several years ago apparently revealed a gap of several tens of thousands of Swedish krona between amounts paid by local donors to the ANC and expenditure records kept by the office.

Confronted over the hole in the till, Mabuza is reported to have burst into tears, saying she knew nothing about accounting. Asked about the audit this week, she denied any knowledge of a cash shortfall, saying "I am aware there was an audit, but I was not told that figure was missing."

An attempt to transfer her to Dar Es Salaam as chief representative to Tanzania failed when she successfully lobbied for the Washington DC position. She is said to have an "inside track" to foreign affairs chief Thabo Mbeki.

But far from winning friends and influencing people in the US capital, Mabuza is reported to have thrown her lot in with some dubious Capitol Hill entrepreneurs and put several important noses out of joint. Sources

in the US say she has angered ANC donors and sympathisers by "trying to hog everything for herself" rather than leaving fundraising to the professionals.

One American source, who asked to remain anonymous, said she had failed to prevent turf battles between two ANC-aligned fundraising operations, and "funds raised have not found their way back to South Africa."

"There is definite incompetence within the Washington office, and it needs better financial controls — even outside the issue of fundraising. The fault lies with the organisation at large," said a source.

A fundraising effort set up to encourage large tax-deductible contributions from corporate donors and chaired by Hemz chief Tony O'Reilly, who recently bought a major stake in South Africa's Argus newspapers, has reportedly been using its clout to raise funds from traditional ANC donors like churches and black groups.

Called Safe — for South Africa Free Elections — the organisation was set up with Mandela's blessing and the involvement of the ANC in an attempt to mobilise US funding for voter edu-

cation projects. Pro bono legal services were provided by former Kennedy aide Theodore Sorensen.

US law makes tax-deductible donations to political parties impossible, and the clear expectation was that Safe would fund voter education projects close to, but not organisationally linked to, the ANC.

But aside from minor amounts which have gone to ANC partners within the Patriotic Front, Safe has ended up supporting voter education projects beyond the ANC orbit to the tune of at least \$1-million (R3,4-million). Among those receiving support is the Institute for a Democratic Alternative in South Africa (Idasa).

Considering the use of Mandela's high profile for Safe's fundraising effort, said one US source, "anger is justified if ANC-related voter education is not getting the funds."

Mabuza was also instrumental in brokering a contract between the ANC and former non-voting congressional delegate for Washington DC, Walter Fauntroy, for "the provision of public policy, political action, public relations, mobilisation and other services to assist the ANC mission to the US."

The initial proposal included a draft first year budget of \$700 000 (R2,4-million) and requested a three-month start-up planning grant of \$230 000 (R770 000). Fauntroy was to cover these costs through fundraising in the US, but has not remitted a cent to the ANC. Instead, the start-up grant has been lost, putting the ANC more than \$230 000 out of pocket.

Mabuza has also pushed other associates at the ANC's expense, including one Albert Nellum, who came to South Africa with his wife, ostensibly because there was an "urgent need" to plan fundraising events around a tennis match involving Zina Garrison.

Nellum is described as "a very close friend of Lindiwe and the godfather of Zina Garrison." Mabuza was told twice by fax not to approve Nellum's visit, but he came anyway, billing the ANC for his room at the Carlton Hotel and for air fares for himself and his wife, which he insisted on having upgraded to business class.

Asked to comment on the goings-on in the Washington DC office, an ANC foreign affairs department spokesman said "We don't deal with election fundraising — that's the treasurer's and the election campaign department's responsibility. We have no cause to be unhappy with our representation in DC."

Report by Stephen Laufer, 139 Smit St, Johannesburg

SOUTH

1812 - 22/2/94

(119)

Mandela's utopian promises

By Quentin Wilson

THE ANC wins the election, life is going to be almost utopian, if the organisation's president Mr Nelson Mandela is to be believed.

Millions of jobs are going to be created in addition to a million houses, new roads, schools, clinics and recreation centres.

Mandela issued his organisation's first set of concrete election promises at Retreat's Allenby sports ground on Sunday.

Addressing a crowd of 9 000 people, Mandela pledged to create 2,5 million jobs over the next 10 years through a public works programme.

He also pledged the building of one million houses and the electrification of 2,5 million homes over the

next five years if the ANC makes a clean sweep of votes in April.

"I intend to do everything possible to get the banks, financial institutions and building contractors to work together to build homes throughout the country," Mandela said.

Furthermore, the ANC president said a future government would give support to small businesses.

"The ANC is committed to assisting all black business people, and we must stress this includes coloured business people. We will ensure that government contracts are given to small business," Mandela said.

Earlier, the crowd was entertained by the antics of Mrs Evita Bezuidenhour, the "ambassador" to the imaginary homeland of Bapedkosweti

"Amanthla skatties!" she screamed over the public address system, "Forgive me for thinking this was an NP rally...but we are in Retreat, né."

She then went on to praise the NP for, among other things, allowing mixed marriages.

"Otherwise Piet Koorhof would be in jail today," she said to the delight of the crowd.

Clad in her "Voorrekkers rokkie", Bezuidenhour handed Mandela the keys to Bapedkosweti and hinted to him that her political future might best be served as ambassador to a "Volkstaat".

While for the most part the rally went smoothly, there were a few hiccups for the organisers to deal with.

News by Quentin Wilson, 76 Darling Street, Cape Town

Security scare was a false alarm

By Quentin Wilson

ANC SECURITY officials received a scare at the ANC's Retreat rally on Sunday when a man lunged at ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela moments before his address.

The man, estimated to be in his early thirties, charged at the security cordon around Mandela in what was perceived to be an attack on the ANC president.

Anxious marshalls forcibly pushed the man back into the crowd and later removed him from

the Allenby sportsground

But according to ANC marshal Mr Majide Abrahams, the person turned out to be an "overenthusiastic supporter" who wanted to greet his hero personally.

"He was just Mandela crazy," Abrahams said, "We spoke to him afterwards and he said he had just wanted to shake Mandela's hand."

Apart from ruffling the feathers of ANC security, the man also faced the wrath of the crowd. When marshalls pushed him back into the crowd he was assaulted.

Buthelezi rejects plan for political settlement

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.

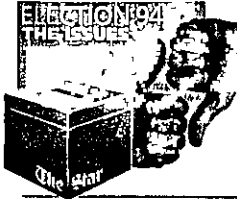
The Bophuthatswana government, the Conservative Party and the AVF said they were giving careful consideration to the proposals, released by ANC leader Nelson Mandela on Wednesday night.

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.

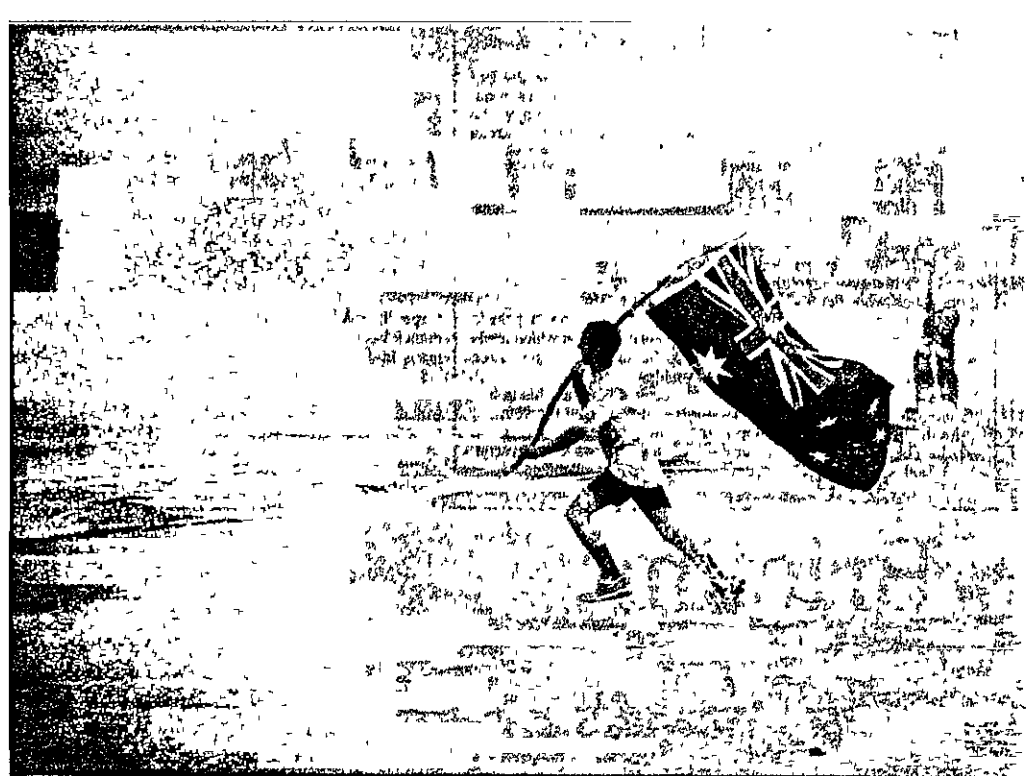
Bophuthatswana negotiator Rowan Cronje said the compromise proposals merited careful consideration. A delegation from the homeland is scheduled to meet the ANC today.

It has been widely speculated lately that Bophuthatswana might abandon the FA.

Democratic Party chairman Colin Fglin 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, Moliakeng 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.



This Special only available

Dire warning on concessions to IFP

Sowetan 18/2/94

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 Nkademeng said too much had been conceded even before the latest concessions were announced (~~2077A~~)

"Their (ANC) hands will be tied by these agreements," Nkademeng 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"

Nkademeng 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 (11A) (11B)

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 Zwelithini'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)

Mandela's package of peace proposals

By **Donwald Pressly**
Political Staff

ANC President Nelson Mandela in presenting a package of proposals to the Freedom Alliance, called on South African leaders to transcend narrow political interests

South Africa was at a crossroad, he said

While some parties were taking to the campaign trail in the spirit of true democracy, captives of the apartheid past were trying to hold the country to ransom, the ANC president said before leaving on a trip to the Netherlands

Breaking the logjam

To break the logjam the ANC national working committee had made the following decisions

- The April election could not be postponed,

- The integrity and sovereignty of South Africa, defined in the interim constitution, could not be tampered with,

- Measures needed to be taken to address the fears of those who feel left out of the process

The NWC therefore had made the following recommendations

- Inclusion in the interim constitution of a principle on self-determination, based on the negotiations conducted with the AVF and others, as well as provisions for a mechanism and process for the consideration of the issue of a

Sowetan 18/2/94

**6 Captives
of the apartheid
past were trying to
hold the country to
ransom 9**

volkstaat

- Provision for voters to cast two votes: one each for national and provincial representatives (IA)

- Amendment to the interim Constitution to address the following provincial matters

- A constitutional provision for provincial finances based on agreement reached with the Freedom Alliance,

- A constitutional provision allowing provinces, in drafting provincial constitutions, to determine their own legislative and executive structures,

- In order to grant greater security to the newly-elected democratic provincial governments, amend provisions of the interim constitution to ensure that powers at present granted are not substantially diminished when the constitutional assembly drafts the new constitution, and

- That the democratically elected provincial legislatures will decide on names for their provinces, and that, in the interim constitution, the province of Natal can be renamed KwaZulu-Natal

PAC accused defies judge

Sowetan 18/2/94

■ **BLACK JUDGE** Suspect asks for

two months to study State's case: (11A)

By Isaac Moledi

A SELF-PROCLAIMED Pan Africanist Congress member was again defiant yesterday after a Rand Supreme Court judge ordered him to come to the dock to cross-examine State witnesses

Mr Cornelius Gantse Sello (36) refused when Mr Justice R van Schalkwyk

ordered him to come out of his cell to cross-examine Israeli national Mrs Orly Vigdor. Sello refused to attend his trial, instead choosing to follow proceedings through a sound system linking his cell below to the courtroom.

