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A10 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1994

Mandela offered concessions to white and black conservatives who want regional autonomy in South Africa, saying his African National Congress wants to avert civil war. Although there wasn't any immediate reaction from the conservatives, his gesture didn't meet their demand for independent homelands. (Related article on Page A10)

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M. Jodie Justus

INTERNATIONAL

Blacks in South Africa's National Party Are Scorned for 'Sleeping With the Devil'

By THOMAS KAMM

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

SOWETO, South Africa — Vronda Banda and Ronald Mashinini are old friends. But one wouldn't know that from the less-than-hearty reception Mr. Banda gets.

Mr. Mashinini refuses to shake his friend's hand. Then he tells Mr. Banda: "You're endangering my life by coming here. You're endangering my property. You're even endangering my dog."

It's all in a day's work on the campaign trail. For Mr. Banda is no ordinary candidate for parliament in the April elections that mark the advent of multiracial democracy in South Africa.

Mr. Banda is black. And he's running for the National Party, the inventors and enforcers of apartheid.

That a black would run for the party that long prevented blacks from voting is a sign of the extraordinary change South Africa has undergone since President F.W. de Klerk legalized the African National Congress and freed its leader, Nelson Mandela, four years ago. With a new logo and a message of atonement for past sins, the National Party is actively courting the black electorate and even fielding a few black candidates such as Mr. Banda in hopes of reducing a likely landslide victory for Mr. Mandela and the ANC.

The frosty reception Mr. Banda gets, however, is a sign of how deep the chasm between blacks and whites remains. The ultimate test of multiracial democracy will be not only when blacks can vote and seek office, but also when South Africa's parties are racially integrated. So far, their efforts to cut across color lines are meeting with distrust, resistance and even violence and intimidation.

Whites who say they will vote for the ANC are regarded by many fellow whites as dangerous Communists or power-hungry turncoats. Blacks who say they will vote for the National Party — barely 1% polls show — are viewed by most of their fellow blacks as traitors and opportunists. "Someone who does that has lost his soul," says Mzimkhulu Kwini, a Cape Town law student.

That view makes things tricky for the 36-year-old Mr. Banda, who runs the National Party's office in Soweto, the black township outside Johannesburg that gained fame as a flashpoint of resistance to apartheid. Put simply, Mr. Banda's problem is: right race, wrong party. "It's an incredible task," he says.

Mr. Banda makes an unusual National Party recruit. Less than four years ago, he lived in a cell in Robben Island

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Jodie Justus*

Richmond Times-Dispatch

Thursday, February 17, 1994 AS

Mandela makes concessions

THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

JOHANNESBURG, South Africa — Nelson Mandela offered concessions yesterday to white and black conservatives who want regional autonomy, saying the ANC is doing everything possible to avert civil war.

There was no immediate reaction, but Mandela's gesture did not meet the conservatives' demand for independent homelands for their supporters. The groups have vowed to boycott the first election to include South Africa's black majority and are raising threats of political violence.

Mandela said leaders of the African National Congress had approved drafting a constitutional provision allowing consideration of a white homeland and dropped its demand for a single-ballot system in the April 26-28 election.

The ANC remains opposed to establishing territories based on race, but Mandela said he was willing to discuss white fears.

He did not give details, but said the ANC supported the all-white Parliament being recalled to incorporate a clause on "self-determination" in a draft constitution that was approved in December.

"The matter is on the agenda, and we are prepared to hammer out a solution which is agreeable to all."

Allowing two ballots — one for Parliament and another for regional legislatures — would give regionally based groups like the Zulu nationalist Inkatha Freedom Party a chance to establish power bases. A single ballot would likely give the huge ANC control of national and provincial legislatures.

Mandela sought to reassure the Freedom Alliance, a coalition of pro-apartheid whites, Inkatha and the black government of the Bophuthatswana homeland, by saying the next government would not substantially alter the constitution. The Alliance fears an ANC-dominated government will scrap any concessions it wins.

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THE NEW YORK TIMES INTERNATIONAL THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1994

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MANDELA SOFTENS STAND ON CHARTER

New Compromise Is Designed
to Avert Vote Boycott by
Zulus and Afrikaners

By BILL KELLER

Special to The New York Times

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 16 — In a last-ditch bid to head off defiance of South Africa's first free elections, the African National Congress agreed tonight to constitutional concessions aimed at appeasing Zulu and Afrikaner nationalists.

Nelson Mandela, the congress president, told reporters that his organization would support measures to strengthen the powers of provincial governments and open the way for the future creation of enclaves with a strong ethnic identity.

The congress also dropped its insistence that South Africans cast only one ballot, voting with a single stroke for the party that would represent them both in the new South African Parliament and in their provincial legislatures. Critics have said that a one-ballot system would severely handicap smaller parties with support concentrated in a particular region.

