THE STAR, FRIGAY 4 FEBRUARY 19

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Established 1887 47 SAUER STREET, JOHANNESBURG'ZOOO

- . ms e e re I LT P U S oas
- Result not set in stone
- 4 huge undecided vote is good for 'South Africa, and for democracy.!

RRRS

HEN South Africans vote for a government of national unity in April,

they will be entering unexplored

territory. Their pending political odyssey is certain to be an exhilarating experience for that reason.

Just how exciting is apparent in a Marketing and Media Research poll commissioned by The Star. A quarter of the voters are undecided. meaning that the final result will be strongly influenced by the campaign and voting trends may not solidify until polling day.

Apart from offering a glimpse into the terra nova ahead, the poll findings, the best efforts of meticulous researchers using rigorous methodology, are welcome for two trenchant reasons. They mean that the outcome is not pre-determined, that the campaign, the election issues and the arguments and counterarguments are more than the ritual din of electioneering. They ensure that there will be an element of unpredictability and excitement, even plain fun.

There is, however, another more powerful

reason for welcoming the findings. Democra-¢y depends on & swing vote. It is the undecided voters who switch allegiance between or even during elections who temper the arrogance of politicians and counter the tempta-. tions of power. : The fluidity in political allegiances uncovered by the poll reinforces the point that there Is nothing inevitable about the election outcome. Thus nearly 60 percent of DP supporters have shifted allegiance, opting \( \frac{a}{200} \) 224 in descending order of preference \( \frac{a}{200} \) 224 for the ANC, the NP and the IFP. Similar though smaller shifts have been detected in the rival white-led NP and CP., i

The ANC, unsurprisingly, emerges with the biggest share of support. It is, however, not assured of the two-thirds majority it needs to write its own constitution. Whether it can achieve that majority remains one of the meany imponderables in the political equation.

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THE STAR, FRIUAY 4 FEBRU

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INSIDZ TRACK

Il you hall shul your gyes, you could almosl imagine yoursell back in the Old South Africa amid the din of election rhetoric. The invective and snide gimmickry Oying about are allogether reminiscent of old-time white elections

Excepl, of course, thet this is the new full-colour version and the chob cestl rhetorie is exchiangud beiween lhose iwo power-sharing pariners, the ANC nnd the Nals,

Twke the way each vapitalised thig week on the anniversary of the ANC's unbanning. A big NP ad took credit for all 1he ¢hanges sinoe February 2 1990, saying: â\200\234\When Nelson Mandela lights a â\200\230Flame of Freedomâ\200\231 today, he boneurs President de Klerk's achlevements.â\204¢

Over the page, nn ANC ad, dovble \he size, mocked such claims, sayiog:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Nexi tbing they'll be Jeling us apariheid never cxisled. The Jesson ol Wstory is deass lhese who deny the pasi, musl never be irusted with {he future. $\hat{a}\200\235$ 

# D. D 2

Inkatha, of course, doesn't do 10 badly either in the bad-mouthing line. Al the [FP's jonralhon special conlerence al Ulund) Inst weekend, a clerical gent didnt mince any words about De Klerk â\200\224 he said the J'resident â\200\234was borm n liar, lived a linr and will dle a liarâ\204¢,

This made Mt old master of inveclive, Mangosuthu DButhelezi, sound almesl polile.

le waa less than genteel, thoueh, when he answered a jowrnoâ\200\231s nues. lion wilh a quote (hat canc, he sl from an Australian friend: \*"You can't ride two horses al the same lime because your arse isnâ\200\231t dig enoughâ\200\235.

The DPâ\200\231s poster campaign also claims credit for ending a2partbeid,

.but its rhetoric is relalively Jow-key.

As Tony Leon says hopefully:  $\hat{a}\200\234We$  will resnain covl. cabn and clected. $\hat{a}\200\235$ .

o 0o D

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ There was a revealing moment during e Klerk $\hat{a}\200\231$ s barnstorm through he eastern Transvaal last weekem). Al Driekoppies Dam, he arrived for a

meeting with a local chicf {o find yet another ANC group, 500 slrong, infent on disrup(ing i,

Al this point F'W decided lo tuke the ollensive. lle reminded the gronp it was he who'd unbanned the ANC, released Mandela, ete, then boldly fielded questions a\200\224 and even gol & polite round of applanse.

From thls point there are variations to the slory. Some of Saverâ\200\231s ronrees say that when De Klerk finished speaking, he paused, look a el Jook at the ANC heavies, and nsked In Afrikanas: â\200\2341lel julle my mooi gehoor?â\200\235

To which, somne swear, & muted response came hallingly irom somewhere In lhe group:  $a\200\234$ J4n, my baas. $a\200\235$ 

0 0 00

Maybe it doesn't pay (o be seen lo be Iriendly with lbe opposition. On that same platteland lour, a pwmber of blacks told journos that they'd yole NP becauve they saw no difference between the two parlics and Lheir leaders.

Asked why stie would vote for the Nals, one black woman said:  $\hat{a}$ 200\234Well.

NP, ANC  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 same {hing". Pressed further, shic said:  $\hat{a}$ 200\234Well, De Klerk, Mnndela  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 good {riends. $\hat{a}$ \200\235

00 0 0

Uke any other enuple, they were quietly shopping In the CNA â\200\224 where Mascelle was looking at baby dooks. She temils to pluinpness, so Sauer's female Informant couldnâ\200\231t even guess whelher (his constituted shopping with inteal.

D oo

Jusl when ihe {uss was dying down over thal banie couture dress de-

corsted with verses {rom the Koran,

Drilain's Oxdord Union |s slirring vp more hormets

Replacing a scheduled ANC/n-katha/Natlonal Party dcbale (elec-

Woneering back home has delayed -

the dlscussion) Is lhe mollon  $\hat{a}200\234$ This llouse believes that (slam and democracy are incompalible  $\hat{a}200\235$ ,

â\200\230Same election din, now in full colour

One of the planned speakers on this touchy su<code>in</code>2021ml <code>â</code>\200\224 Bric Pickles, Tory MP and lorreer head of Bradford Council  $\hat{a}$ \200\224 pulled out at the Jast momenl. Bul no such attack of perves has troubled Yussd Islam, the former pop singer Cat Stevens, who joins the opposition leam. So oo:

No, Sauer can't belleve the rumour hat e Cape Times posler based nn a minor news sfory, â\200\234SA lo Export Crunchiea lo Rusalaâ\204¢, was the work of some cynieal boarehsler.