Sello is facing 15 charges ranging from murder, attempted murder, robbery with aggravating circumstances and theft. Sello told the court that he would need two months to study all the

witnesses' questions after the state has completed its cross-examination.

Vigdor testified that Sello was responsible for the death of her husband, Yehoda, at the couple's home in Greenside, Johannesburg, on February 26 1990.

She and her husband returned to their home at 12 40am when Sello accosted them at the door.

The accused demanded money and she handed a plastic bag which contained R8 500 to her husband. Her husband attempted to remove the plastic bag to hand over the money but Sello fired a shot at his chest, fatally wounding him, she said.

Yehoda, she said, fell from the stairs and she ran to him. The man fired the second shot at her but missed. Another shot, which also missed both of them, was fired.

"The man then grabbed the money and fled," she added.

Another witness, Miss Maria Mazibuko, said she was also accosted by the accused and his accomplice at the house of her employer, Ms Rena Anosakis, in Emmarentia on December 9 1989.

Sawetany 18/2/94

ETSATSI MOSALA IS NO MORE His untimely death, to be sure, leaves a chasm which will be difficult to fill

His gruesome death further swells the ranks of that august body of the BCM martyrs, all of whom have died violently at the hands of this very same terrible regime - Remember Shezi, Tiro Mapetla, Biko, Myeza and the Azanla fighters who now provide them with cheerful and youthful companionship

This time the ghastly deed shall not go unpunished, no, nor at any time in the future. Gone are the days when our leaders would be snuffed out, just like that and wasted with impunity. The perpetrators, including the brains behind it all, shall be tracked down, even followed unto the four corners of the earth, and when found, as they so deserve, shall be punished according to the gravity of the dastardly act - no more, no less

An unassuming man of unquestionable integrity and conviction this Mosala was

Come crisis-time, come times of confusion and turbulence, then you would find Mosala in his best element. When this very regime banned the BCM and locked up its entire leadership, he and a few others who were still out, went out to set up action committees throughout the country, which later culminated in the formation of Azapo

As the national organiser of Azapo, he valiantly picked up the gauntlet, and almost single-handedly went about building it, defending its existence against our detractors who even went so far as to give it only up to the end of July 1978 to disband

During the time which came to be known as the feud between Azapo and the UDF, he stood up unflinchingly and survived

Later, now as the labour secretary of Azapo, he threw all his energies into building up the strong labour movement we see in the country today - he wrote clearly enunciated articles on the role of the working class in our struggle and succeeded in no small measure in advancing Azapo's policy of advancement of the working class

Teething problems

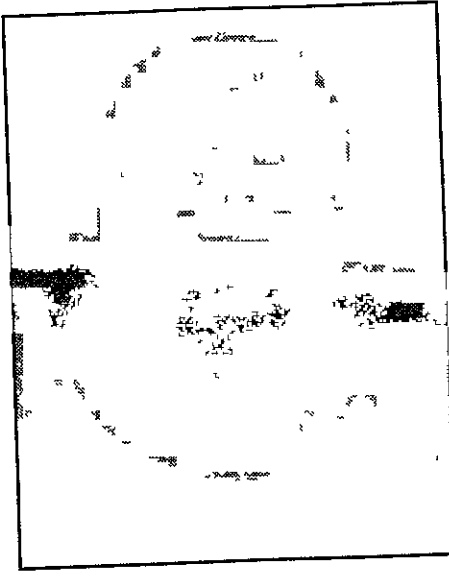
When the BCM(A) was having its teething problems in exile, among others having to deal with dangerous infiltrators, he came around to lend his strong hand

His fearless involvement and keen interest in civic matters saw him engaged him in struggles, among others, against some unscrupulous professionals who do not have any interest in the education of our children. This won him the genuine admiration and respect of the community

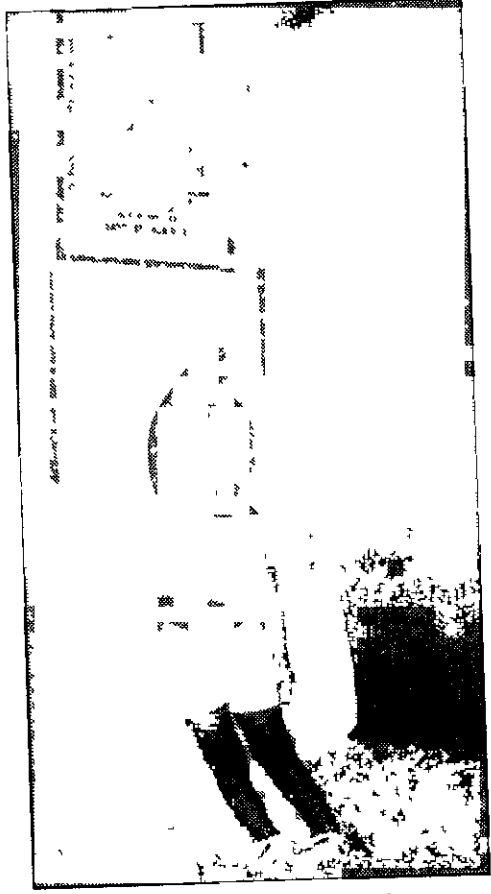
Not so long ago, Azapo convened an emergency congress to look into the present political developments, he rose again and again from the congress floor giving sound counsel, and at the end of the day, his cogent and principled arguments swayed the congress

The recent killing of Letsatsi Mosala, member of the strategic planning commission of Azapo, has plunged the organisation into a cold rage. **Nkutsoeu Motsau**, commander of the Azanian National Liberation Army, the military wing of the Black Consciousness Movement, sums up the mood:

(11A)



Letsatsi Mosala



Letsatsi's daughter Palesa Mosala

Another critical Azapo council is just around the corner, and now this!

Not one soul stands out as high as his at every nodal point in our history

His involvement and contributions were ever so invaluable, now his loss is so incalculable

If an admission of one single weakness of the BCM were to be made openly, this is it - the BCM suffers from an inherent incapacity to rise to the heights of sublime folly

The BCM cannot find it in its heart to abandon the correct path of liberation and instead indulge in the ephemeral and purely symbolic posturings that are now current in and out of the country

Some folks would have us believe a club-wielding brute that has become accustomed to routinely bludgeoning the heads of the downtrodden when he suddenly says, "I'm sorry, you get that?"

And further demands, "Have you forgiven me now, eh?" All this, while hovering menacingly, club still in hand, over the still groggy victim on the ground

The BCM believes that it is only the aggrieved, the victims, who can forgive. And no one, least of all the butcher himself, can extract forgiveness from the victim

Forgiveness comes from within the victim. It

may well be that these are changed times, and that some now have come to accept the bizarre and the absurd as normal

Not so with the BCM. May the tongue of the one who said, "Even the death of one thousand a month is tolerable," dry up in his mouth!

Letsatsi, your gruesome death will not make us afraid to emulate your dedicated spirit. We will take it up where you left it and continue with even more vigour

We will not rest and you must not rest in peace too! Fill us with your noble inspiration and, as ever, tirelessly urge us on. We know that until we have completely smitten the very backbone of white arrogance, our people shall know no peace, no justice, no decency

Lala, phila comrade

THE ANC and its leadership 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 Volksraad, the ANC wants to win time by fudging the issue.

The ANC concessions are fundamentally the same as those it got government to fight 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

By R12/94

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. Problems 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/AFB faction of the Arikhaer Volksfront as the fringe fight wing. Discussions between the ANC and

Bophuthatswana are progressing well, ANC sources say, and Bophuthatswana negotiator Kovan 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 normally 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.

ANC government 'to befriend Cuba, work to limit the UN'

(11A) ARG 19/2/94

JOHANNESBURG — A South African government led by the African National Congress should befriend Fidel Castro's Cuba and work to limit the power of the United Nations security council, according to a draft foreign policy paper.

Scheduled for release next week, the document urges an end to the three-decade United States economic embargo on Cuba and argues the UN should be "democratised" by reducing the clout of the security council.

The paper obtained by Associated Press was produced by the ANC's international affairs department, but has not yet been ratified by the national leadership.

The ANC is tipped to win South Africa's first all-race election in April.

During its decades-long campaign to topple white rule, the ANC allied itself with South Africa's Communist Party and received help from the former Soviet Union, Libya and other countries aligned against the US and the West.

ANC leader Nelson Mandela has been criticised for publicly embracing Libyan leader Muammar Gaddafi.

and Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

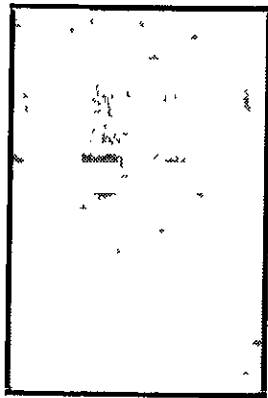
Mr Mandela insists the ANC would never forget its friends from the years of struggle. He and Mr Arafat met yesterday during their separate visits to the Netherlands.

"We will have differences over Libya and Cuba," US ambassador Princeton Lyman said of an ANC-led government. The US and its allies would oppose military dealings between South Africa and countries on the US list of terrorist nations, which includes Cuba and Libya, he said.

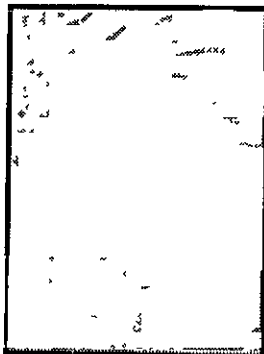
The ANC's 29-page document says foreign policy should be based on human rights, regional development in southern Africa and trying to balance the world order.

It criticises the UN and world development agencies for perpetuating the dominance of industrial nations in the northern hemisphere over underdeveloped countries in the southern hemisphere.

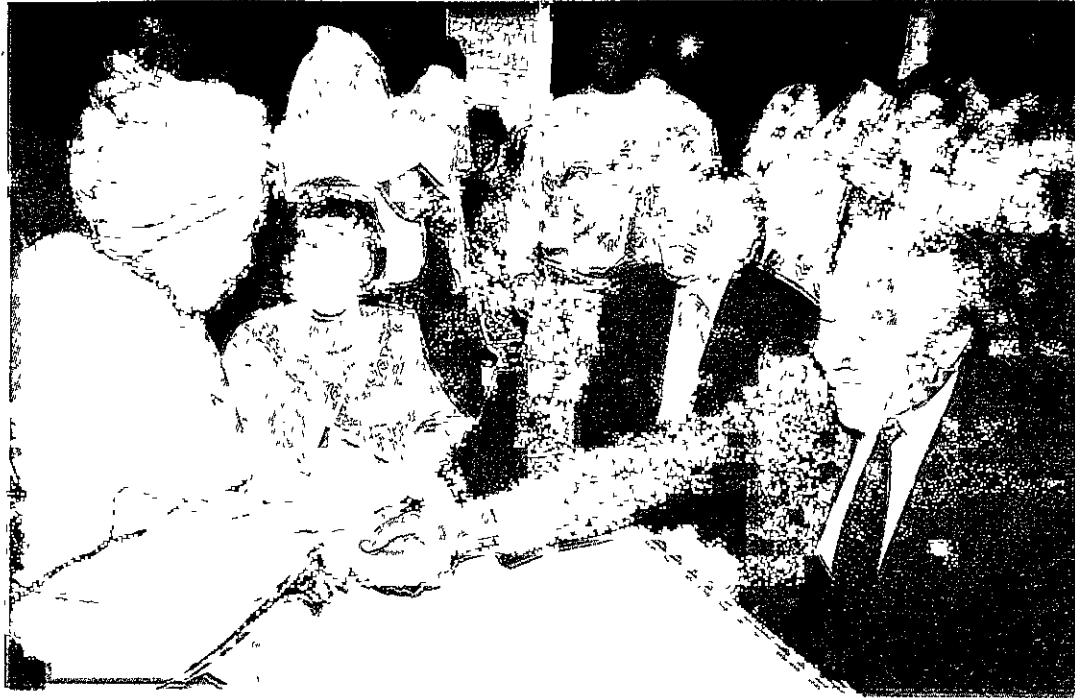
"We believe that Africa is once again the victim of a new and grossly unjust global system," it says.