Deadline for Registration

Mr. Mandela said party registration would be reopened. The deadline for being listed on the April ballot passed Saturday with the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and white separatists refusing to take part.

All of the concessions made today are to be ratified by Parliament in an emergency session in about two weeks, regardless of whether the holdouts promise to join the election.

President F. W. de Klerk hailed Mr. Mandela's offer tonight, saying, "The road to peaceful participation in the election is, in our opinion, now open to all parties."

But there was no indication the concessions would persuade any of the defiant parties to change their minds. The package Mr. Mandela endorsed tonight is identical to an offer that was on the bargaining table when the dissidents, who together call themselves the Freedom Alliance, walked out.

"It does not satisfy the demands of the more ardent Zulu and Afrikaner partisans for enclaves where they can run their own affairs, safe from the meddling of a central Government, they assume will be in the hands of the African National Congress."

3 Reasons for Move

"The decision to make the concessions seemed to serve three purposes.

First, it provides a face-saving way into the elections, scheduled April 26-28, for any parties that have decided to boycott but might be getting cold feet.

Second, even if the defiant parties refuse to join the elections, the concessions give the Government and the African National Congress a basis for appealing to their supporters to ignore the boycott and refrain from violence.

Third, the changes are intended to convince the rest of the world that the the African National Congress and the Government, have gone the last mile to avoid the danger of violent disruption. "We must treat the threat of civil war seriously," Mr. Mandela said at an airport news conference before he flew to the Netherlands for a visit.

All Remaining Obstacles

"These proposals remove all the remaining obstacles for the parties which have not done so to register to take part in the democratic elections," Mr. Mandela said.

Inkatha and the Afrikaner Volksfront, an umbrella group of white separatist parties, had no immediate comment on the concessions.

Both organizations opted out of the elections last week. What unites the holdouts is mistrust of the African National Congress, a reluctance to surrender power, and fear of reprisals by a strong central Government.

Demands for Ethnic States

In its most extreme form, ethnic "self-determination" includes right-wing demands for an independent "volkstaat" in which only Afrikaners would be entitled to vote and the Zulu King's demand for an independent monarchy in the the province of Natal.

The African National Congress has been deeply skeptical of provincial autonomy, contending it could become a new version of the racial segregation enforced under apartheid.

What the congress has agreed to is this:

"First, the general principle of ethnic self-determination would be included in the constitution, along with "provisions for a mechanism and process for the consideration of the issue of a volkstaat," as Mr. Mandela put it.

A Government official said the new language would allow people of common culture to develop a territorial homeland or some other form, in which they could maintain their language and traditions. They would have to prove popular support for the idea, and they could not discriminate on the basis of race or to force out people from other ethnic groups.

Second, the nine newly designated provinces would be given additional powers not now included in the new constitution, especially the right to raise their own taxes.

They would be allowed to draw up their own provincial constitutions that might differ from the central model, as long as those charters did not violate the national bill of rights.

Third, the African National Congress relented on the question of ticket-splitting. Mr. Mandela had insisted on a single ballot, contending that black voters, who are new to democracy, would be confused by two ballots, but foreign election specialists said that experience with first-time voters in other countries yielded no evidence to support the congress's claim.

The Wall Street JournalThursday, February 17 1994
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prison, serving a 12-year sentence on charges of high treason for his role as a commander in Umkhonto we Sizwe, the ANC's military arm. The dismantling of apartheid gained him an early release. But rather than rejoin the ranks of Mr. Mandela, a former fellow Robben Island detainee, Mr. Banda joined forces with his ex-foes, exposing himself to new charges of treason—if not from courts, at least from many of his friends, family and other blacks.

"He spent years in jail, more in detention; he was tortured, and then he goes and joins the enemy," says a bewildered Mr. Mashinini, who also fought in the ANC's armed wing.

Mr. Banda is unapologetic. "It's not high treason," he says. "It's freedom of choice. I'm exercising that right. The National Party I joined is the new National Party, not the one that passed all those [apartheid] laws."

Mr. Banda denies widespread allegations that he's in this for money. He says he joined the National Party because the ANC is Communist-dominated and has no economic expertise, while the National Party has a proven track record on economic policy to go with its born-again image. "The National Party has developed South Africa to what it is today," says Mr. Banda. "It's better to sleep with the devil we know."

Spreading that message in Soweto isn't easy, however. "The National Party is operating underground," says Albe Morobalo, who works for the ANC in Soweto. "It's very ironic, because that's how the ANC used to operate."

Indeed, Mr. Banda runs something of a covert campaign. He operates from an unmarked office in a Soweto shopping center, right down the hall from the ANC office. "It provides security," says Mr. Banda. "If they bomb our office, they lose their office, too." The National Party has held no public meetings here, and Mr. Banda rarely ventures outside to campaign, except to call on people he knows, such as Mr. Mashinini.