11 must surely have been just a ihin day for news, wilh some despairing sub-edilor also facing the deadline crunch.

B 0.0 Don't talk to the DP's Dene Smuls about the ANC's efforls {0 ensure (hat one-third of its MPs are women.

For years, she says, ker party had 100 pescent [emale representation in Patlinent  $\hat{a}$ 200\224 lelen Suzman

Jhee ot G

(

Campaign against us, say hostel d\';v;el"lersE

â\200\230Merafe loalel residents, who
have been accused of committing
various crimes, claim there i8 a
smear campelgn against them.
In a siatement issued yesierday, the IFP and the Natlonal
Hostel Residentsâ\200\231 Association
sald they felt â\200\234Insulledâ\200\235 by accusations that:
M liostel residenis hijack cars

and rob {axis belonging to Sowe-

to Transport Services.

M  $\hat{a}\200\230$ The man found with two bullet wounds ouiside the hostel on Saturday was killed by hostel residents,

ECar ihioves bring stolen cars into the hostel.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ How can we be accused of having & part in the taxi problems when we have members from both organisations living in the hostel? $\hat{a}\200\235$  the stalement asked.

It added ihat the residents

had apprehended oriminals on .

an ongeing basis and handed them over {o the police.

In the latest Incident, three al-

leged car {hieves were caught at
the hostel

 $\mbox{$\hat{a}$\setminus 200 \setminus 234$ In all instances, including .}$ 

train massacres, no Merafe Hostel resideni has been {ound guilty by the couris  $200 \ 235$  the siatement sald.  $200 \ 224$  Soweto Bureau.

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#### â\200\224â\200\224

Tokoza pensmners still not paid

# B BY HAPPY NKHOMA

A march by armed hoslel dwellers kept Tokoza pensioners from gelling their pensions on Wednesday. Yesierday, "administrative problemsâ\200\235 got in the way, and disappointed penstoners went hoine afier a long wail â\200\224 thelr pockets still empty.

As the pensioners sicod outslde the Tokoza Town Council offices yesterday afternoon, hosille youths and hostel dwellers faunted each other in the lense

### township.

IFariler in the day, pensioners had been bused {o Germlsion where they were to have received their money. â\200\230The alm was lo avold (he risks of the previous day, when pensioners fled the

.payoul oflice as armed hosiel

dwellers protested nearby agains! the presence of SADF members.

Bul only a few pensioners

were pald at Germiston beforo they were lold to walt for buses that would take them back lo

Tokoza, whvrc the payoul would resume.

Back In Tokoza, ponslnnorn quecued fromn aboul 11am lo 3 pm while the pension clerks

 $\_$ did their paperwork. Al 3 pm the

payments began, bul lasted only hall an hour. The officials refused lo work overlime.

- M Tue task group to oversee lhe

peace plan to be implemented in Fasi Rand townships would be operating soen, task group head General Jan van Loggerenberg said yesterday.

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i TEC ret

#### M OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban - Fears that political unrest could {hreaien the democralic

rnment (0 be elecled
in April has prompted the

Transitlonal Executive.

Council to keep detention

without trial on the stal-

ule books.

For decades the ANC

and ils fronl organisa-

tlons and Ubera! polilleal

groups ailacked the Na- -

tlonal Party for allowing delention without trial In terms of agreements

reached al the mulliparty negoliations, detention wiiboul trial was to be scrapped through ihe Abolition of Restrictions of Free Political Activity Act Ihat was passed by Parllament in December.

However, the ANC has

balked at implementing

this in {he face of 8 growing menace ol right-wing partics and problems thal would be caused by an IFP boycoit of the election. -

The ANC-dominated TEC decided the Act should

come into operation on:

January 28, except for ihe provisions that scrapped scction 29 of the Internal Security Act.

This resolution of the 11:C went unnoticed untll ihe Black Sash organisa-{lon kicked up a fuss.

It would mean people allegedly wanting lo vio-

lently promole any con-

stitutional, political, industrial, social ér eco-

nomic aim could, in terms.

of ihe Iniernal Security Acl, be held without trial for 10 days al the say of

ains the detentiou¬\201\_iÃ@w. -

- a policeman of the rank of warranl olficer or Nigher. Police could then seck & Supreme Courl order (o hold them for another 10 days.
- \* The Black Sash said the TI2C's deelsion not Lo abolish Scction 29 was a breach of faith. The TEC's decision was In direcl conlradiciion of the
- \_ decisions reached at the
- " negoliating forum and in Parllament, and flew in the face of the new constitution and its chapter on flundamental righls.

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Alliance dithers over

two-ballot carrot

## N 8Y KAIZER NYATSUMBA POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Crucial trilateral \_talks at which the ANC wasâ\200\230Scheduled to table its major concessions â\200\224 including an acceptance of the double ballot system â\200\224 to the Freedom Alliance ended inconclusively yesterday when FA negotiators could not guarantee flexibility In the discussions. '

When the FA negotiators  $\hat{a}\200\230$  giled.to give this undertaking, they were esked to consult with their leaders and retws to the ANC and the Government by Sunday evening or Monday morning.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The process of negotiating becomes impossible if what vou are confronted with are deraands,  $\hat{a}\200\235$  ANC national chairman Thebo Mbeld said after the taiks,

Knowledgeable ANC sources hed earlier told The Star the organisation's proposals included acceptance of a double ballot system in the April election as well as an extension of some exclusive powers to regional governments.

FA chief negotiator Rowan

Cronje told the press that although the ANC would rot unveil {ts proposals until it was assured of the FA's flexibility, Constitutional Developmer.t Minister and Government negotiator Roelf Meyer had dangled a two-ballot system before the FA in exchange for the ailiance's acceptance of the present Interim Constitution.