Fidel Castro
"a new friend"



Muammar Gaddafi
hugged Mandela



Picture OBED ZILWA, Weekend Argus

□ **WELCOME:** Pan Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu is welcomed on arrival at DF Malan airport by a member of the regional women's structure while Patricia de Lille and Barney Desai of the PAC national executive committee look on

W/Argus 19/20/94 11A

War cry welcomes PAC leader

ROGER FRIEDMAN
Weekend Argus Reporter

PAN Africanist Congress president Clarence Makwetu arrived in Cape Town to a rousing welcome from thousands of supporters at DF Malan airport

The major purpose for the trip is the unveiling of the party's election manifesto at Khayelitsha Stadium tomorrow

Mr Makwetu, accompanied by his wife Mandisa who is making her first trip to the Mother City — was greeted yesterday by national executive members Barney Desai, Patricia de Lille, Fitzroy Ngcukana and Maxwell Nemasivhanani before stepping outside to rousing applause from the singing and toyi-toyi crowd.

"We want war we want war," they chanted "No peace no peace", as Mr Makwetu and his entourage emerged from the terminal building

He sped off in a red luxury sedan, his supporters following in the six buses laid on for the occasion

Police, who maintained a strong presence at the airport as the crowd waited more than an hour for their leader's arrival, brought up the rear of what turned out to be a lengthy convoy to Langa where about 2 000 supporters crammed into the Civic Hall

The Makwetus were officially welcomed to Cape Town by Mrs De Lille, who introduced Mr Makwetu to the crowd as the "only honest, reliable and consistent leader in the country"

"We will take back every inch of Azania not an inch of a *volkstaat* for any boer from Cape to Cairo will be ours," she said

Mr Makwetu told the crowd of the "floating vote" — the 18-odd million voters who had yet to decide how to vote

"We are heading for elections and we are told there are no less than 22 million people in South Africa who are eligible to vote And of those 22 million, only four million are card carrying members of any political party"

He said three issues had to be considered by voters before they decided for whom to vote. The parties' track records, their capability to deliver and "the role of the PAC in bringing about liberation"

Mr Makwetu will attend a rally in Worcester today

News by R Friedman 122 St George's Mall Cape Town

ANC backs women's *Star* 19/2/94 struggle

(11A) (SAPA)
THE ANC will back women in their fight against chauvinist cultures, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said last night

Admitting that the ANC had not done enough for women, he said "many more" women were needed in the post-election cabinet

Addressing an ANC women's conference in Johannesburg, Ramaphosa said "women across the racial and class spectrum ... con-

tinue to stand oppressed as human beings".

"This also happens in the largely white, Calvinistic doctrine. It also happens in traditional African homes as well as Asian homes, where women are regarded as people who must be silent and walk three steps behind their men

"It is a situation which all of us must make concerted efforts in resolving" — Sapa.

(D Isaacson, 141 Commissioner St, Johannesburg)

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.

An AVF spokesman confirmed its negotiators had met ANC/Government mediators yesterday, but said there was still no clarity on the issue of a "volkstaat". The AVF team withdrew after about an hour.

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

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 — 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

Dr All Said to be maint condit of the selves

He lians cause player "feel"

RODNEY HARTMAN
Deputy Sports Editor

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, who are 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

THOMAS KWENANI

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 erunt-

fontein Celtic and Fa way Stars — had reg tered foreign playe under false names

This emerged yest day when lawyers acted on behalf of Jomo Cosmos, Dynamos, Sant and Welkom Eagles consulted FIFA regardi their grievances. T

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

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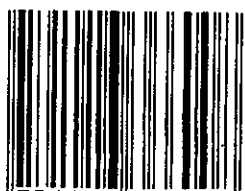
Ramaphosa yesterday revealed that Zulu king Goodwill Zwelithini, who this week called for the restoration of a pre-1834 KwaZulu state, had agreed to talks between his delegation and the ANC soon.

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

● TO PAGE 2.



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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. 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.

Molefe said making Bophuthatswana ungovernable was no longer on the ANC's agenda. Further talks were scheduled to take place "as soon as possible" (11A)

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.

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HARARE - black and the President M. cused of stil

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JAKES GERWEL... more support among under-50s

ADAM SMALL... sharp political differences

Small marks divide in Cape vote

Sit timeo 20/2/94

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.

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, 122 St Georges Street, Cape Town)

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

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.

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

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

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.

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 senator for 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 vanguard council, increased powers for provinces to raise revenue, and powers for 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 transferred with them.

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.

But Slovo confirmed there were no proposed changes to Section 126 in the latest government/ANC proposals.

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 Buthelez 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, Buthelez 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 David Grebbe 21/2/94

DAVID GREBBE

the demand for a volkstaat

A previous compromise deal on a volkstaat made between the ANC and 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/ANC proposals aimed at securing the Freedom Alliance's participation in the transition process.

The proposal for a volkstaat council forms part of a new section to be inserted

to pursue volkstaat ideal

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

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

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

Bibay

21/2/94

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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-

Mandela

slams

Buthelezi

AFRICAN National Congress president Mr Nelson Mandela yesterday blamed Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi for the Creighton, Natal, massacre which claimed 15 lives at the weekend.

Mandela said the Inkatha Freedom Party leader was fanning violence with his opposition to the country's first democratic election (11A).

ANC's deputy chairman in Natal Midlands Chief Zibuse Mlaba said he suspected "those who didn't want people to vote" were responsible.

In his reaction, Buthelezi said such violence could further polarise the South African society. He said he was "extremely shocked and aggrieved".

A team of senior policemen has been appointed to investigate the Saturday massacre.

The death toll rose to 15 after a seriously wounded victim, Samuel Ndizimbovu (25), died from gunshot wounds at Edendale Hospital.

The ANC said the victims were preparing for a voter education workshop when they were attacked inside a hut.

The 14 other victims were Mdeni Malunga (15), Mbuso Nxasane (17), Dumisani Duzela (13), Thamsanqa Ngcobe (15), Sokelazwa Mbanjwa (16), Bongwela Mbanjwa (16), Tholozani Cyril Shobo (12), Mandlenkosi Mbhele (26), Sifiso Ndlovu (13), Givi Ndlovu (13), Sibusiso Dusuzi Maphumulo (15), Siyabonga Ngubo (17), Duduzi Mia (28), and Kulama Madlala (16).

● Meanwhile, seven people travelling by bus to an IFP Youth Brigade rally at Taylor's Halt, near Maritzburg, were injured when unidentified gunmen opened fire on them yesterday.

Naidoo said three houses were also razed by fire in the surrounding areas.

It was alleged that one person was killed in violence after the rally but this could not be confirmed — Sapa-AP

Azapo told to prepare for war

Sowetan 21/2/94

(119)

By Mokgadi Pela

AZAPO president Professor Itumeleng Mosala yesterday called on his organisation's supporters to brace themselves for war because whites had not declared a ceasefire against black people.

He was addressing thousands of mourners at the funeral of slain Azapo leader Mr Letsatsi Mosala (41) at Regina Mundi Church, Soweto.

"Remember that white people in this country have never declared a cessation

of hostilities against black people. It was the African National Congress and the Pan Africanist Congress that suspended the armed struggle.

Turning to the rightwingers' demand for a *Boerestaat*, Mosala said "We must make it clear that we will not tolerate this and any form of surrender to this demand will be viewed as treason. The black people of Standerton have Azapo's support in never having to surrender any part of our country for a *Boerestaat*."

PAC unveils manifesto



Sawetani

21/2/94

By Donald Pressly
Political Staff

THE REJECTION OF AN Afrikaner *volkstaat* and the repossession of African land were the major tenets of the Pan Africanist Congress election manifesto launched yesterday.

Addressing the PAC's poll campaign launch in Khayelitsha, Cape Town, yesterday, PAC president Clarence Makwetu also said the movement would return to the armed struggle if necessary to ensure the return of the land to the African people.

When the PAC won the election, it would draw up a constitution which would "enshrine the land as the inalienable property of the African people".

He told a rally of 5 000 people that a PAC government would give each person a plot of land on which he could live with his family.

The PAC will be the only party participating in the April poll which will give control of all land to the State. Citizens would be "curators" of the land once it was allocated to them.

Makwetu also promised immediate control of the far right wing, who continue "to butcher our people every day" in pursuit of their apartheid dream of a *volkstaat*.

The security forces would be purged of reactionary elements of the apartheid past.

Poking fun at other political parties he said the PAC did not promise a chicken in every pot "in the morning after the election" or "orchards with trees on which money grows in and out of season".

But he pledged an immediate end to school boycotts which had been orchestrated by hypocrites whose own children "are far away from township schools".

Free education up to the age of 18 or Standard 10, whichever comes first, will be provided.

When the PAC came to power, a Land Claims Court would function under the constitutional court through which "all our people who were robbed under apartheid legislation shall claim their land back".

● The PAC leader paid his respects to late Apla commander Mr Sabelo Phama, killed in a car accident in Tanzania two weeks ago. "Sabelo should be standing here with me today to unveil our election manifesto."

Promise to return land

PAC 'will go back to struggle'

Star 2/12/94

(11A)

Cape Town — The PAC would return to the armed struggle if necessary to ensure the return of the land to the African people, PAC president Clarence Makwetu said yesterday

Launching his organisation's national election campaign at a rally in Khayelitsha near Cape Town, he said the PAC's struggle would not end until the land had been repossessed.

Presenting the PAC's election manifesto, Makwetu told an enthusiastic crowd of more than 5 000. "Above all, we promise you the return of the land of our forefathers which was taken from you by force. If it means we must go back to the bush to return our land, we will do so."

He said a PAC government would give each person a plot of land on which they could live with their families

The PAC also promised urgent steps to quell violence, firm action against the right wing and an immediate end to school boycotts.

"We have a message to instigators at our schools. From now on, we shall defend by any means the right of our children to education," Makwetu said

The PAC was under no illusions that the forthcoming election marked "the beginning of freedom and the end of oppression and exploitation"

"The significance of the election lies in what it can achieve,

ELECTION campaign is launched with undertaking to quell violence and end school boycotts

and (that) is up to you, the people. A correct mandate will enable the African people to write the future constitution which will deliver us from bondage"

The PAC president paid tribute to former Azanian People's Liberation Army commander Sabelo Phama, who died in a car accident in Tanzania recently

Earlier, PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemadzivhanani appealed to supporters not to "give your vote for co-optation under the guise of power-sharing"

He said the PAC did not need necklacing, secret deals, or the promise of a volkstaat to its oppressors to win votes.

"Unless the elections are rigged, the PAC will win."

PAC national executive committee member Barney Desai told the crowd that the PAC would "sweep white domination into the sea".

The struggle would continue after the election "until every inch of Azania is truly liberated" — Sapa.