Instead of door-to-door canvassing, Mr. Banda quietly identifies a few key people in each area. Then they try to recruit neighbors and form committees that also operate underground. "When the committee expands to a size that gives us balance, then we can come out," he says.

Coming out can be dangerous, as David Chuenyane discovered. Mr. Chuenyane is the most prominent black on the National Party's list of candidates for Parliament, which is to be elected under a system of proportional representation. With his name in seventh place, he's virtually assured of a parliamentary seat. But his efforts have earned him two Molotov cocktails exploding on the veranda of his Soweto home. He has been the target of six drive-by shootings. And he was run off the road four times.

"I completely damaged four cars," he says. He now lives in Pretoria while his American wife and three children are in the U.S. "Every now and then, when things really get tough, I say 'What did I get myself into?'" he admits.

The 51-year-old Mr. Chuenyane, a former militant of the radical Pan-Africanist Congress, makes no bones of the fact that he joined the National Party in part out of opportunism. "I had to contribute, and in order to contribute effectively, I had to look for a political party I could get into and use its resources in order to help my people," he says.

But, like many other black National Party supporters, he says he opposes the ANC because it views it as Communist and tribal-based. He supports the National Party, he says, because South Africa needs a strong opposition to act as a watchdog.

Mr. Chuenyane admits those arguments get short shrift in his campaign, and he spends much time fighting off charges of selling out. "I understand very well people who are angry at me," he says. "But their anger is from the past, from the injustices of apartheid. It was an evil government." Now that apartheid has gone, he says, he feels he can do more good by educating the National Party and showing that blacks are just as capable as whites. "One of the reasons I joined, too, was to understand what motivated them to have that kind of government and change them from the inside," Mr. Chuenyane says.

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The Washington Times

WORLD

Mandela set to guarantee provincial rights

By David Tucker
REUTERS NEWS AGENCY

JOHANNESBURG — Nelson Mandela's African National Congress offered a new compromise yesterday to rescue South Africa's troubled march to democracy on a day marked by more township bloodshed.

In violence plaguing the run-up to the country's April elections, police battled marchers in a dusty township, and gunmen killed a local ANC leader in front of his pupils.

Mr. Mandela said the ANC was willing to guarantee provincial rights in a new constitution for South Africa, a key demand of conservative black and white groups refusing to take part in the April election.

In a major policy statement, Mr.

Mandela addressed other concerns put forward by the Freedom Alliance of right-wing white separatists and conservative black homeland leaders.

"We are firmly of the view that these proposals remove all the remaining obstacles for the parties which have not yet done so, to register and become part of the process," he said.

Speaking at a news conference before leaving for the Netherlands, Mr. Mandela said the ANC would put the power-sharing proposals to the government and other parties. He hoped the multiparty negotiating forum and parliament could meet next week to amend the interim constitution passed in December.

But he stressed the April election date "cannot under any circum-

stances be postponed" and added no one would be allowed to disrupt the polls.

Other proposals he put forward included "provisions for a mechanism and process" to consider the issue of a white homeland demanded by extremist Afrikaners.

Asked if this meant a separate white state, Mr. Mandela said the policy of the ANC remained the same, but it was ensuring maximum provincial autonomy. "South Africa remains a united country."

Asked about the threat of civil war, he said: "We must treat the threat of civil war seriously. That is why we have gone out of our way to make the concessions," he said.

Earlier, four men gunned down George Mbhele, a school principal and chairman of the ANC's lower

south coast branch, as he taught at his school near Port Shepstone in Natal, ANC officials said.

Police said the motive for the killing was not clear.

Farther north, in the right-wing white heartland of the Eastern Transvaal, about 30 people were wounded when police clashed with blacks protesting plans to declare their town part of an Afrikaner homeland.

Most of the casualties suffered shotgun or rubber bullet wounds, witnesses said. The wounded were treated as they lay in the dusty streets of Sakhile township outside Standerton, 100 miles southeast of Johannesburg.

A police major was hit in the face by a rock flung from the crowd of about 4,000.

60 000 Zulu separatists roar disapproval of De Klerk's thinking

Wisdom before bravery

Talk of secession stirs the emotions. Daily News Political Correspondent **Martin Challenor** looks at King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu's idea of an independent, sovereign kingdom of Natal and KwaZulu.

PRESIDENT de Klerk is a brave man. Disagree with his politics if you want, but do not minimise his courage.

He has faced up to the far right wing at Ventersdorp and hostile African National Congress supporters on the election trail. But on Monday on

the steps of the Durban City Hall, he put wisdom before bravery, silence before words.

The plan was that Mr de Klerk, Inkatha Freedom Party leader Dr Mangosuthu Buthelezi and the Zulu monarch King Zwelithini Goodwill ka Bhhekuzulu would, after their meeting, appear together on the steps.