In a separate briefzg,

Meyer said the Government's proposal was  $a\200\234$ comprehensrre enough to bring about & setliement".

Although Inkatha Freedom
Party leader Chief Mangosutiu
Buthelez said on TV1i's Agenda oa Sunday that a concession to the FA's demand for 2 two-bellot system could make â\200\234a big differenceâ\200\235, observers yesterday said it now appe&arded the FA wanted to shift the goalposts yet egain.

Speaking after the trilazeral meeting, Cronje said progress would be difficult unless there

was movement on the FA'sâ\200\235

other demands, notably on the powers and functions of provincial governments.

He said the single-bellot

» To Page 3

No guarantees from alliance

< From ?ag'vc 1

agreement | had been reached In the twilight of " multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and had not uptl then been .. one of the FA's key corn-" cerns sbout the Constltution. In Ulupdi, Butheled was gouted as having - sald a double-ballot concession would not address his party's bottomline demands. He reportedly said he . hoped the ANC and the Government would &iso agree to the FP's re maining demands.

Meyer said the Goversment would try  $a\200\234$ agein and again to seek a settlement until the time bas

# run outâ\200\235.

Sources said the ANC
. bad also agreed to the
7 "extension of exclusive
" powers to regional governments, provided the
present deadlock-breaking mechanism agreed
\* upon at the World Trade
Cente wouwld be dispensed with. Instead, all
decisions would bave to
â\200\230 be taken with a two. thirds majority in the Naâ\204¢ tional Assembly.