(Report by E Kemp, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb)

PAC vows to grab 'every grain of SA soil' for Africans

11A
APR 21/2/94

□ 'Non-negotiable property' says Makwetu

VUYO BAVUMA, Staff Reporter
THE Pan Africanist Congress has pledged to redistribute "every grain of soil in Azania" among Africans because it is their "non-negotiable property"

It also unequivocally rejected any "protection of freehold title" to the land and opposed all private land transactions once the land was restored to the people through the constitution

These were some of the pledges in the PAC manifesto released by the movement's president Clarence Makwetu at a lively rally attended by about 7 000 people in Khayelitsha yesterday

Mr Makwetu said the launch of the manifesto was the beginning of the PAC's campaign to form a Constituent Assembly that would write a "constitution for the African majority, a constitution for liberation"

The PAC pledged not to buy the land from "the settlers because the settlers bought no land from our people"

The land would be expropriated through legal means such as the Land Reform Act and Land Claims Commission under the Constitutional Court. The state would act as curator of all property

On education, the PAC would work towards free and compulsory education for every child up to Standard 10 or the age of 18 years, "whichever comes first"

Loans would be provided for tertiary level students and English would be the medium of instruction at schools

On violence, the PAC promised to deal effectively with violence of the "far right, which is continuing because the regime allows it"



IN CONVERSATION: PAC president Clarence Makwetu, left, listens to PAC national organiser Maxwell Nemdzivhanani at a rally in Khayelitsha yesterday.

It would disband all "counter-revolutionary and reactionary formations" and prosecute the culprits instigating or carrying the violence

A PAC government would also remove all foreign mercenaries and end the migrant labour system

The party promised to abolish the "inequalities caused by the settler minority" by introducing taxes and anti-trust legislation, would abolish monopolies and set up fair competition in the marketplace

Big conglomerates would not be nationalised — instead the PAC government would "socialise and democratise them to meet the needs of the community at large"

A vigorous programme of affirmative action and job-creation would be introduced

"The PAC will pay specific at-

tention to the 16,5 million of our countrymen currently living below the breadline," the manifesto read

On health, the PAC favoured a holistic public health service, including alternative medicine, directed towards family and community reconstruction

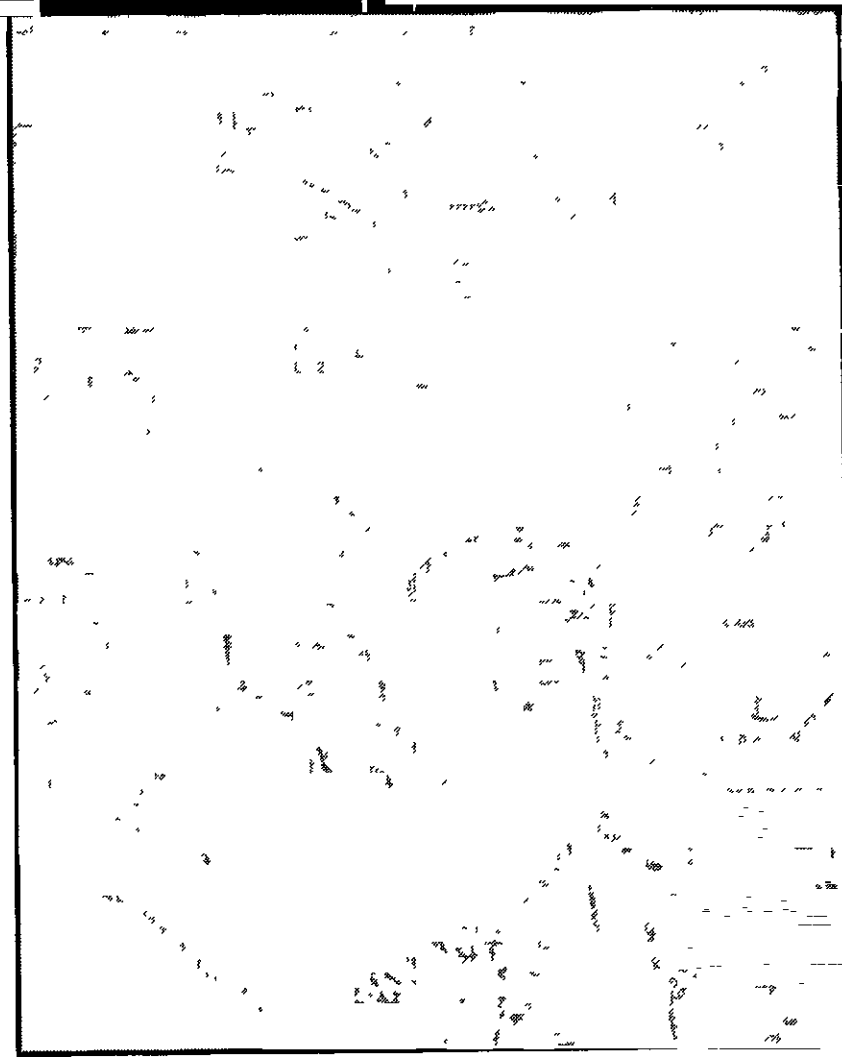
It would adopt a single health policy for all sectors of the community

The PAC would provide favourable tax deductions to the private sector to encourage it to build houses for the people

Self-help schemes would be encouraged and hostels would be abolished

The PAC government also promised to guarantee workers' rights

(News by V S Bavuma 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)



FULL SUPPORT: One of several thousand PAC supporters shows her approval for the election manifesto

Makwetu warns against unrealistic poll mandates

VUYO BAVUMA, Staff Reporter

THE Pan Africanist Congress did not promise the people a chicken in every pot, nor gold and diamond mines at the touch of the button after the election, PAC leader Clarence Makwetu said

Addressing an enthusiastic crowd of more than 7 000 in Khayelitsha yesterday, Mr Makwetu said this was because the PAC regarded the election as a means to an end, not an end in itself

A wrong mandate obtained on the basis of extravagant, but hopelessly unrealistic promises would only perpetuate the subjugation of the people, he said

But, as a matter of national urgency, the PAC would take immediate and drastic steps to end the violence

which had claimed many lives in the townships

Mr Makwetu said "We also promise immediate and firm control of the far right. These forces of darkness and racism continue to butcher our people every day in pursuit of their cherished apartheid dream — the dream of volkstaat within the borders of our country and in which the indigenous African will not be allowed to land and work

"We promise an immediate end to the school boycotts which have been orchestrated and conducted by people whose own children are far away from township schools — hypocrites whose children are safe in private schools, while ours are forced to the frontline to face the murderous weapons of the racist police"

(News by V S Bavuma 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)



CLAIMING THE LAND . . . PAC dignitaries at the launch of the party's election manifesto in Khayelitsha yesterday included (from left) Mr Barney Desai (standing), Mr Anda Ntsodo, Ms Patricia de Lille, Mrs Mandisa Makwetu, and PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu

Picture JACK LESTRADE

PAC threatens to take land not buy it

By PETER DENNEHY

A PAC government would not buy back land from "those who stole it", but would simply take it back through legal expropriation, the president, Mr Clarence Makwetu, told over 5 000 people at Khayelitsha Stadium yesterday

Unveiling the PAC election manifesto, Mr Makwetu said the whites had bought no land from Africans but had acquired it "by foul means"

He promised all those "who are called squatters in their own land" that a PAC government would give each family a plot on

which to live, free of fear of removal

He urged voters to elect suitable candidates to the "constituent assembly" in such numbers that they could write a constitution which would recognise the right of redress for those dispossessed of land

Their original right to land was abrogated and nullified by measures such as the 1913 and 1936 Land Acts, the Bantustan Act, the Group Areas Act, and "black spot" and "slum" clearance

"Our struggle was fought over land, and it is not over until the

land is ours," he said "If we must go back to the bush to reclaim the land, then back to the bush we will go" The crowd applauded enthusiastically

Mr Makwetu said the PAC promised an immediate end to school boycotts The election manifesto says the PAC wants free compulsory education up to Std 10 or 18 years of age, whichever comes first

He warned school boycotters that "we will defend our children's education by any means"

According to the manifesto, "affirmative action" will be promoted on a large scale to favour

the African working masses. The PAC says it eschews discrimination of any kind It will set about correcting "imbalances" such as the under-representation of women and Africans in the active economic life of the country

The manifesto says that for practical reasons, corporations and financial institutions controlled by the private sector will not be nationalised, but "socialised and democratised" Tax policy would be aimed at improving public revenue for infrastructure such as sanitation and roads

117 OCT 21 1994

Forgive me says ANC's Jannie

By CHRIS BATEMAN

MOSSEL BAY — The ANC's southern Cape election campaign chief, Mr Jannie Momberg, apologised to nearly 1 000 township dwellers here at the weekend for his 30 years as a National Party "oppressor".

"Those days are like a knife in my chest even now," he told residents of De Almeida and KwaNobaba townships

To claps and shouts of encouragement from the packed sports stadium he said "Forgive me for my part in apartheid"

Mr Momberg labelled President F W de Klerk an "economic saboteur" for recently claiming that foreign investors would stay away if the ANC came to power

"He's leaving us a ruined South Africa and now he's keeping people away He's nothing but an economic saboteur — we must get rid of him," he said

'Zulu volkstaat'

Dr Allan Boesak told the meeting the ANC would resist left-wing pressure to drop talks with the Freedom Alliance because its goal was to create an all-inclusive undivided nation

The ANC could not afford to allow Natal (for example) to become a "Zulu volkstaat" He urged Inkatha leader Chief Buthelezi not to "run away"

"We say there is only one way to prove you have a constituency and that is to participate in an election An election must be as inclusive as possible, so that nobody can later say their voice was not heard," he added

The ANC was trying to "include these people" as it had a responsibility to build a united nation

Confident ANC predicts win in W Cape

TOS WENZEL

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Political Staff ~~PROF~~ 22/2/94

IF enthusiasm alone can win an election, the African National Congress must be well ahead in the Western Cape.

On one of the walls in the nerve centre of its organisational headquarters in Community House, Salt River, hangs the brave sign "71 days to victory."

Inside there seems to be controlled chaos. People are bustling around, taking phone inquiries, many from people asking about ID books, transport arrangements are being completed and arrangements are made for training more canvassers and for voter education courses.

There has been an enormous response by new voters wanting ID books but in the Nyanga area about 10 000 documents still have to be collected.

The ANC aims to have about 20 000 canvassers in the field soon, one for every 100 voters in the vast area. There are 2,2 million voters.

Community House is the centre of the ANC's organisation not only for the Western Cape region but also for Namaqualand and some Karoo magistrerial districts.

Chief organiser Cameron Dugmore heads VOTT — voter

organisation, training and transport team. He acknowledges that it is probably the toughest election contest in the country.

The ANC's chief rival, the National Party, is well organised and supremely confident that it will win in this area.

The ANC says it is up against not only the good NP organisation but also racist "swart gevaar" propaganda aimed at making coloured people apprehensive and driving them into the Nationalist camp.

In spite of this, Mr Dugmore confidently predicts that the ANC is making a breakthrough and that it will win "50 percent plus" of the vote in April.

At the same time he is not complacent. A vast transport organisation is being built for the polling days. The party that gets all its potential voters to the polls will win.

As part of the canvassing campaign, surveys are made of people who will need transport. Taxis and buses will be used to take hundreds of thousands to the polls. The ANC is trying to have public transport made available and to have more polling booths.

Mr Dugmore reckons that one of the ANC's advantages is access to areas the National



Cameron Dugmore

Party can't get to such as vast squatter camps.

People are told not only about how to vote but also about the significance of the vote and that voting can make a significant difference to their lives.

One of the problems remains the issue of whether the vote is really secret. In spite of the fact that ballot papers this time do not have numbers, many people who have not voted before are apprehensive.

The movement is particular-

ly active in rural areas, and access to farm workers is improving. The ANC suspects that many farmers will try to influence their workers to vote for the National Party.

Here, too, the secrecy of the vote arises.

Mr Dugmore says that the ANC has heard about one farmer who has shown his workers a pager, telling them that with this he will be able to "listen in" on how they are voting.

He concedes the ANC's good canvassing may well show that some apprehensive voters are using the best technique to get rid of party canvassers: they are telling them that they will support their party on polling day.

No party will be able to come near to an estimate of its real support by the time people go and vote.

Enthusiastic but inexperienced canvassers, willing their party to win, may be one of the ANC's problems.

The old Progressive Party once had this problem. Neil Ross, its former chief organiser, used to tell idealistic young workers who had had a kick in the backside from a voter to put him down as "doubtful".