The Press was told Mr de Klerk would say a few words.

KwaZulu negotiator Dr Ben Ngubane told the 60 000 crowd gathered in West Street that Mr de Klerk believed the King's demand for an independent, sovereign kingdom could be accommodated within the federal, transitional 1994 constitution and that he wanted until today to respond to King Goodwill. In one voice, however, 60 000 Zulu separatists roared their disapproval of Mr de Klerk's thinking.

Such is the emotion of secession. Mr de Klerk abandoned his plans to address the crowd. It was wise.

The argument on whether an independent, sovereign kingdom of Natal and KwaZulu should come into being, and could indeed survive, is an emotional one. The outcome, if this was ever put to the test, would touch the lives of every person in Natal and KwaZulu, and this is about 25% of South Africa's 40 million people.

It is the kind of talk that leads to war.

King Goodwill's argument is simple. The whites in the form of the Afrikaners and descendants of the British are giving up their control of South Africa, therefore, the Zulus must be allowed to again become a nation in their own right, independent of their neighbours, governing the land their ancestors had governed before the whites arrived.

On this argument, King Goodwill has the backing of the Inkatha Freedom Party, which claims to speak for a majority of Zulus.

Not so, says the African National

Congress, which is opposed to this balkanisation of South Africa, and claims to speak for 80% of the Zulus.

Secession then, is another site of battle between the IFP and ANC over who really speaks for the Zulus.

This is another issue to have its merits swamped by the fervour of the dispute between the ANC and IFP.

Natal and KwaZulu under the National Party Government has money-wise got somewhat less than they deserved over the years.

Some observers have said this was because the NP was annoyed with Dr Buthelezi for not taking independence and because the NP could not take political control of the white voters.

Dr Buthelezi has said that Natal and KwaZulu was under-funded by R1.2 billion in the 1993/94 budget in terms of health, education and roads spending.

Natal and KwaZulu, at the last count, produced 17.4% of South Africa's taxes, but got back only 14.7% in

the form of state spending.

To put the point another way, the central government this year budgeted to spend R401 on state medical expenses for each person in the Cape, R293 in the OFS, R286 in Transvaal and just R235 in Natal and KwaZulu.

In 1992, the Government spent on average R940 on each pupil in South Africa and the self-governing states, yet the average in Natal and KwaZulu was R725.

The question is if home rule would rectify this skewed spending. As Natal Administrator Con Botha said, Natal and KwaZulu had 25% of the country's people, yet produced just 15% of the gross national product.

The ANC looks ahead and sees an independent kingdom that would become a ghetto. King Goodwill looks ahead and sees in KwaZulu/Natal freedom, pluralism and prosperity for centuries to come.

Report by R.M. Challenor, 15 Osborne Street, Durban

Disillusioned NIC stalwart leaves ANC

HERALD

18/2 Political Staff

THE exclusion of Natal Indian Congress stalwarts in the ANC list of 200 parliamentary candidates has caused Mr Ramlal Ramesar to defect to the Democratic Party.

A long-standing member of the ANC, Mr Ramesar was officially welcomed into the ranks of the DP at a press conference at the DP's offices in Durban yesterday.

He said he opted to join the DP because he was disillusioned with the ANC.

He cited the inclusion of "system politicians" like J N Reddy and Baldeo Dookie as reasons behind his defection.

He blamed the "cabal" for marginalising dedicated NIC leaders who had sacrificed their families, businesses and homes for the "struggle".

He said his disillusionment was as a result of being marginalised by not being informed of ANC meetings.

The inclusion of system politicians at the expense of dedicated leaders with a proven record in the struggle gave him a feeling that the ANC was losing control to the cabal, he claimed.

He blamed the cabal for "killing" the United Democratic Front (UDF) and the NIC. He refused to identify the members of the cabal, describing them as "white ants" creeping into the ANC.

He said he joined the DP as it was concerned with the people at the grassroots level, citing the Ladysmith flood victims as examples.

However, he said, he still had the highest regard for ANC leaders. "They (ANC) are still my family and my friends," Mr Ramesar said.

(Report by S Sangweni, 18 Osborne Street, Greyville, Durban)

From Page 1 DAILY NEWS 17/2/94 HETJ

Inkatha slates ANC 'deal'

The deadline for parties to register to fight the April General Election is to be extended. The multi-party negotiation forum and Parliament are to reconvene soon to amend the Electoral Act and the 1994 constitution to provide for:

□ A double ballot to allow voters to cast one vote for the National Assembly and one vote for the parliament of the province they live in.

□ Natal will become KwaZulu/Natal in the 1994 constitution as provincial parliaments can decide names for their provinces.

□ Provinces will have greater control over their finances, as was agreed in negotiations with the FA.