faiace

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come April â\200\224
and no community is more fluid than
- the whutes of South Africa.
HE Natxonal Party
currently commands-
the firm support-of only
one out of three white vot-
ers with many former sup-
_porters unable to-'decide -
who to back in the coming
_VOTERS
SPEAK
election, .The Argusa\dMR
poll- indicates. 4
English-s geakxng whltes
are particularly. confused, .
with almost half undecided or
unwnllmg to: state a preter-'
ence.. A\hat{a}\200\224 3 :\hat{a}\200\224 (A-. e
-"'â\200\224 -
The recults of the- nation-
-wide survey-also-indicate that
NP supgl rt has " dipped ...
among whites, \hat{a}\200\231 coloureds; and \hat{a}\200\235
Indxam dunng the past two %
o The NP\hat{a}200\231 1s placking great
store on securing_ consider-
groups and a \ 200 \ 235
. indicate that.jt:faces a:stiff.:
. challenge -as: the election
campaign swings-ntq; &
kol :
P :
they . would; have voted . -
for two years ago, 4&percent. "L:\hat{a}200\231.'thh tsu%
of the whxtea surveyed
the NP. \star == -
Colaured - se?port for the
* NP has -dipped ' frony 52
cent to.46 percent,, whi¬\202epge
```

Many voters are in ferment over who to support

â\200\230mpercenL A

-However, not all is lost for :

the NP. It still has higher support in these three race groups than the ANC, which could now command three

percent white su?port, 13 per-

cent among, coloureds and 27 percent among Indians â\200\224 a jump from 19 percent two years ago.

The NP is also miore popular among whites than the CP, whose support in the commumty over the past two years has â\200\230dropped from 26 percent to 15 percent.

Many of the voters that may have drifted away from the NP now appear to have landed among those who cannot make up their minds or refuse to disclose who they would back.

The Argus, Friday,

~a\200\22475 percent; tar- ape:cent

commumty i

'+ compared to 13

zâ\200\224 92â\200\230"
his \* category among
. whites â\200\230has: snowballed from
10 t two years ago to
-38 percent. now, from 20 to

.33 nt\_among coloureds g from.25:to 38 percent

 $\label{eq:condition} $$i^202:a^200^230;'$ zunon Indians. $$b s am ey - $$?hrleee-support - &? $i^202m&a^200^230\#MMn finds that support $$$ 

among Africans for the NP

»f hasiremained at a.low one

t.during the.past two
& yedrs. African; support for the .
AN(i.has increased iro}rln
i The i¬\201gures again make
reading for the DP,
port. among whites

=+< rapparentlyâ\200\231 dipping from
s+ 15 percent:to seven percent.
32:MMR finds that its:Indian</pre>

'support has halved, from

 $a\200\2341\$ eight $200\231$ percent to four percent, while  $200\230$  only -eight.percent of

~coloureds â\200\230support. the party

t who

- ..said they would have backed  $a\200\230$ it two years ago.
- Its support among blacks is  $a\200\234$ now negligible at 0,2 percent.

The IFP has made gains

-  $\hat{a}$ \200\230among whites, from two to

six' percent, but remains ex-

- --traordinarily low among blacks at only two percent. This figure may, however, be distorted by the fact that the poll did not reach the  $a\200\234$ deep rural  $200\235$  vote of tiny communities around the country.
- \* The survey found that almost all African voters are sure of their choice of party, while four out of every 10 Indians who state a Preference could be  $a\200\234$ waverers $a\200\234$  or  $a\200\234$  or  $a\200\234$ .

February 4, 1994

PO Box 50661, Waterfront 8002. Tel: (021) 439 4845

This is the most one-sided return in the history of the polls.

POLL RESULT

NINETY-FIVE percent of the respondents ipn last weekâ\200\231s Cape Metro phone-in poll support the Capeâ\200\231s becoming an independent republie. The idea was mooted first by the Cape Republic Movement, which intends to â\200\230campaign for g referendum on whether the province should â\200\234re-

main in Azaniaâ\200\235. &

Ofithe 1115, caltes received, 1 058 readers favoured an independent Cape and 57 opposed it.

Sunday Times "Cape Metro Section" of Feb 6, 1994@

Viewpoint Mandela will ca â\200\230PINIOï¬\201' polls con- ' tinue predicting a convincing election ( win for the African i Natjonal-â\202¬ongress The only guestion is by how much, Initial poils suggested a runaway vielory that would bring it cloge fo-the two-thirds mai jority that would enable it really t0 put ilts stamp on the Pfinal comstitution and to doniinate completely the supposed government of nationsl unity. The tatesi poli\*holds out slightly dess extravagant hopes for the crganisation. $\hat{a}$ \200\235 Whatever the polls say, there 1s no'doubting the enormous advantage the ANC has over the other parties. It is by far the most populist of the parties. It has a history of \_struggle and resistance, and " in Mr Nelson Mandela it has a Jeader of enormox%;,chm $\hat{a}$ 200\231:n $\hat{a}$ \200\231 and $\hat{a}$ \200\231 cherisma whe is fio doubt going to make avery substantial - contributioniudts vote. o . (R iy  $a\200\234$  mner n this election. Although rigorously exposed to the public spotlight these past few years, he seems not to have lost any of the near-gedly status his years of incarceration at the Adands of the apartheid regme have: helped accord him in the eyes . of sc many people.

Judging from the way he 1s

trail, he is going to be very

already beating ihe

much at the forefront of ihe ANCâ\200\231s election cempaighi.. No matter how much the Cyril Ramaphosas, Thabo Mbekis and others have risen Lo - prominence, or what thelr leadership aspiratiops.are, it {s Mr Mandela who, above all, sympolises his partyâ\200\231s B2-year history of struggle, and it is he who s going to carry its ban-

Slepy

 $\_$  In conversation and specu- Jation over th\$\tilde{A}\tilde{O}-eeming elec-

tion, â\200\230arguments keep coming-

 $1\ \mbox{up}$  gbouf ethnic animesities and tribal structures, and how

election .

Hefw/g/' 4{am  $\hat{a}$ \200\224He"fzn

these might affect the ANC's
chances, :

However, from what happened In Zimbabwe and Namibia, for example, and perhaps even from Afrikaner-Nationalism's own history, it is clear that the emotive drawing force of the terms' suppression, struggle and resistance tannot easily be overestimated.

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The struggle continues! $\hat{a}\200\235$  is the forJorn c $\hat{A}$ ¢ry we Keep hearing to this day from the all but forgolten BENP $\hat{a}\200\231s$  Jaap Marals, The AWB's Eugene Terre

~. Blanche talks about oppres-

sion of the Boers, without s hint of a smile, and 1t is "2 favourite battle cry of the CP and the Volksfront.

.What these perties lack, however, is nof. only authentieity but also & single leader

to be turned nto a symbol of

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_their oppression. From the
care-they gdrive and the way
they look.wli talk-< most of
them actually-
been leading gmte comforl
able Dves, 7
But to get back to the ex-
amples of Zimbabwe and
Namibia, In the case of the
former, ethnicity certainly
counted in the election, and
Mr Robert Mugabe . al-
though one of the â\200\230.e%esiS~
â\200\230tance Dgures -+ didn'é. have
anything near the status and