(News by T. Wenzel, 122 St. George's Mall, Cape Town)

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 Bophuthatswana 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." (S24A)(11A)

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

Volkfront leader Gen 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. (S24A)(11A)

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

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● Comment: Page 10

PAC manifesto stresses redistribution

Star 22/2/94

■ BY JOHN SODERLUND

The PAC's manifesto, which would make any "settler" jump at an ANC wealth tax, has come under attack from the DP and the NP.

Central to the document are plans to redistribute land to "Africans"

"We reject unequivocally any notion that there must be protection of freehold title to land and any notion that land can be up for grabs only when its current owners wish to sell it.

"Land will be expropriated through legal means. Accordingly, the PAC government will abolish all private land transactions once the land has been restored to the people through the constitution,"

explains the manifesto

No monetary compensation will be made for land reclaimed, says the PAC

Farmers will be barred from owning land which they cannot use effectively

Jaki Seroke, PAC secretary for political affairs, says farmers' land will be "neutralised" and restricted to not more than 600 ha per farmer unless the farmer is practising commercial farming

Costs



PAC president Clarence Makwetu says he would guarantee a plot of land to every homeless person

"Further, all township houses for which the occupants have paid rent to cover

the initial costs of the structures will be given to the occupants — the rents paid will be deemed to have covered in full the initial cost of the house," he says

The DP calls the land redistribution policies "dangerously irresponsible"

An NP statement says the right to private ownership has been entrenched in a Bill of Rights, the interference with which would "release forces which no government would be able to control"

PAC economic plans include "massive labour-intensive job-creation schemes" and "economic policies to secure foreign investment, transfer of technology and international trade"

Affirmative action will be

encouraged with the possible introduction of quotas into the workplace

Regarding nationalisation, Seroke argues that evidence from elsewhere in Africa shows that it does not work. Instead, he proposes a policy of "socialisation and democratisation" of the workplace whereby it "will be made more people-oriented and be driven less by market forces"

English

Worker participation in management decisions will be encouraged

English would become the basic post-primary school medium of instruction under a PAC government

(47 Sauer St, Jhb)

Azapo is defiant on its poll stand

Sowetan 22/2/94

By Russel Molefe

THE Azanian People's Organisation would allow all political parties to campaign in the townships but would not guarantee how its supporters would react to campaigns by traditionally white groups

This was said by Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala at a news conference in Johannesburg yesterday

The conference followed a meeting between the organisation and a delegation from the Independent Electoral Commission led by its chairman, Mr Justice Johann Kriegler

Azapo has rejected the April 27 election as a "sham" that would not liberate the oppressed black masses

The organisation also did not take part in the multi-party talks at the World Trade Centre and has since launched a campaign to influence people to boycott the polls

Kriegler said the meeting with Azapo was part of the IEC's commitment to engage in dialogue with "all significant political role players" He described the meeting as "frank and cordial"

Kriegler said the IEC, whose delegation included Advocate Dikgang

(We cannot give guarantees on how our members will react to parties campaigning for the election)

Moseneke and the Rev Frank Chikane, had proposed to the Azapo leadership that they commit themselves to permitting other political role players access to all constituencies

Mosala said Azapo had embarked on a campaign to influence communities, especially blacks, not to vote

"Our people have a right to listen to whoever they want We have clarified our position that we cannot give guarantees on how our members would react to parties campaigning for the election

"Our campaign against the election is based on the methodology that we cannot go around stopping other parties to campaign but could not guarantee what our members would do on the ground," Mosala added

(Report by R Molefe, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)

11A

ANC faces attacks from left

TIM COHEN

THE ANC will be fighting the election with two parties attacking its left flank. And the Workers' List Party is even more virulent in its criticism than the PAC. **B/D**

A spokesman for the small party, which has registered only for the national elections, was particularly critical of the concessions made by the ANC to government in negotiations.

The party claims support from members in a wide range of trade unions, particularly the Nactu unions, civic organisations and also from the Workers Organisation of SA.

The party's manifesto is unambiguous about its call for large-scale nationalisation.

"Less than 1% of the population owns over 80% of the wealth of this country through their control of the big monopoly companies like Anglo American, Sanlam, SA Mutual, Rembrandt and the Liberty Life group," it says

"We cannot have real freedom unless the

wealth of the country, robbed by conquest and exploitation for over three centuries, is taken away from the minority and restored to the majority"

The party intends campaigning against the repayment of loans made by the "apartheid state from international capital, including the IMF and the World Bank". **22/2/94**

The party estimates this debt at about R18bn and criticises negotiators for agreeing to pay the money back, saying: "This money was used to oppress us. It is scandalous that we must pay for our own oppression"

The manifesto goes further than the ANC's policy, insisting on the right to work, free and compulsory education up to matric and land redistribution.

The manifesto calls for "our own Nuremberg trials" of those who defended the "apartheid capitalist regime" **(11A)**

Report by T Cohen, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

Volkstaat acceptable if voters want it — ANC

Biday 23/2/94

DAVID GREYBE

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 Valh Moosa said the ANC still believed a volkstaat was not feasible
Volksfront co-leader Gen Constand Vil-

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 Biday

23/2/94

From Page 1

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

PAC proposes one family, one plot

Swartham 23/12/94

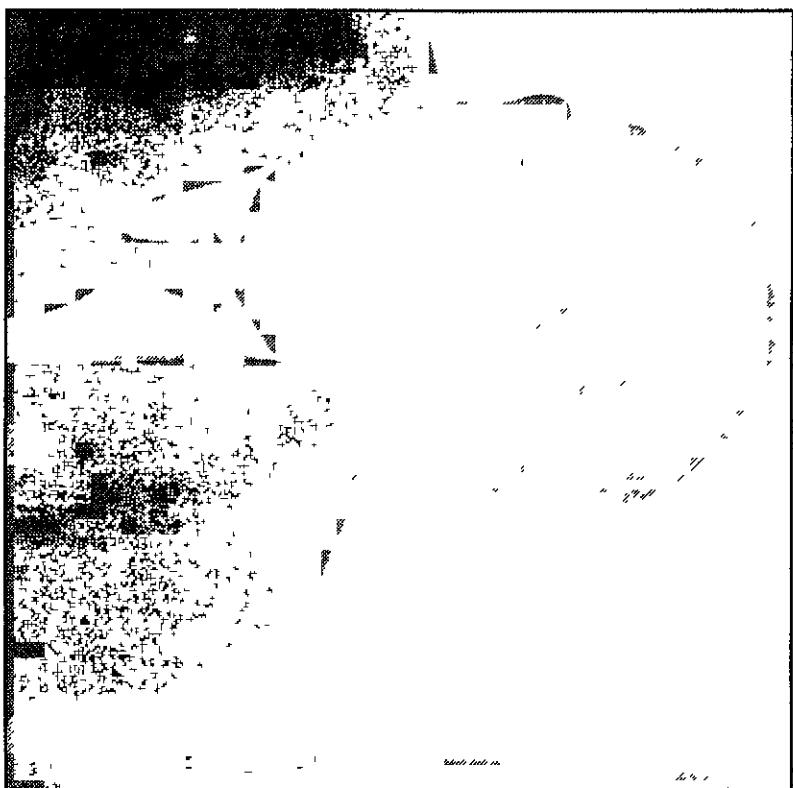
(11P)

Dividing commercial farms into subsistence farms will mean not only throwing millions of 'settler' farmers into the arms of the emerging rightwing resistance, but also destroying the agricultural sector of this country

Hard-working white farmers having suffered years of toil and erratic weather don't deserve to have their farms taken away anymore than progressive black farmers. One can't help wondering whether the enormous levels of agricultural debt will be written off by a PAC government together with the seizure of farmland. PAC policies will rob decent peace-loving individuals who have lived in South Africa their entire lives of the ability to lead productive lives.

While other forms of redistribution, such as capital gains tax on property and equities, may be hard for some to swallow, they present a better method of effecting a smooth transition to a more equitable future for all to practise African self-determination.

Mr Clarence Makwetu . . . when is a settler, no longer a settler?



SUBSISTENCE FARMS

World trend is to make farms

bigger — not smaller:

By Donwald Pressly
Political Staff

THE PAN AFRICANIST Congress's manifesto, released at the weekend, is based on two cardinal issues — the inalienable right of the people to land and their right to self-determination. The constant refrain of the PAC is that those settlers who brought land with them are entitled to keep it — no one else.

PAC president Clarence Makwetu threatened to "go back to the bush" if the African demand for restoration of their land was not achieved through the electoral process.

In strongly worded language he said he would not offer to pay out individual settlers for land they had in effect stolen from the African people.

The one family, one plot plan, apparently central to the PAC's economic philosophy, can hardly be regarded as a serious proposal.

Should this mean that commercial farms will be divided up into subsistence farms, it will mean not only throwing millions of "settler" farmers into the arms of the emerging rightwing resistance movement, but also destroying the agricultural sector in the country.

World trend

The trend throughout the world is not to make farms smaller, but much larger.

However, this is not to pour scorn on a noble concept — one does not wish seriously to question the PAC's desire to provide the people with access to wealth creation.

It's the method which is being proposed that is worrying.

The pledge that the State would take over the land and it would then be allocated to the "curatorship" of the public reminds one of Stalin's purges of the highly-productive kulak farmers in Russia in the 1920s — who were slaughtered for being hardworking and successful.

There is, indeed, more than a element of truth in PAC negotiator Patricia de Lille's argument that the first white farmers who settled in the country pegged a pole at a vantage point and then rode their horses "until exhausted" and pegged the boundaries of their farms.

Indeed, an argument can be put that the land was originally robbed from the indigenous people, but who is guilty three centuries down the line?

When is a settler no longer a settler? If ever?

A simple question has to be asked. Will a PAC government become the oppressors of the minority who now own the majority of the land?

Freehold title

The PAC manifesto states that the movement "unequivocally" rejects any notion that there must be protection of freehold title to land and also dismisses "out of hand" any notion that land can be up for grabs only when its current owners wish to sell it.

The manifesto puts it bluntly "A PAC government will abolish all private land transactions once the land has been restored to the people through the constitution."

It is little comfort indeed that everyone, regardless of colour, will be entitled to land in the context of being curator of the plot legally allocated to him and his children.

Yes, indeed, 87 percent of the land is in the hands of whites, and this does have to be redressed.

Methods of redistribution obviously have to be put in place — but booting some off the land, without compensation, will be no better than the methods used by successive white governments to boot black farming communities off their land by means of the Land Acts of 1913 and 1936.

Uitenhage workers heed stayaway call

By Day Own Correspondent 24/2/94

PORT ELIZABETH — Production was brought to a standstill at Volkswagen yesterday as a result of the one-day stayaway called by the PAC in Uitenhage to mark a day of mourning for the late Apla chief Sabelo Phama Gqweta.

And Goodyear spokesman Mike London said that of the company's 800 workers, 350 reported but left after a meeting to respond to the PAC appeal to attend Phama's memorial service.

He said in view of the clashes between the PAC and ANC in Uitenhage in February 1990, the workers who reported for duty took the decision to leave work to go and sort out the matter peacefully.

Volkswagen spokesman George Platt said workers in Kwanobuhle "were prevented from coming to work this morning. This resulted in absenteeism of about 45 percent, making normal production impossible". Those who reported for duty were sent home.

In Port Elizabeth, however, workers reported for duty and pupils attended classes.

In Umtata, PAC president Clarence Makwetu recommitted the organisation to peaceful participation in the elections only minutes after senior Apla officer Juma Yonana declared it would "continue hitting wherever necessary".

Both men were addressing a memorial service for Phama, who was killed in a car crash in Tanzania.

Report by M Selloo, EP Newspapers, 19 Saakens St St, PE, and B MacLennan, Seps, Press Gallery, Parliament.