□ Provinces can determine their own legislative and executive structures.

These four points had been demanded by the FA. Further changes to the 1994 constitution would allow for consideration to be given a volkstaat exercising self-determination, by making this a constitutional principle built into the 1999 constitution, as was negotiated with the Afrikaans Volksfront.

Report by A. Durr and R.M. Chatsworth, 18 Osborne Street, Durban

Negotiations deadlock

ANC 'deal'

17/2/94

DAILY NEWS ME/IM

slated as hypocrisy

The ANC's latest stance on negotiations has drawn withering criticism. This report from **Daily News Political Staff**

INKATHA Freedom Party leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi today shot down the latest negotiation compromise offered by ANC president Nelson Mandela.

"What earthly use is it to be guaranteed less than the powers you have, when what is proposed you have is ridiculously inadequate?" he said of Mr Mandela's proposals on provincial powers.

"All Mr Mandela is doing is placing before the public constitutional proposals which led to the deadlock in negotiations, and introducing them as break-

through proposals which the ANC is prepared to make.

"What utter hypocrisy. Mr Mandela's statement amounts to no more than cheap politicking on life and death issues," Dr Buthelezi said.

"Mr Mandela concludes by warning of strong action against those who 'use force to disrupt' elections and says that action will be taken against them.

"I and the IFP and the KwaZulu Government will oppose the constitution and the proposed election under it and we will do so with every available democratic means at our disposal. That is our democratic right and we will do so," said Dr Buthelezi.

The Freedom Alliance — of which the IFP is a major part — has won four key demands through yesterday's concession. But this is not enough, it says.

Dr Buthelezi said the IFP would continue to oppose the interim constitution and the April general election.

Members of the IFP's central committee were called to a snap meeting in Ulundi today to debate the ANC's constitutional settlement proposals.

A top Buthelezi lieutenant, Walter Felgate, today angrily listed IFP criticisms of the offer.

□ The powers offered to provincial governments in the 1994 constitution were totally inadequate to start with, so the new guarantee that provincial powers would not be lessened in the 1999 constitution was simply empty.

□ There was no guarantee that the constitutions drawn up by KwaZulu/Natal and the other eight provinces would not be overridden, altered or rejected by a two-thirds majority of the Constitutional Assembly, which would then prescribe to regions what they could and could not do.

□ The proposal on the Afrikaner volkstaat was also totally inadequate.

Mr Felgate said the Government and ANC had put these proposals to the FA at last week's meeting. They were rejected then, so to now push them through Parliament was an act of dictatorship from the central government.

This was sickening election politics of the worst kind, he said.

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The Washington Post

THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1994

S. Africans Pledge Vote Concessions

ANC and Pretoria Move to Forestall Separatist Boycott

By Paul Taylor
Washington Post Foreign Service

JOHANNESBURG, Feb. 16—The Pretoria government and the African National Congress proposed a package of compromise amendments to South Africa's two-month-old interim constitution today to try to dissuade black and white separatist parties from boycotting the country's first democratic election.

The constitutional concessions are designed to strengthen the power of regional authority in the new South Africa by allowing separate candidate lists for regional and national offices. They also offer a pledge to consider—though not necessarily to accommodate—the aspirations of Afrikaners, Zulus and any other ethnic bloc in the country for their own state.

ANC President Nelson Mandela said he hopes the new proposals will "remove all the obstacles" to participation in the April 26-28 vote by a group of white right-wingers and black-homeland leaders known as the Freedom Alliance. But he had a warning for any would-be election spoilers.

"We wish to issue a solemn undertaking to those who think that they can use force to disrupt the democratic process that the people of this country have shown the capacity and the will to use their power to defeat these attempts," he said.

An hour after Mandela made his dramatic offer, President Frederik Willem de Klerk held his own press conference to explain that the package of proposals represented a balanced ANC endorsement of a government compromise plan that had been agreed upon by the Freedom Alliance two weeks ago. The Alliance did not respond at the time, he said, because the ANC indicated then that it was unwilling to accept the package.

There was no immediate response from the Freedom Alliance, which consists of the Afrikaner Volksfront, the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom Party and the homeland government of Bophuthatswana. However, informed speculation suggested that the hard-liners within the alliance would reject the proposal, while more moderate forces—probably including Bophuthatswana and possibly including elements of the Volksfront and Inkatha—would accept it.

The sticking point is likely to be over the issue of territorial self-

See SOUTH AFRICA, A34, Col. 1

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Washington Post Thursday, February 17, 1994
Front Page item (continued)

Pretoria, ANC Shift Stance On Election

SOUTH AFRICA, From A1

termination for ethnic groups. Mandela has stated categorically on numerous occasions that the ANC will never accept any ethnic or race-based states in the reconstituted South Africa. Given his position, this new offer is likely to be seen as an empty promise by ethnic hard-liners, while moderates might seize on it as a basis for some future compromise.