symbolism of 2 Nelson
dela. Yet, against sxpec-
tations and the eonfident pre-
dictions of the 84 government
at the time, which had iis
hopes pinned on moderates
like Abs! Muzorewa and
Nd'a}li_inlngi*sith>ole, e
stormeginto power :
Mr Sam Nujoma, 100, is far
from being a Nelson Mandela,
' put there is no denying the
enormous role he played. in
Swapoâ\200\231s landsllde vietgry.
While presenting brave
faces, it must be a sopewhat
depressing scena¥io. fgr most
s ! :
seem to have -
i y
A\\ .
Ру
rry ANCâ\200\231s election banner -
of SA\hat{a}\200\231s other parties.
President, De Klerk, too, is a
charismatic leader, and hls
party is no doubt geing to de-
pend heavily on him fo
present thecnew face of the .
National Party
What most OF thesc parties
lack, bBowever, i themtiist
Memt by pelitical mariyrdorm
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, Also, as both
the PP s.and'the
NPâ\200\231s election lists show, theÃ@ir
firmest base remains in a re-
treating and increasingly frac-
tured white establishment,
Outside that, their only real
chance lies in exploiting mi"
nority fears, and in the vague
democrafic notian about peo-
ple deciding in suficient num-
bers to vote against ont:party
domination, It's a vague hope; â\204¢
for as the Nationalists cap tell;
their opponents \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 31 cries of \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34 yole \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 35
for a strong opposition!\hat{a}\200\231 never
did them any good in the old:
days. _ SN
It doesn't meanâ\200\234the smaller-
parties must be written off. AS
thes DP rightly emphasl!ses,
Ρ
beq8
under the propdeiiomal voiing
system even partfeS with Jess
than half a percentage of ibe
vote will stand a chance of
getting & representative in
parliarsent.
Mrs, Helen Suzman's exam-
ple of mwhat just 8 singte dls-
senting voice ¢an do, must
neyer be forgotten. In those
depressing times, when mnany
parties"were banned andâ\200\231
many people were jailed, de-
tained _or otherwise sileaced./
her lone woice helped keep
. someihing profoundly impor-
tant alive in a soclety that
\hat{a}200\230\hat{A}»feund itself incrensingly be-
témi Marshall
b :
soited _wi_th.-Nai^2201oh}%s\ m- a^200^230
satigble. craze for 3irong
* governmentâ\200\235. ks
2 34 serves oniy<to reinforce
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the need for every single party

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which is able \{6 \text{ musier votes } = 2
to get into the sef s
^{\sim} vags support. Sirong ruling ^{\circ} ^{\circ} 200\234*parties, especially, need con-
stant reminding that they
donâ\200\231t own a country, bul are
. merely supposed to run \ensuremath{\text{i}}
; £ S
T e T T
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~â\200\224
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FAITH GASA questions the TECâ\200\231s mtegnty  $H(\{"W, \hat{a}\200\230Z Lf\}, \hat{a}\200\230lqy HelH$ 

 $-\hat{a}\200\230$ IFP says:  $\hat{a}\200\230$ Show your true coloufs $\hat{a}\200\231$ 

OES the Transitiong al Executive Coun-. cit (TEC) have the

integrity to investi-

gate the role of MK, the ANC and its SDU's in South Africaâ\200\231s political violence â\200\224 their hit squads, gun-running, \_Tran..:cï¬\202i connection, u.eva. train? their assassinatio

of IFP leaders, elc?

- . And does the TEC have the guts to demand the information from those In the know  $a\200\224$  .the government  $a\200\231s$  securi: y and intelligence agencies and
- MX's high command?

.This is the essence of the direct challenge issued by the IFP this week to the TEC  $\hat{a}\200\224a$  body the IFP neither recogzises nor regards as le-

gitimate. In presenting a set -

 $\hat{a}\200\230$  of documents to the TEC task force exquiring into hit squads in NatalVKwazuluy, the IFP has in effect called upon the TEC to show its true colours.

The TEC's "'objects as seuA .outinthe TEC Act, are  $a\200\234$ to fa- -

cilitate and promote the - preparation for and transidon to a democra\*lc order in Scuth Africaâ\200\235 ... primarily through ehmmating {mpedi-ments o legitmmate polhtical activity: ellminaâ\200\231mg intimi. dation; securing .freedom of canvassing for parties; ensuz-â\200\230ing no government disadvan-

tages any party:; and .

generally creating conditions
conducive to the holding of
. free ard fair elections. :

All weil and good, it might

be thought. However. the IFP

believes the Tâ\200\230-â\200\230C tc be politically partisan and beleves it has no intentlon whatsoever of pursuing these objects  $a\200\224$  except, that is, iz so far as these will benefit the ANC and perhaps, to a lesser extent, the governmenst.

- . Thus the inX was barely dry on the TEC Act when the  $\,$
- TEC revealed whers it intend- -
- " ed focusing  $a\200\224$  on oze alleged

hit squad within tze KwaZulu;

Police, which the XZP had it self already uncovered and requested the SA Police to investigate.

The suspecâ¢ts were suspended, were under arrest, and the KZP was fuly co-â¢perating in the judicial process when lo and behold, the TEC decided to intervere cfter the Goldstone Commission (which appears sTangely reluctary to do likswise with ANC hit squads) s:ated it â\200\234to be in the public interest to make the informatiorn available at this stageâ\204¢.

Why intervene, however, in

a properly conductaed judicial

investigation when the matter is already belny thoroughly investizated, t.b.6 suspects

- . are behind bars ané where the
- . law is taking its course?
  Because. the ITP main-

tains, the TEC irtends deal-

ing harshly with its

opponents, and lenienily with '

its  $\hat{a}200\234\hat{a}200\230$  friends  $\hat{a}200\235$   $\hat{a}200\224$  especially those who gave birth to and "now dominate the TEC.

Thus the IFP p'e>entetx0n 20 the TEC task force. This ' was not an ordinary submission. and the TFP has nnt

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Party.

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asked the TEC r.o mvest:va $\hat{A}$ »e the issues raised. Whethc $\hat{a}$ \200\230 the TEC does or does not invest-gata them is in one sense Immaterial since the IFP does

' not recognise the TEC and

has no intention of asking it

, to o anything. Butthe TEC'S

reaction will show wha: that
body {s-made of.

=  $\hat{a}\200\234$ The IFP presenta $\hat{a}\200\230$ ion com- - prises merely a list of issues,

substantiated with evidence,

which fall within the ambit of

the TEC's objects, and which

the TEC has not yet given any  $\ -$ 

indication of being prepared
to investigate.

They deal wn.h. the assasslnation of over 320 office-bearers, mostly by hit Squads;
frequent massacres of IFP
supporters by hit squads;
ANC arms smugglmg to arm
their hit squads; illegal pPossession of weapons by
ANCX members; the {llegal
training of MK cadres within
South Africa; MK's hit squads

Anerafine  $ni^202f'h$  frmeraunibe Q.A»-â\200\230g

Transkel ..he ac\* -'hes c SDUs; the state's failure .t protect its citizenry: and the Goldstone Commission's ap parent fallure to' dzal wit: ANC/MK hit squads. .