(11A)

IN 1879, impis of Zulu king Cetsiwayo inflicted on imperial Britain its most catastrophic defeat, wiping out 1 600 of Lord Chelmsford's invading army at Isandlwana. A century later he was portrayed in a movie by Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi, the uncle of his successor, King Goodwill Zwelithini.

For most modern South Africans, the demands for an autonomous KwaZulu put forward by Zwelithini in negotiations with government seem as other-worldly as that movie — all too graphic but at the same time unreal, almost fictional.

Opinion polls show not much more than a quarter of SA's 9-million Zulus claim unequivocal allegiance to the Zulu monarchy. Nevertheless, it is difficult to deny the huge historical legacy that Zwelithini bears.

Cetsiwayo was the last king of independent Zululand. He was a nephew of Shaka, who a century before revolutionised the Zulu state, developing an army so powerful that it became pre-eminent among the kingdoms of southern Africa.

This proud history laid the foundations for the profound identity crisis faced by what nationalists are fond of calling "the Zulu nation".

The identity crisis is at the root of current negotiations between Zwelithini and government; its tentacles bedevil a settlement and the consequences of its failure could threaten every aspect of SA life for decades.

These negotiations have for some time been overshadowed by the more engrossing and immediate negotiations between the Freedom Alliance and the parties "inside the process", but there are good grounds for arguing that the "Zwelithini track" could be more consequential in the long term.

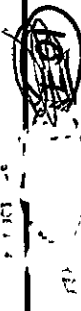
All over Africa, and the world for that matter, there is precedent for the proposition that discomfiting a legitimate monarch is a most dangerous course of action. But most South Africans, including many in the ANC, ridicule this suggestion, seemingly sneering under their breath. Send him a tank.

Creativity needed to stave off another Isandlwana

By Day 24/12/94



TIM COHEN



Although every Zulu heart does not pound "bayer" at the king's approach, there is undoubtedly more sympathy for Zwelithini's contribution to negotiations than there is for Inkatha's politics of malice and doom, even, or especially, among Zulus. Ironically, some argue Inkatha's contribution has been significant despite its contrariness, and now that many of its suggestions will be incorporated in the new constitution, SA will be a better country for Inkatha's uncompromising stance. However irrecconcilable Inkatha's and the ANC's positions might have been, this pales into insignificance compared with the differences between the ANC and the Zulu king.

Zwelithini's demand for an autonomous Zulu nation seems quite unreal, more like a negotiating position than a bottom-line demand, but he is apparently in deadly earnest. Neither the puppet of Buthelezi nor his uncle's adversary, he has put forward his case with unerring zeal, developing in his four meetings with President F W de Klerk an ever greater determination.

Many observers consider Zwelithini's all too recent arrival in the negotiations as a Buthelezi ploy to add a string to Inkatha's bow. The truth is slightly different.

In the king's eyes the unlikelihood of Inkatha's taking part in the election has raised the spectre that the Zulu nation, undefeated by any Afri-



□ ZWELITHINI

can tribe, could be ruled by default from Pretoria by its inferiors, the amaXhosa, by whom it was never defeated in battle. This would be unconscionable.

Zwelithini and Buthelezi's history has been a fraught one, with the king warned to scamp out of the Kwa-Zulu legislative assembly for fear of his life some time ago. But now, in the face of this new threat, that is all water under the bridge. Zwelithini describes Buthelezi as "my most trusted lieutenant" and Buthelezi has

accompanied the king on three of his four encounters with De Klerk.

Government's response to the king's demand for an autonomous kingdom has so far been that this would be tantamount to a unilateral declaration of independence, which would not be within De Klerk's constitutional power and which he would not anyway contemplate without holding a plethora of plebiscites.

Government negotiators argue that what the king really means when he calls for a Zulu state is that he should have more status and power in Natal — in modern terminology, "federation". Hence the real way to satisfy the king's demands would be through the creation of greater regional powers, which just happens to be exactly what government and the Freedom Alliance have been negotiating.

But this argument is dismissed with contempt. The reality of black politics is that tribal groups do not and will not brook opposition. Western notions of the division of powers and parliamentary democracy just do not enter the picture, the king's delegation argues.

Hence, if the ANC — which the king regards as essentially a Xhosa tribal group — were to gain power, it would annihilate the Zulu. Government's protestations about constitutional guarantees are plain naive. The ANC would naturally tear up any agreements it makes now,

should it gain power, and use all means at its disposal to subjugate the Zulu nation, in the same way all dominant tribal groups have dealt with opponents in Africa. This is why the king argues for an autonomous region, believing Xhosa domination of a new government will in effect mean the end of his rule.

The World Trade Centre negotiations took place between people, although political opponents, who had comparable frames of reference. The discussions between the king and government are taking place between people on completely different wavelengths. Government speaks the language of a constitutional state while the king's delegation is seemingly caught up in a bizarre time warp, speaking as if it were negotiating peace after the British empire's revenge for Isandlwana at the battle of Ulundi. No wrangle at the World Trade Centre is even remotely comparable.

Furthermore, there is no confidence between the king's delegation and the ANC. When Zwelithini speaks of the negotiations, he talks of the discussions between government and "that Vende" (ANC chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa).

Whether anything can be achieved in the discussions between government and the king is a moot point. The prospects are bleak. Although they have agreed to continue their discussions, the sides are so far apart talks seem almost senseless other than to postpone the possibility of war until after or as close as possible to the election.

The widespread belief that all Zulus will follow the instructions of their king might be overstated, but the consequences of his opposition to the election are serious enough for the ANC to give more attention to them that has been the case.

The stage may be set for intervention by the ANC's most senior Zulu representative, Jacob Zuma, despite the king's apparent dislike for the organisation. Zuma will be called on to use all the wizardry at his disposal to make a constructive and creative contribution. The alternative will be something akin to a re-enactment of Isandlwana in which the blood will not be a stage prop.

focus on THE FA

Sowetan 24/2/94

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 Amuchand 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

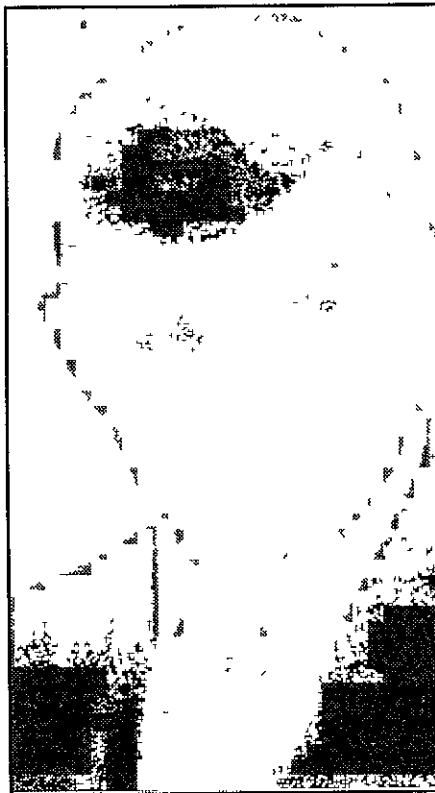
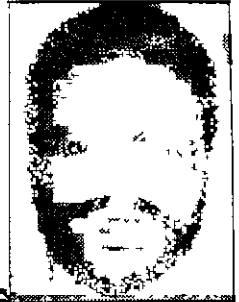
He said the FA had been a "difficult customer to negotiate with, who spoke with no unified voice and who shifted goal posts. The ANC has done everything humanely and politically possible", he said

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

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: **IIA**



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

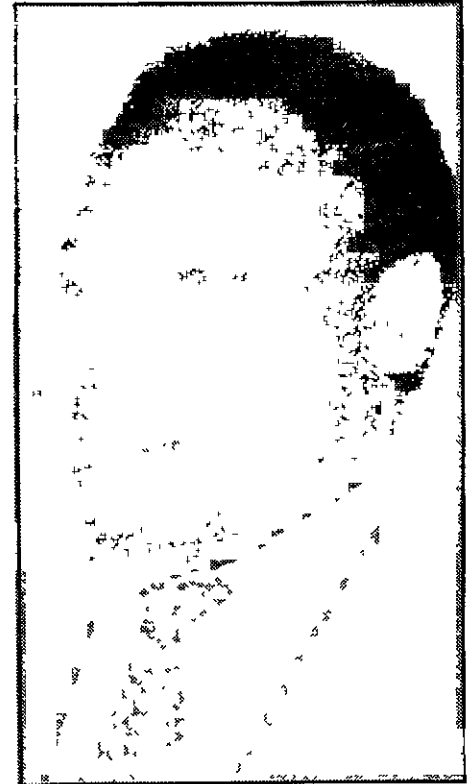
The catch is of course that the ANC insists that such a state should be based on the proven political support for such a concept in an election, and that it should not be based on racism

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?

NEWS Party to play 'important role in elections' ● D

Apla 'fight' for land

Sowetan 24/2/94

By Glenn McKenzie in Umtata

THE Azanian People's Liberation Army will exist as an army until land was "returned to the African people", a senior Apla commander said yesterday at a memorial service for Mr Sabelo Phama in Umtata

Mr Mpazamo Yonana, also known as Mpazamo Juma told about 10 000 people that Apla will play an important role in elections and will continue to "fight" without fear or favour

Former Apla commander Phama was killed in a car accident in Tanzania about two weeks ago

Among the people who attended the

service were chairman of Transkei's military council, Major-General Bantu Holomisa, and State President Tutor Ndamase

Most government offices, schools and businesses in Umtata closed for the duration of the ceremony Yonana added that Apla will help mobilise people to cast their vote in the election

PAC president Mr Clarence Makwetu called the coming election and interim constitution "deeply flawed" but said it gives the African people the chance for self determination (11A)

Makwetu said voters were faced with only two choices in the election. Voters can choose the present government acting in collaboration with a few black elite leaders, where they choose the PAC

which will rewrite the constitution to liberate Africans

The PAC president said it would be irresponsible to make too many election promises. "We do not promise a chicken in every pouch the day after the elections," said Makwetu

Meanwhile, Apla spokesman Mr Joe Mkwanzu said that murder and negligence charges had been pressed against the truck driver involved in the accident that killed Phama earlier this month

Twelve people had also been arrested for stealing Phama's clothing and other belongings after the accident

Apla is still investigating the accident and suspect foul play, Mkwanzu said

(Report by G McKenzie, 61 Commando Road, Industria West, Johannesburg)



Ramaphosa rejects ANC/PAC poll pact

Political Staff

(11A) ARG 24/2/94

JOHANNESBURG. — A high-level ANC delegation has held a "people's forum" meeting in Ennerdale in an attempt to woo the support of coloured voters.

After a short speech by ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa last night, the delegation answered questions from the 2 000 residents who packed the hall

These dealt with issues ranging from education policy to health, from affirmative action to local government and from Aids to election pacts

In answering the questions, Mr Ramaphosa rejected the possibility of an election pact with the PAC or Azapo

He said "The PAC has always seen itself in opposition to the ANC. The PAC's objective during negotiations was to try to embarrass the ANC."

Asked about concessions to the right wing, the ANC's PWV candidate for premier, Tokyo Sexwale, said the concessions were made so that South Africans and the outside world would never be able to point to the negotiations and say the ANC did not go far enough

"We make these concessions not out of fear of the right wing but out of love for our country"

Do not delay poll, warns Ramaphosa

OPPOSITION by the Freedom Alliance meant the elections might not be as free as had been hoped for, but to postpone them now would spark an unprecedented upheaval, ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday.

He told businessmen at a Johannesburg Chamber of Commerce and Industry lunch the election boycott by the Inkatha Freedom Party and right-wing parties meant elections in some parts of the country might not be as free as had been hoped for. "If the truth be told, we are going to go through some difficult moments." **BIDA**

Ramaphosa described these as the birth pangs of the new SA. **2512194**

"But to consider postponing the elections will cause an upheaval in our country which we have never seen before."