Even if the proposal has the effect only of driving a wedge between moderates and militants in the alliance, government and ANC sources say they would consider it a strategic success. "We want to take the high ground and to remove the legitimacy from those in the Freedom Alliance who are threatening violence," said Olaf van Zyl, a political adviser to de Klerk. By isolating the hard-liners, the government and ANC sources say it will be easier to use force to contain whatever anti-election sabotage or violence they might perpetrate.

Sources in the ANC said it was swayed to endorse the package when Zulu King Goodwill Zwelithini began making demands this week that the Zulus have their own sovereign nation, as they did for a brief period before 1834. Most analysts believe that Zwelithini's demands were more ploy than real bargaining position, but the king's call was taken up with alacrity by proponents of a separate nation for Afrikaners—the descendants of 17th-century Dutch and French settlers—who immediately promised diplomatic recognition.

This potential alliance of separatists—both of whom fear an ANC-dominated government—is made more ominous by reports that Afrikaner militants are supplying weapons and military training to Zulus. In a nation of 40 million,

"The people of this country have both the capacity and the will to use their power to defeat attempts" to disrupt the elections.

—Nelson Mandela

there are 3 million widely dispersed Afrikaners and an estimated 8 million Zulus, heavily concentrated in the province of Natal. Opinion surveys suggest that only a minority of both groups favor their own ethnic states—but they are an impassioned minority.

In the proposed compromise package, Natal province would be renamed KwaZulu/Natal, and the Zulu king would be assured of a continued salary and at least an honorary crown.

As if to dramatize the perils of proceeding with the election without the blessing of the separatist parties, there was a tense standoff today between ANC supporters and hard-line Afrikaners in the Transvaal farming town of Standerton, where last month the white town council declared it was part of a new Afrikaner state. Sixty-eight black ANC demonstrators were injured when police fired birdshot to prevent about 5,000 protesters from marching on the council offices, where they were awaited by heavily armed white right-wingers.

The compromise amendment package is expected to be approved in early March by a special session of the current white parliament. That effectively extends both the constitutional negotiating process and the deadline for registering for the election for another several weeks.

One of the charter proposals would allow voters in April to cast two votes, one for a national parliament and another for a parliament within their region. Until now, plans had called for a single-ballot system, which would have heavily favored the ANC.

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6A • THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1994 • USA TODAY

Front Page "Index"

SOUTH AFRICA:

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela, left, offers concessions to dissident groups in hopes of avoiding boycott of South Africa's April elections. 6A.



Reuters

MANDELA: Concessions await approval

ELSEWHERE IN THE WORLD

Mandela offers major concessions to dissidents

African National Congress leader Nelson Mandela on Wednesday offered major concessions to dissident blacks and whites, in hopes of averting a boycott of South African's elections and reducing the threat of civil war.

The dissident parties, called the Freedom Alliance, demand guarantees of virtual autonomy in nine post-apartheid provinces and the right to a white homeland. They say they fear domination and repression by Mandela's ANC, favored by polls to sweep to black majority rule in the first-ever multiracial elections April 26-28.

Concessions would include separate ballots for national and regional governments, taxation powers for regions and a guarantee of self-determination. Negotiators would consider the issue of a *Volksstaat*, the white homeland demanded by right-wing Afrikaners.

— Chris Erasmus in Cape Town, South Africa

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last of ~~eight~~ articles 2/17/94
m. Jodie Justus

A6 THE WALL STREET JOURNAL THURSDAY, FEBRUARY 17, 1994

New Emigrants: Some American Blacks Are Finding Job Opportunities and Lavish Homes in South Africa

Continued From First Page

beautiful countries, with picturesque vineyards, gorgeous seashores and breathtaking rural vistas. The highways are smooth and the weather is mild. Such physical comforts help make the move from the U.S. a relatively easy one for most Americans. "It's like Northern California without the earthquakes," says Mackey McLeod, a former Bostonian who now is an executive with Lotus Corp.'s South Africa unit.

South Africa also resembles the U.S. demographically, in that it is a diverse, multiracial, multiethnic society. American sitcoms and movies dominate the airwaves, and billboards advertise the latest recordings of pop stars such as Diana Ross and Michael Bolton. On the evening television news, one can follow the latest twists and turns of the Harding-Kerrigan ice follies. So, for better and worse, black Americans typically feel comfortable when they arrive in South Africa.

"I felt an immediate bond to the country," says Barron H. Harvey, a business professor at Howard University in Washington, who recently won a contract from the Agency for International Development to study South African venture capital. "The people have a can-do attitude that I have not seen among blacks since my days in college in the 1960s."