Most importantâ\200\231' ol all wa: the final point â\200\224 that th: state has evidence at its dis posal on these-hit squads and their activities which should be made public anfl â\formalfield the TEC is legally empowered < obtain from the state. The IFP esked whether the TEC is prepared to do this. The IFF asked whether the TEC was prepared to do lik2wuse witt MX's High- Cornmand.

This was the gist of the IFP $\hat{a}$ \200\231s action. As the covering statement in the presentatior noied, It is intended to  $\hat{a}$ \200\230'tes: the TEC's bona fides ard tc test its commitmen: to th: fulfilment of its objects $\hat{a}$ \200\231.

Most likely, however, sing: the TEC is pothing less thar the product of a cosy bilaters deal between the \_ANC anc the SA governmert, it will dr everything possible to avoic dealing with.the ANC!s hi squads â\200\224 upsettir.g the appl: cart is not on th° TECT agenda.

In short, the I.- P doubt: very muchâ\200\231 whether the TEC will pass the test and doubt. very much whether it has an: impartial commitment to wards the fulfilmernt of ig objectives.

Faith Gasa s chairman of  $\widetilde{A} \otimes$  JFP Wormen's Brigade and . member of tlze IFP centrz

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      \\ Election congress: FW appeals to black voters
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' Political Reporter RN
\texttt{r} \; \in \; \hat{a} \\ 200 \\ 224 \\ \hat{a} \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 200 \\ 20
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R SR JOIIANNESBURG-â\200\224PreSdent De
Klerk rounded Up the National Partyâ\200\231s
election congress ta chants of â\200\234yiva De
 | Klerk, Vote down Mandelaâ\200\235 to urge : : ¢ W
black and white South Alricans to give h a\200\2311 3 f N
nis party s 1ith victory at the polls. e anln S O II].O
The congress. attended by about. 2000
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N Mr De K.}crkga; \[ \]crkga; \[ \]crkg
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He said i\hat{a}\202 every fourth NP supporter con-this. You try t defend your words ment and t
he Zulu King, would (t
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e been kinder to state that
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 $a\200\234$ We wilâ\$ definitely be the winning p't\rw. these words ror Oldhams hctio- a train enabling same subjects athaid M De Klerk, who was unmlmou:\y re-  $\mid$  nary  $a\200\234$ bent on disorder $a\200\235$  and you er wise unuole to attend. were doing have the exact meaning ol 1  $\hat{a}$ 200\234mobit .4 service to these people. 7 slected parvy teader. : We are marching under the fag of peace. v and true South Alricanism.â\200\235\_he. said: J\WWe are not prepared to hand-the ..\_counu&\_over\_ 10 radicals. 3 There are many othiers and all are f oAderogatory. ~Tumultousâ\200\235 means â\200\234fu- Judging by your article it is all too i clear with whom your Loyalties lie â\200\234â\200\234riously disardered. riotous.. vialent", e e ionl SRR o â\200\224and not onty-the Zuld King but the wnole Zulu nanon shouid take of " " - TR & i «fn this party. -geconciliation \_nas-been. | . - i achieved  $a\200\224$  it 15 the only national party (e ~--- -gecond you-say that.a  $a\200\234$ largeâ\200\235 sec. fence at your remarks. presentative ofall ihe people. $\hat{a}$ 200\235 " tion of the crowd used subsidised e 0 1 Speaker after speaker swore by the NP. Lransport to attend the wathening. In wamer Beach T GRAY â\200\224 34 | AR . Black elecuion candidares, 'such as Natal a crowd of nver 40 nnn people ( woud A ,., 1 J MEC Dan Makanyi. qarrd they were proud 10 nacdly call the Lo or so who nsedd Voce letters on Page 3 i wl ne Nuls. AT P i ;;' another Natal pandidate, Mr Tepu pdatu.  $\hat{a}$ 200\230 - irom Edendale. said the NP was nov a parLy i : SEERETSTy - | lorthe Zulus or the whites ar the nlacks but  $\hat{A} \approx 9\hat{A} \approx 1200 \times 1200$ y oo  $a\200\234$ tne parey or atl who have hope $a\204$ ¢. Her ITL/ / i < S i 2pqan sy  $\hat{a}$ 202 $^{-}$  #onsn, B dsnarne Suem, Turoan cu /3/ 1f He f IM. i

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H El o - Friday, February 4, 1994

our readers write

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Mlsunderstandlng

YOUR editorial of February 1  $\hat{a}$ 200\224  $a\200\234$ Who votes wins"  $a\200\224$  reflects a sad and naive misunderstanding of the games being played by the SA political expedieacy? Government and ANC. You have Given that lhese comprised the the right, if you so choose, to ac- core issues during the 11th hour cuse  $\hat{a}$ 200\230the IFP of "b"mkmenshlp", pegotiations and given that the â\200\234dubious tacticsâ\200\235 and. â\200\234black- ANC would cot budge an inch, â\200\234mailâ\200\235,but I find it strange, indeed why do you not zccuse the ANC of ragic, that you do not itstead â\200\234brinkmacshipâ\200\231, â\200\234dubicus tac-&pplythese same terms to the gov- ties $\hat{a}200235$ , and  $\hat{a}200234$ tlackmail"? ernment and the ANC. s The IFP does not sccept the -Your comment that the IFP's querim constilution and we bave coomitment to"democracy would the demacratic right to not partibe best expressed through mobi-, \_ ¢ipete in the elections, or to resist lising support for federalism via the constitution. Let it not te for- $\hat{a}\200\230\t'$ le ballot bOK ]s unfortunate gottep"\_n  $\hat{A}$ ¢ those accusplo us o" burely you are aware that-the- belng spa]lers are tâ\200\230]Le., par $ln!el'lm coustltutlon llsell t.he en- ta^200^230e_s a^200^234h cn have )gnore"-^202 not opl$ y
""" visaged consututwmï¬\202" PO~ our input into negotiations, bet Cess, the deadlock breaking me- .\equa $a\200\2301\ 1$ }'. cursubmissions [i¬\2020m Cac..amsm  $\hat{a}\200\230$ and the sicgle ballotare - 4egs -1 On steting that we would  $\hat{a}\200\231$ 

& all expressly designed to prevent not accept that to  $wa^200^230$ ulch we kad the nmplementaxoc of a federal . not beea patty.

and cational tellots $\hat{a}$ \200\235, theo ave you now prepared to dmp these grinciples in the name of narrow

system? s

Since the negot'ahous process Indtne Cu'cums, ar.ces, [ see no

t bas been rigged to deny us feder- reed for you to preach ta 1te IFP v slism and the double ballot has on acy possible negative coose- $\hat{\mathtt{A}} \mathtt{Y}$  been dropped precisely in order - quences arising out of our stand.

 $\tilde{a}\200\224\hat{a}\200\224$ c-weaken-the significance of the Say rather to the ANC and the significance of the say rather to the ANC and the significance of the say rather to the ANC and the significance of the say rather to the ANC and the say rather to the say rather to the ANC and the say rather to the say rather t

' regional vote, and SIWE&WQW  $\hat{A}$   $\hat{a}$  200\234frequently applauded the [FPâ\200\231's . Yourezp.

! stand on the priociples of mean- / DRZIBA JIYANE i owe

1giul powers of tkeregions-s IFP Nallonal Spekesma tte peed for separate regiondl . - S wrbed

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its new. package of proposals