The ANC had conceded virtually all the demands of the Freedom Alliance in a bid to avoid an Angolan situation, but the concessions had been rejected.

All that remained was to try to minimise any disruptions during the election campaign — Sapa **(11A)**

Report by A Thomson, Sapa, 141 Commissioner St, Jhb

De Klerk supporters and ANC kept apart by police

BIDA 25/12/94

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. (11A)

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

BIDA 25/12/94

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. (251)

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 Greybe Natal Newspapers, 18 Osborne St, Dbn.

PAC youth say no to elections

(11A) W/M 25/2-3/3/74

Farouk Chothia

THE PAC's student wing, the Pan Africanist Students' Organisation (Paso), has rejected taking part in the elections in defiance of a PAC national conference decision late last year.

Speaking at a memorial service for the Azanian Peoples' Liberation Army (Apla) commander, Sabelo Phama, Paso national chairman Tsietsie Telite, said: "Are we voting to get the land back or are we voting to get a dummy government?"

To thunderous applause from a crowd of several hundred students at the University of Durban-Westville on Tuesday, Telite slammed the poll as a "farce" and charged that it would lead to the retention of "colonialism and capitalism" in South Africa.

Calling for the return of the "stolen" land to its rightful owners, Telite said nothing short of this would satisfy the Pan Africanist struggle against "settler colonial domination".

In another snub for the PAC's national leadership, the Azanian National Youth Unity (Azanyu) publicity secretary, Chargin Mabaso, was introduced to rapturous applause from the crowd. Mabaso was suspended by the PAC leadership after publicly condemning its decision to put a moratorium on the armed struggle.

Telite's comments indicate sharp divisions within the PAC over the elections — and comes as a major blow to the PAC as Paso has been the backbone of the organisation at the grass-roots level.

Paso's anti-election stance could rob the PAC of canvassers who would have been expected to muster support for the organisation in the run-up to elections.

■ See Page 6

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."

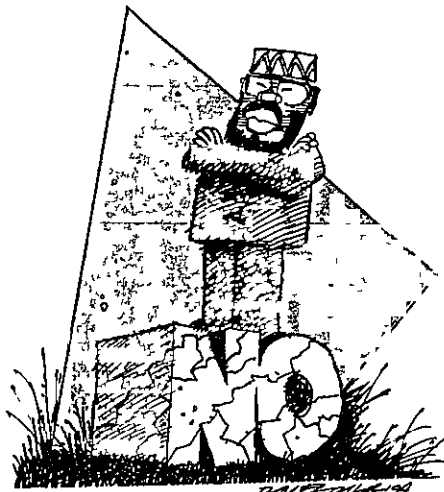
For example, he says that the renegotiated clause 160 — which safeguards provincial constitutions and provides for their own structures (so that KwaZulu/Natal, for example, could make special arrangements for the Zulu monarch) — could be regarded as an Alliance gain. But because there are no powers worth 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?

Fm 25/2/94 (11A)

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

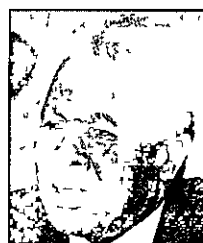
That's why some observers say it's a beauty contest, an American-style presidential campaign principally between the ANC's Nelson Mandela and National Party leader President FW de Klerk. Unfortunately, it appears that Inkatha's Mangosuthu Buthelezi, who claims by far the biggest party membership (2,5m), 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, subtitled 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*)



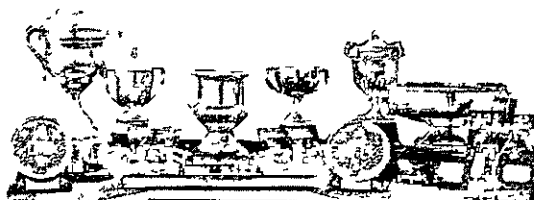
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PM 25/2/94

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.”

“FW 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 ~~(SOPA)~~ (IIF)

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 full-blown 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.

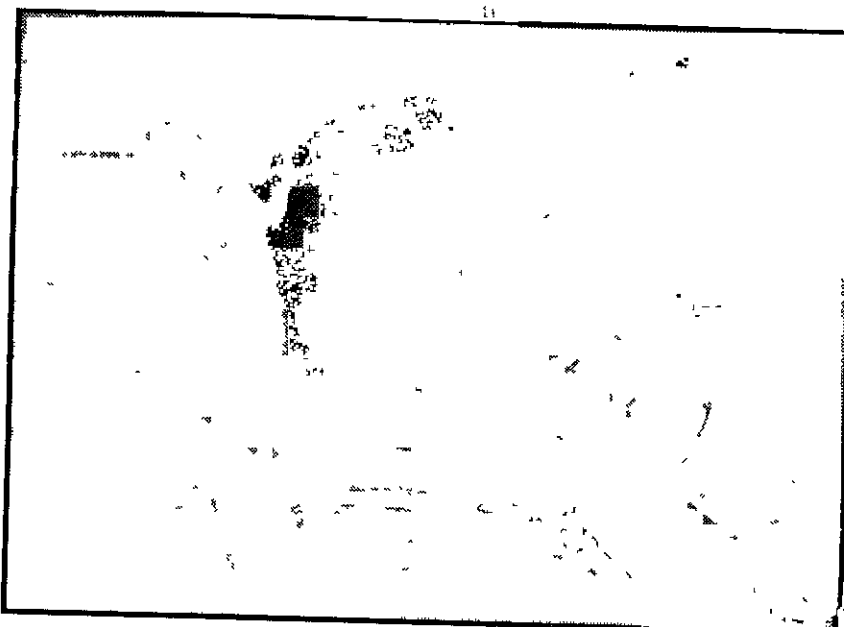
Interestingly, should the DP get 5% of the vote entitling it to a Cabinet seat, it will only accept if participating parties have the right to criticise government decisions publicly.

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. ■

Thabo Mbeki likely to succeed Mandela

ARG 26/2/94 (11A)



ATTENTION: ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki listens intently during an election campaign stop in Bellville

'Expected apartheid dividend is fiction'

STEFAANS BRUMMER
Weekend Argus Reporter

THE expected "apartheid dividend" — to be freed for welfare when state duplication is eliminated — is "fiction", ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said.

He was discussing welfare policy yesterday with representatives of organisations for the elderly and others during an election campaign stop in Bellville.

Mr Mbeki said reconciling demands with resources would be a challenge.

"It's in fact going to be very difficult to increase the size of the budget, because it will be very difficult to increase taxes, whether personal or corporate."

The "apartheid dividend" ANC planners thought to use for welfare is not expected to materialise when duplication of education and other government departments comes to an end.

"It's not true. It's fiction. There might be some savings, but not so

large. When you look at the civil service — these are people. They are teachers, they are policemen and you can't retrench them."

The large stockpile of fuel built up during the sanctions' years was no solution either.

"We thought you could sell it to create funds for social causes, only to discover those resources have been run down significantly."

He said an organisation like the ANC had to listen to people's welfare needs so priorities could be determined.

"An organisation like the ANC, which thinks it will be elected with a majority in the elections, in five years will want to be re-elected. Even from a selfish point of view it is important that we sit together and talk through these things."

Mr Mbeki said it is "important not only to say we have a democratic government, but also that we have happy people."

(News by S Brummer 122 St George's Mall Cape Town)

■ The question of who will succeed African National Congress president Nelson Mandela when he steps down is again in the political spotlight. Who is now the frontrunner for the top leadership position?

FRANS ESTERHUYSE
Weekend Argus Political Correspondent

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki appears to be firmly established as the person to succeed Nelson Mandela when he steps down — possibly at some stage after the election.

Mr Mbeki's chances have improved because of his growing popularity and stature since his election to the chairmanship, according to some of the latest assessments by political analysts.

He is in the Western Cape this weekend for the ANC's latest election drive, and his performance as possible state president of the new South Africa will be keenly watched.

The issue of the ANC's top leadership is back in the spotlight after Mr Mandela's recent statement in the Netherlands that if he is elected president of South Africa he may hand over to a younger man once there is racial stability.

The immediate question arising from his statement was: Who will the younger man be? The answer in most political circles, including ANC insiders, is that it will be either Mr Mbeki or ANC secretary-general and chief negotiator Cyril Ramaphosa.

However, when Mr Mandela, 75, spoke about his successor, he insisted that he was "full of energy."

Since the charismatic Mr Mbeki's election as ANC chairman last September it has been widely speculated that he is the heir-apparent.

Some analysts, however, suggested at the time that his elevation to the chairmanship might not be a promotion, but a sideways shift signalling the beginning of a power struggle in the ANC.

One argument was that his new position would weaken his chances in the race for the presidency on the grounds that the chairmanship was placed lower down, for example, than deputy president and secretary-general on the ANC's protocol list.

Pretoria analyst Wim Booysse told Weekend Argus yesterday his assessment at this stage was that Mr Mbeki was the most likely successor to Mr Mandela. Two factors strongly in Mr Mbeki's favour were his level of support and the fact that like Mr Mandela he was a Xhosa. Mr Ramaphosa, on the other hand, also had strong support and had the advantage of his links with the trade union movement Cosatu.

Willie Breytenbach, of Stellenbosch University's department of political science, said according to the ANC's official protocol list, Mr Ramaphosa, as secretary-general, had a higher position than Mr Mbeki as chairman. The three highest positions were president, deputy president (now Mr Walter Sisulu, 81) and secretary-general. The chairman was sixth on the list, but indications are that Mr Mbeki has a larger support base than Mr Ramaphosa.

Mr Ramaphosa appeared to have lost some of his support because the internal organisation of the ANC "leaves much to be desired."

Another factor in favour of Mr Mbeki was that he apparently had the full backing of the youth wing of the ANC. He also appears to have more support than Mr Ramaphosa in diplomatic and business circles.

"As an African country, we should also look at the ethnic configuration. That also supports Mr Mbeki's chances because he is a Xhosa," Prof Breytenbach said. "Most of the other African members of the ANC's hierarchy are Xhosas. Others include one Tswana (Joe Modise), one Zulu (Jacob Zuma), and one Venda (Mr Ramaphosa)," Prof Breytenbach said.

In the ANC's election list Mr Ramaphosa was placed immediately after Mr Mandela and Mr Mbeki was third. Fourth on the list was communist Joe Slovo, described by a Nationalist Press commentator as "the cunning mastermind behind ANC moves."

(News by F S Esterhuysen 122 St George's Mall, Cape Town)

Hope Inkatha may at last join elections

By SEKOLA SELLO and Sapa

HOPES are rising that the current constitutional impasse could be resolved following the announcement that ANC president Nelson Mandela and his Inkatha counterpart Mangosuthu Buthelezi are to meet on Tuesday in Durban.

It is significant that this meeting comes on Mandela's initiative - and that he has agreed to hold it in Buthelezi's "backyard". This indicates the ANC could be willing to make further concessions to Inkatha which would be sufficient to make them participate in the April elections.

The Mandela-Buthelezi summit - the fourth since Mandela's release from jail four years ago - comes in the wake of a flurry of meetings involving the government, Inkatha, Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini, the ANC and the Afrikaner Volksfront aimed at creating an inclusive constitutional dispensation.

The summit also follows increased bloodletting in Natal which some observers believe seriously threatens the likelihood of elections taking place in the province. Yesterday Buthelezi and King Goodwill met for three hours in Ulundi with government negotiators trying to persuade the Zulu leaders to take part in the elections - but Home Affairs Minister Danie Schutte said afterwards they had failed to break new ground.

After previous talks on Thursday, Home Affairs spokesman Niel du Bois said Buthelezi had accepted the government's proposals on the King's future "and further matters as a basis for further talks". The proposals have not yet been made public.