Afrikaner Reaction

Not everyone here is thrilled to see these can-do newcomers. Conservative white Afrikaners, especially, view them as potential troublemakers out to turn their country of 45 million into a small version of the U.S., complete with affirmative-action programs, high educational spending, low-income housing and minimum-wage laws that affect all workers.

Koos Ferreira, an executive at Simba Group Ltd., a unit of South Africa's Foodcorp Group, a big food company, says black Americans "are too pushy" and "have a lot of fancy ideas," about how to bring racial equality to South Africa. He complains that they "just don't understand what it is like here."

It wasn't too long ago that most black

Americans disliked South Africa with equal severity, due largely to the country's infamous system of apartheid. This rigid policy of racial segregation, introduced in 1947, forced whites, blacks, Asians and the mixed-race "coloreds" into defined areas of geography and culture.

International condemnation of apartheid began almost immediately, but Americans didn't get actively involved in the antiapartheid activities until the 1960s, when student activists protested the policy. By 1989, at the peak of the U.S. antiapartheid movement, hundreds of American corporations were under pressure to sever their South African business ties. Washington placed economic sanctions against the country and, perhaps most devastating psychologically, South African athletes weren't welcome at international sporting events. Apartheid began to crumble four years ago when Nelson Mandela, leader of the once-banned African National Congress, was released from prison after 27 years.

Difficult Adjustments

Now that South Africa is on the road to becoming a multiracial democracy, with free elections scheduled for April and sanctions having been lifted, the economy has started to grow again. Profits at diamond-industry leader DeBeers Consolidated Mines Ltd. and gold producer Anglo American Corp., South Africa's two largest corporations, have risen for the first time in several years, downtown Johannesburg is crowded with shoppers and entrepreneurship is the hottest topic among the emerging black middle class.

Still, the new arrivals are likely to find some difficult adjustments mixed in with the economic opportunities. Mr. McLeod, the Lotus executive, says the undercurrent of fear related to crime and the remote possibility of a civil war has turned many South Africans into scared shut-ins.

"Some people have houses filled with panic buttons, emergency alarms and remote-control devices they can carry with them from room to room just in case something happens," he says. "If they

push the button, within two minutes one of the private, armed security services will come to your house. . . . The backdrop of living here is one of concern for personal security. You never really go to sleep; you always have one eye open."

Families often bear the brunt of the cultural changes. Ms. Cook, the media consultant, recalls feeling humiliated when she was required to obtain written permission from white neighbors before she could move into Honey Dew, a section of Randburg, near Johannesburg. The Group Areas Act has since been repealed.

To make matters worse, she then discovered that her children would be the only blacks in the neighborhood school. Rather than subject them to what she suspected would be ridicule from classmates, she instead enrolled them in a private school in the city, an hour's drive away.

Nevertheless, her 14-year-old son "was miserable. He missed basketball, football and McDonald's," she says. "He had a very difficult time adjusting." So difficult, in fact, that she has since sent him back to the U.S. to live with her brother.

Still, American blacks who yearn for better career opportunities find success stories, like that of Ophelia Jatta, compelling. One of the earliest African-Americans to emigrate to Johannesburg, Ms. Jatta is a 42-year-old native of Oklahoma City who developed an interest in mining while working for Kerr-McGee Oil Co., a unit of Kerr-McGee Corp. In 1987, two years after graduating from the University of Oklahoma Law School, Ms. Jatta sold everything she owned to move to Africa.

After visiting many countries, Ms. Jatta decided to make South Africa her home even though she had no contacts, no job and no place to live. "I could tell right away that South Africa would be a fabulous country once they solved the racial and political problems," says Ms. Jatta. "I knew that if I could get there before everyone else showed up, I would be sitting pretty once things began to open up."

Within two weeks, Ms. Jatta had landed a job as a labor-relations specialist at Johannesburg Consolidated Investment

THE GUARDIAN - LONDON

17/2/94

Inkatha loses support over poll boycott

Forsaking the ballot box for the threat of bullets has caused a serious rift in the Buthelezi camp, says **Chris McGreal**

WHEN five of Mike Tarr's fellow white MPs defected to the African National Congress, he trod what he considered a safer path among his electors. Mr Tarr crossed to Inkatha last year, seeing the party as the only one that could accommodate conservative blacks, disenchanted whites and fearful Coloureds.

It would, he thought, bury President F. W. de Klerk's National Party with its apartheid past and emerge as the main opposition to an ANC government.

Today Mike Tarr is disillusioned and doubtful. The Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi's refusal at the weekend to

take part in South Africa's first non-racial elections in April because he objects to the new constitution, and his threats of even greater bloodshed, have left Mr Tarr out on a limb.

"I'd originally hoped that Inkatha could provide the focal point for a lot of whites and Indians and blacks and all the rest of them in a new alliance to oppose the ANC," he said.

But far from uniting the ANC's opponents, Mr Tarr fears the party is writing itself out of South African politics.