â\200\230to thk Freedpm 'Alllance, sn?'a
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doublle ballot and the nght to
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Hdwever, k,he government's .
package inpluded a second ¢
on demding that the
t itself to tak-
ing the TEC. g
THe alliance agreed to refer
and another round of talks '
_has [peen s¢heduled for Mon-
Anw | Theea talks are expected *
dly prii; cnwd a set of
art in fthe elections and |
ansitional structures, in- °
roposajs to its principals, . - |
ovt gives alli
JOHANNESBURGâ\200\224The
ANC | yesterdpy refused to put.
' Political Statf
to continue for the next 10
days, the deadline for parlics
! to regldter for the elections.
wheil the altiance comuinitted e ' e
* itself to being flexible.
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! However, registration does
' not bind parties to taking
part in the elections and they
could withdraw at any stage
up to April 26. Gl
ANC national chairman
. Thabo! Mbeki said: â\200\234We have
been negotiating for a long
time and we have put several
proposals forward for the alli-
ance and no agreement could
be reached One problem is
that the alliance has been ne-
gotiating on the basls of de-
mands that must be met anda\200\231
are nop-negotlable." N
Alllance chairman Rowan
Cronje sald the overnment's
proposals, the details of which
constitutional development °
Hes oty | â\200\2301i¬\202"â\200\231 [a I HelEn
ance new dea
unister Roell Meyer refused
to divulge, stated; \hat{a}\200\231. . \hat{a}\200\230
(1'The Freedom Alhance
accept the powerskand funce
tions of regions {ns contamed
in the Interum.conslatution.
(] The government \hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 30 = 6
to a double ballot.
Wwider powers of taxation
be granted to reglons as nego-
tiated with the alllance.
[ Centralâ\200\231 government vgl]
be able to override regional
constitutions. | â\200\231
[ Limited changes will be
made on the issue of self-
determination.â\200\231 /.
Mr Meyer saldâ\200\235after the.â\200\235
meeting that he'had proposed
a comprehensgive settlement
on all the outstanding issues
in such a way that \hat{a}\200\234if there is
a will, there is'a'way of reach-.
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ing agreement $\hat{a}$ 200\235.

@ IFP leader Mangosuthu
Ruthelezi said his party's participation in the April election
would depend on-more thanâ\200\231
the ANC aptreeing:to 2 twoballot sysu:ni¬\201â\200\230. e;

In an address to Durban

businessmen! he stressed ¢on--

stitutional issues surrounding regional powers were crucial for the IFP $\hat{a}$ 200231s!participation.

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234Even if the government

and the ANC/SA Communist . Party alliance 'do relent-onâ $\200\235$ 

this issue of the double:ballot,

the double ballot by-itself is quite meaningless if" regions
. do not have the autonomy:

which cannot beâ\200\231 interfered with by the constituent, as-semnbly," Dr ButheleZ said'in a speech fordelivery. -

(Report by W Paddock, 11  $_{\ddot{u}}\201hanal$  Screet, Johannesbur@) 1, o feut

JOHANNESBURG â\200\224 The German-based " \_International Society for Hiuman Rights (ISHR) says in a new report on the human rights record of the African National Congress, that the ANC has failed to implement key recommendations concerningitsrecord Inexile. According to the report released yesterday, the ANC has failed to implement  $\hat{a}\200\234$ any of the key recommendations made by either independent or internal commissions and regorts, conyesterday. -Joharnesburg, International w market policjes todeliver onjts education wij] crez will fall. Mimess 112]96 Human rights group slates ANC record outdated econg favours will no bills, President < {ail beczause {ts poli. Cape NP leade Introducing the 3 ey emaes oy s t ke able to pay the F.W. de Klerk sald Speak[ng al a2 press ecnf fore Lhe release of the NE's elec be-

manifesto at its federal coengress near

-he s3id collective

isdom is that the free .oll'the NPwlill allow it election promises.

In sharp contrast, international ex. Perience shows that takings in terms of houses, health and

r Dawie de Yilliers, manifesta, said it

cerning the ANC record in  $exilea^200\235.$ ;

The ISHR in its analysls said despite the ANC limitiating two inquiries and reports, an ANC national executive committee special session which produced ils ewn proposals, as well as a furlther four external reports, the ANC has not taken any serious stepsatall.

"â\200\234Only three of the 29 recommendzations made in the seven reports analysed have been implemented, and these are the

akle to deliver

He [T i

three suggesting Lhat (he internal ANC reports be released to the public,  $\hat{a}$  \200\235 the ISHR said.

The report noted the Motsuenyane Commission report as well as the recommendations made by Amnesty Interrational in December 19892, the Douglas report in Janualy 1993, the two ISHR reporls in May and August 1993. and the 1992 ANC's Skweyiya report, had all been completlely disregarded by the ANC, â\200\224Sapa.

AN (,3 economic policies . won't pay bills, says FW

| THE ANC will nt be on ils election promless because the mic policies which it

by WYNDHAM HARTLLY Polltical Ed|tor

NP's election Proven eco

National

ANC under-

The under festo are ma

Venter contin leised the A health polic frresponsible. It â\200\234eterylhrilng their outany thought for afT. ityâ\200\235

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ The Nationa) gL vol\_ce of reason in paign. $\hat{a}\200\235$  Venter said

does notcon!aln"cmpty promitesâ\200\235. takings in the NP mani.
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make the economy grow andc!oc:ortt!?
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Party will be the this election cam-

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#### FROM PAGE 1 if

"TWhile the =  $\hat{a}\200\234$ ANC $\hat{a}\200\231s$  - promxsed proposal - did  $\hat{A}$ « not materialise, the government put forward a: proposal which included a two-ballot system and concessions regarding the right to taxation by prov- - inces.

' The government \* didnot, however see its way  $\hat{A}^{\circ}$  open to making conces- \* sions on the powers and functions of provinces. -

FA chairman, Mr Rowan Cronje said from his home in Bophuthatswana last night that the governmentâ\200\231s proposal were of no consequence.

The government was expecting the FA to accept two small . conces- - sions and then forget about all the other outstanding issues. This was not acceptable to the FA.

-The ANCâ\200\231s demand for assurances that the FA would be prepared to negotiate its . proposals would, however, be taken to the FAâ\200\231s principles for a decision. -

Mr Cronje said the
question of a double or
' single ballot system was a

side issue as far as the

true concerns of the FA were concerned.

When the FA ° was formed and started nego. tiations with the "ANC and the government, the issues under discussion were the concern of the

FA over the powers of regions. At that stage the

Kempton - Park process

had not yet decnded on

the single ballot issue.