'King must decide'

After yesterday's meeting Buthelezi said he and his Inkatha followers were subjects of the King. "Even if all the amendments of the Freedom Alliance go through, subjects of the King cannot take part if the King says no," Buthelezi said. He did not elaborate.

Yesterday's meeting came barely two days before parliament sits in Cape Town to legislate last-minute changes to the constitution that were offered by the ANC and the government to Buthelezi and his black and white conservative allies in the Freedom Alliance.

Talks between the government, the ANC and the Alliance broke down earlier this month and the changes to the constitution, which included stronger federal guarantees, were rejected.

But Tuesday's summit with Mandela holds a glimmer of hope that Buthelezi may be enticed to split with the Alliance and rejoin the democracy process he abandoned last year.

Buthelezi is fighting for increased regional powers for his Natal/KwaZulu-based Inkatha and sovereignty in the area for the Zulu King, his closest ally.

Mandela said on Friday that he had urged Buthelezi to meet him because he wanted peace in SA.

"I am going to meet Chief Buthelezi in that spirit, in the spirit of exploring or seeing whether we can't bring him on board to take part in the elections."

Inkatha national spokesman Ziba Jiyane said they "will discuss the constitutional impasse".

"It's apparent at last that the ANC realises it's Mandela and Dr Buthelezi who hold the key to the future of the country, contrary to their earlier beliefs that we are an insignificant force," said Jiyane.

MANDELA



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CIPRODS 27/12/94

(119)

BUTHELEZI



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 boogie.

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 (IIA) (SAPA)

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)

Mandela, 75, vows to stick it out for five years

Biday 28/2/94

DAVID GREYBE

KIMBERLEY — ANC president Nelson Mandela said at the weekend he intended to serve as ANC leader and president of SA, if elected, for the next five years

He was reacting to criticism from President F W de Klerk, who has asked voters during election rallies how they could vote for a 75-year-old man who planned to retire soon

De Klerk's comments were based on reports quoting Dutch television

that Mandela had said he planned to hand over the reins of the ANC to a younger man soon after the elections

According to Mandela, he was misquoted and political opponents such as De Klerk were now using something he never said as propaganda

"I intend to serve for the next five years," Mandela told a news confer-

ence during his electioneering drive through the Northern Cape at the weekend

"But of course at the end of the next five years I will be 80, and it may be time for me to consider what I should do. (11A)

He admitted it was a "painful experience" that his children and grandchildren could not enjoy his company

Report by D Greybe, TML, 11 Disagonal St, Jhb

Blow to ANC's efforts to win the coloured vote

BIDAY 28/2/94

KIMBERLEY — ANC president Nelson Mandela's concerted efforts to win the coloured vote were dealt a serious blow in the northern Cape last week.

Attacks by ANC supporters on NP supporters in the city's Roodepan township last Wednesday, which resulted in the first death of the election campaign, may have signalled the turning point in the fight for the coloured vote.

Perceptions among many coloureds that the ANC does not tolerate political opponents or minority population groups, and that Mandela cannot control the wild elements associated with his party, were reinforced at Roodepan.

ANC intimidation caused De Klerk to cancel two election rallies — one in Roodepan, and one he abandoned after being stoned — during a two-day electioneering roadshow in the region last week.

Many coloured voters said afterwards they remained wary of the ANC, and were unable to accept Mandela's assurances that the ANC genuinely had their interests at heart.

ANC election strategists, who have admitted they face an uphill task to

DAVID GREYBE

win the coloured vote, decided Mandela would tour the western Cape or the northern Cape every 10 days in a bid for the coloured vote.

Mandela focused on allaying the fears of coloureds during a two-day campaign tour of the area after De Klerk's "How can the ANC discriminate against the coloured people when there are coloured people on the ANC national executive committee?" Mandela asked audiences.

The growing problem of ANC intimidation was driven home on Friday when for the first time in the election campaign, Independent Electoral Commission (IEC) commissioners addressed Mandela's rallies and warned his supporters the only way the IEC could declare the elections free and fair was if the basic democratic right to express oneself was respected.

Mandela's repeated pleas to supporters in Roodepan and neighbouring Galeshewe for political tolerance, and that they allow De Klerk to campaign in townships, appeared to fall on deaf ears. He interrupted his rally in Roodepan to denounce groups of

youths who he said had gutted an NP member's house and attacked a police station.

A crowd of about 3 000 supporters attended Mandela's "people's forum" in Roodepan, but the overwhelming majority was black. (17)

"You must behave as people who are fit to govern," Mandela told supporters. Political opponents would retaliate if their meetings were disrupted, and violence would escalate.

However, Mandela could not resist having a dig at De Klerk. "SA has robust politics and sissies should not address political meetings," he said.

Meanwhile, Sapa reports that Mandela warned politicians to be careful during the election campaign not to say things about their opponents that would make it impossible for them to work together in a government of national unity.

Addressing an ANC rally in Queenstown, he said politicians were saying cruel things about one another. "That must not make us forget that we are fellow South Africans, that some of the people who are attacking us today have to be in the government together with us."

Reports by D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St. Jhb, and B McLennan Sapa, Press Gallery Parliament.

Mandela-Buthelezi talks seen as last hope

B/Daw 28/2/94

BILLY PADDOCK

THE ANC and the Inkatha Freedom Party see tomorrow's meeting between ANC president Nelson Mandela and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi as the last hope for a constitutional settlement

However, key negotiators on both sides were not optimistic yesterday that a breakthrough could be achieved

ANC negotiator Joe Slovo said he was "sceptically hopeful"

"I am not very optimistic, but there is a chance that Mandela can persuade Buthelezi that the constitution caters adequately to his demands and he should not fear an ANC government."

He said both sides were seeing the meet-

ing as very important "because we are running up against a time problem. The deadline for registration is the end of the week and there is no time to conduct further meetings and negotiations. If Buthelezi does not come in this week, it will be too late."

However, he ruled out any chance of Mandela offering further tangible concessions "By the time they meet, the constitution, with the proposed changes, will have been fixed and passed by Parliament."

Inkatha negotiator Walter Felgate also said he was not very hopeful that the meet-

ing would make substantial progress, but said he did not want to pre-empt a meeting "as important as Mandela and Buthelezi discussing our future"

He said it was obvious Mandela would want to convince Buthelezi that the constitution was adequate and that there were sufficient guarantees to enable Inkatha to take part in the election

"But we put forward our absolute compromise position in December and these bottom lines have not been addressed by the concessions the ANC have made

"The constitution is fatally flawed and does not allow for any form of federalism,"

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Last hope

B/Daw 28/2/94

From Page 1

he said.

DAVID GREYBE reports from Kimberley that Mandela called a news conference during his two-day electioneering drive through the northern Cape at the weekend

"I want peace in this country and those who do not appear to be enthusiastic about April 27 must be convinced they have noth-

ing to fear from a future democratic government," he said.

"I am going to meet Chief Buthelezi in that spirit of exploring whether I can bring him on board to take part in the elections and to co-operate with us in facing the problems that will arise after April 27"

● See Page 5

Report by B Paddock, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb, and D Greybe, TML, 11 Diagonal St, Jhb

Azapo struggle goes on

THE Azanian People's Organisation should intensify the war against white power beyond April 27, Azapo president Professor Itumeleng Mosala told the organisation's national council meeting in Umtata, Transkei, yesterday

Addressing about 600 delegates, Mosala said there would be no giving up the struggle for the return of the land

He said an Azapo government would not share power with white people

White people in Azania will live on

our terms just as black people in Britain live on terms laid down by the British" *Sowetan 28/2/94*

He said the anger of black people was clear to everybody

Not be fooled

"Our people are angry and are showing it. They do it irrespective of whether they are in the parties which negotiated their future away or whether they are part of the great movement of black people that was snubbed on how they chose to be

liberated and with whom only Azapo stood" Mosala said black people would not be fooled into believing that freedom would dawn on April 27

He blasted religious leaders including Archbishop Desmond Tutu for urging black people to vote *(IIP)*

"You can only ask people to vote if you think they are not going to vote," said Mosala. Asking people to vote was not the same as voter education

— Sapa

(Report by L. Elias, 141 Commissioner Street, Johannesburg)

Blacks query ANC wooing of coloureds

ARG 28/2/94

□ Mbeki warns NP could win in W Cape

VUYO BAVUMA
Staff Reporter

BLACK businessmen want to know why the ANC is wooing Western Cape coloureds at the expense of Africans, and why ANC-aligned structures appear to frustrate the development of small business in the townships

About 100 businessmen, including Cape Democratic Taxi Association operators and Khayelitsha spaza owners, were addressed by ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki at Club Ubuntu at the weekend

Mr Mbeki called throughout his three-day visit to Cape Town for Africans in the Western Cape to "cross the railway lines and join hands with the coloureds so the National Party of apartheid is defeated" in the elections.

He said there was a danger the NP might win if the Western Cape's oppressed people were still caught up in apartheid-cre-

ated problems

Kenneth Mqgaggo, who runs Club Ubuntu, Guguletu's only nightclub, asked what the ANC was doing to win the African vote

"The ANC has focused on the coloured people to win their votes. As much as we would like to extend our hands to the coloureds, what's the ANC doing to win the African votes?"

He said coloureds had historically always been favoured in the Western Cape.

Mr Mbeki said the ANC was strong on the principle of non-racialism and could not introduce programmes that "favoured one group at the expense of another"

"The Africans already understand the need for the government to be changed. But this is still a problem for the coloureds, that's why we are devoting our resources to explain this"

Khayelitsha businessman Sam Tuntubele said black business-

men might hesitate to vote for the ANC when some of the movement's structures were virtually at war with small business

In D M Block, Khayelitsha, he said, small businesses were being destroyed by hooligans within ANC-created structures and the "worst thing is that even the ANC cannot stop this"

In Guguletu small business owners were robbed almost daily

Mr Mbeki said he sympathised with the plight of the businessmen and advised them to take up the issue with the ANC office

Bus company owner Peter Motale of Guguletu asked what the ANC would do to rectify inadequate traffic control in Guguletu and Nyanga

Trevor Manuel of the ANC's national executive council said these problems would be rectified in the ANC's reconstruction and development programme

(News by V S Bavuma St George's Mall Cape Town)

No kingdom or *volkstaat*

South Africa
Sowetan 28/2/94
■ NOT ON ANC supporters won't
accept a monarchy or feudal state:

MIDLANDS ANC chairman Mr Harry Gwala said demands for a Zulu kingdom and Afrikaner *volkstaat* would never be met and he urged ANC negotiators to stop appeasing those making these demands

"We have made enough concessions and compromises. We must stop appeasing the vultures who want to swallow the whole of South Africa"

Gwala was addressing about 2 000 mourners in rural Mahehle in southern Natal at the funeral of 14 victims of last weekend's massacre there

The victims, mostly teenagers, of last week's massacre were gunned down early last Saturday in an abandoned house while preparing for a voter education workshop planned for later that day

Police have arrested a prominent Ixopo IFP leader in connection with the killings

Gwala took a hard line on demands for separate states saying "I want to make it very clear, such a thing will never happen here. If needs be we will fight alone"

He said ANC supporters would never subject themselves to a monarchy or a state of feudalism

"They will never get these things," he pointedly told ANC deputy president Mr Walter Sisulu at the funeral service in the Mahehle valley

Addressing the mourners later, Sisulu said he understood Gwala's feelings, however "It is necessary to plead with our brothers to the last moment and say time is still on your side"

Fight for democracy

Sisulu said the ANC had always respected the royal household which had played a valiant role in fighting for democracy

However, he said the ANC understood there were those within the royal family who were "unable to make up their minds" and who had lost their sense of evaluation and analysis"

Earlier, a visibly moved Gwala said the only crime of the victims of last week's massacre was merely to express their support for a new South Africa --
Sapa