Later, when the multiparty negotiation process
decided on a single ballot
system, this became a further concern of the FA.

| â\200\234We cannot :forget
about our ongmal agenda, as the â\200\234government'
now seems to expect us to
do, just ~ because â\200\234one
stumbling block has been
removed,â\200\235 he said.

The ANCâ\200\231s chairman, â\200\234. Mr jâ\200\2341'habo Mbekei, sald after 7 the talks that before \*the - ANC:'s proposals could be

 $\hat{a}$ \200\234he said.

" World Trade Centre, the

f i ;
tabled clanty was needed
the Tegotiations were
prooeedmg as negotiations, or if it would pro-

;"ceed with the FA makmg -certain demands. -

\_If the FA was approachmg the. matter on

© the basis of demands with

"no flexibility, there  $a\200\234$ was no sense in continuing the --process..

 $\hat{a}$ 200\234The process of nego-

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 $\star$  tiation is impossible if we -

are confronted with demands. For this, reason, the FA was given until Monday to give clarity on this matter after which negotiations would con-

tinue,  $\hat{a}$ \200\235 he said.

- Mr Mbeki did not want to say what the ANCâ\200\231s proposals would contain, but did indicate that his

.organisation was flexible  $\hat{a} \geq 00 \geq 34$  on the powers of regions

as long as the other par-

ties involved in the process were prepared to

move forward.

Mr Cronje stressed that
the FA did not want to
negotiate the ANCâ\200\23
posal as a package, but

the FA did not want to negotiate the ANCâ\200\231s proposal as a package, but wanted to address the outstanding issues one by one.

-  $\hat{a}\200\234$ Instead of a process of . horse trading, we want to

negotiate for possnble movement on all i lssues,

Concemirig fhe :go'vem-mentâ\200\231s proposal, Mr Cronje said the FA could

 $a\200\230$ not accept the provincial

powers as they stood in the interim constitution.

The â\200\234governmentâ\200\231s acceptance of a double-ballot system was not significant seen in the light that long before the decision on a single ballot system had been taken at the

FA had been negotiating

 $\hat{a}\200\234$ with the government and  $\tilde{a}\200\234$ sues, and more particular-

ly the powers of regions

& 2 %The smgle or -double &nanonal Sballot issue is\_a  $a\200\234$ one-off\_

thing. We: hav  $\hat{a}\200\234$ to " live with the constitution long afterwards he said. .

back pl:

PR

s: ayesterdays talks he  $\hat{a}200\230$ was  $\hat{a}200\234$ not more opt:mxsuc  $\hat{a}200\230$ than  $\hat{a}200\230$ he\* was $\hat{a}204$ ¢ before  $\hat{A}$ ° they started nor was he more  $\hat{a}200\230$ pessimistic  $\hat{a}200\234$ than he had been $\hat{a}200\230$ n1] the tlme

i
: The govemmentâ\200\231s chief
gotiator, - Mr . Roelf

- = Meyer, said the govern-  $a\200\234$ ment $200\231$ s proposals were
- = comprehensive enough to
  ) Jsolve all the outstanding

issues. -

 $\hat{a}\200\2340$ ur proposals were reasonable and attractive.

~ The FA will now have

sufficient time to consult with their principals.â\204¢

- . Mr Meyer said the gov-
- . ernment could not see any reason why it should move on the question of powers for the provinces. As far as he was concerned, the powers of the provinces, as set out in the constitution, were adequate:

He conceded, however, that the governmentâ\200\231s proposals were not a final offer, but for the sake of South Africa, .now was the time to accept the offer.

Politiw] parties have until Saturday, February 12, to register as political parties for the election. This effectively makes the deadline for negotiations February 12. THE CITIZEN

Friday 4 February 1994

ANC FAILS TO TABLE

-BALLOT PLA

By Fred de Lange

NEGOTIATIONS between the government, the ANC and the Freedom ' Alliance yesterday again made no progress when the ANC failed to put pro-

posals on the table reportedly including a double ballot and exclusive powers for regional governments. Instead, it demanded that the FA commit itself to making concessions before the matter

could proceed.

The ' meeting; which was held in Pretoria, broke up after three hours, with the FA being | given until Monday to discuss the matter with its principals.

TO PAGE 2

ANC digs in its heels over Alliance

ovt in bid to
yreak talks
stalemate

THE ANC yesterday refused to put its new pa of proposals to the Freedom Alliance, saying it would disclose it only when the itself to being flexible and seeking a negotlated settlement. . ut government unexpectedly presen a set of proposals to the alliance, including concessions on a double ballot and regional authority to levy taxes.

However, government  $a \geq 00 \geq 31$ s package included a demand that the 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.  $\hat{A}$ ¢

However, registration does not bind par-  $i^2201ut:lhthk:rngpat;tmmeehci^2201omzdi^202th;y$  may aw at any stage up to i

&C national chairman 'lehabo Mbeki said:  $\hat{a}\200\234$ We have been negotiating for a long

ce- committed

# BILLY PADDOCK

ment Minister Roelf Meyer refused to divulge, broadly stated that:

OThe Freedom Alliance accept the powers and functions of regions as contained in the interim constitution;

O Government concedes to a double ballot; O Wider powers of taxation be granted to regions as negotiated with the alliance; O Central government be empowered to override regional constitutions; and

O Limited changes be made on the issue of self-determination.

Meyer said after the meeting that he had

proposed a ve settlement on all the outs issues in such a way that  $a\200\234$ if there is a will, there is a way of reaching agreement  $200\235$ .

OneANrs1- $\hat{a}$ 200\231om $\hat{a}$ 200\231sonreeIndicated thading" $\hat{a}$ 200\234ovemment $\hat{a}$ \200\231s p were very to tho;:!wuuadb $\hat{a}$ =\202heANClndeanglts package.:

 $r\tilde{A}$ @â\200\230yer denied having seen the ANC package.

Cronje said he was not too happy about

time and we have put several proposals !
forward for the d%gto %t\_e on negotiating package deals in a way that
t could be reached. One . He :

~and no problem is that the alliance has been negotiating on the basis of demands that must \(\frac{a}{200}\230\text{be}\) met and are non-negotiable, rather than looking for a negotiated settlement.\(\frac{a}{200}\235\) Alliance negotiators had to obtain man- \(\frac{a}{200}\) dates from their principals to be flexible in negotiations before the ANC would resume negotiations with the alliance. Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said

government  $a \geq 00 \leq 31$ s package of p the details of which Comi  $\geq 201$ tuumw

amounted to

fer compromises be made by negotiating issues on the i

Government  $a\200\231$ s double ballot concession  $a\200\234$ because the ballot issue is a one-off but the constitution is something we have to live with for a long time  $a\200\235$ .

He said regardless of their mandates, alliance tors would discuss deals to

 ${\tt negotiatos}$ 

- the best of their abilities, then take these

back to their principals for approval.

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