"On the issue of federalism itself, I don't have any problem. But when it comes to how to carry on the fight, that's where I have a difference. If you reach

a deadlock in the negotiation process eventually you must resort to the ballot box. If you don't go via the ballot box, then what's the other route? Protests and bullets, and that's the route I've never favoured and I don't think most Inkatha supporters favour it," he said.

Many of Inkatha's recruits since it threw its doors open to all races saw it as capable of bringing together blacks wary of the ANC's economic policies or afraid of its authoritarian streak, mixed-race Coloureds fearful of losing out as the ANC concentrates on uplifting blacks, and whites disillusioned with Mr De Klerk's deals with the ANC.

Mr Tarr, who came from the Democratic Party, thinks many of those voters are now lost to Inkatha, even though there is still an outside chance Inkatha might run, and the government and the ANC have agreed to

amend the rules to allow late registration.

The growing diversity of Inkatha's support ultimately could not overcome internal Zulu politics. And when Inkatha did reach out, it drove away many potential supporters by forming an alliance with the white far right.

Inkatha's other white MPs are with Mr Tarr. Some of them privately accuse Chief Buthelezi of permitting his anger at what he sees as betrayal first at the hands of the ANC and then the National Party to cloud his political judgment. Alasdair Macaulay, one of Inkatha's negotiators when it was participating in the constitutional talks, said: "The view of the MPs is the more pragmatic view, that by not participating in the election you will exclude yourselves forever from having any further input into the constitutional process," he said.

THE GUARDIAN

LONDON - 17/2/94

ANC makes concessions 'to avert war'

Chris McGreal in Johannesburg

THE leader of the African National Congress, Nelson Mandela, made significant concessions yesterday to the rightwing Freedom Alliance when he agreed to amend the new constitution in an attempt to bring Inkatha and white segregationist parties into April's elections.

He said the concessions were designed to save South Africa from civil war, but Inkatha questioned the ANC's sincerity and dismissed the announcement as propaganda.

Mr Mandela said the ANC will agree to strengthen the autonomy of provincial governments, allow electors to split their votes between national and regional ballots, and set up formal mechanisms to consider Afrikaner demands for their own homeland. In a specific concession to Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha, Mr Mandela said Natal province

'This is nothing but propaganda to hoodwink the media as the ANC has always done'

would be renamed KwaZulu/Natal.

Chief Buthelezi and white rightwingers have repeatedly refused to participate in the elections and warned of an uprising unless more powers are devolved to the regions. On Monday, the Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, demanded the restoration of the sovereignty of his kingdom.

Mr Mandela said the ANC compromise was made to avoid further bloodshed. "We must take the threat of civil war seriously. That is why we have gone out of our way to make the concessions," he said.

But the ANC climbdown still falls short of the demands of some members of the Freedom Alliance for what amounts to regional self-government along ethnic lines. The Alliance negotiator and Inkatha's national spokesman, Ziba Jiyane, was dismissive of the offer.

"We've been down that road so many times. If the ANC maybe at last is serious, we can only say that when we see it in black and white. This is nothing but propaganda to hood-

wink the media as they have always done.

"In private, I would not be surprised if they will take with the left hand that which they've given with the right hand," he said.

He added that the concessions should have been made in negotiations with Chief Buthelezi.

The Freedom Alliance chairman, Rowan Cronje, however, cautiously welcomed the concessions. "I think it is an interesting move on the part of the ANC. It deserves serious study," he said. But he added that it was too early to predict whether the concessions would lay the foundation for rightwing participation.

Pieter Mulder of the whiteseparatist Conservative Party said he would have to study the proposals before responding.

Mr Mandela said the ANC will push for an early reconvening of parliament to amend the constitution. Previously, the ANC had proposed lesser concessions on condition that Alliance members register for the elections. This time Mr Mandela said the constitutional reforms would go ahead, provided they do not lead to a postponement of the April 26-28 vote and that the integrity of South Africa's borders is not affected.

He described the compromise as a mark of good faith to show how far the ANC is prepared to bend in order to find a solution. "We are firmly of the view that these proposals remove all the remaining obstacles for the parties which have not yet done so to register [for the elections] and become part of the process," he said.

President F. W. de Klerk welcomed the announcement and said matters of key importance to the Freedom Alliance had been addressed.

"The road to peaceful participation in the election is now open to all the parties and the government expresses its hope that the Freedom Alliance will now place the interests of South Africa and its own voters first," he said in a statement.

Mr Mandela said future generations will judge South Africa's current leaders harshly if they fail to resolve the country's problems peacefully. But he warned that force will be met with force.

"We wish to issue a solemn reminder to those who think they can use force to disrupt the democratic process that the people of this country have the capacity and will to defeat these attempts," he said.

17/2/94 - London

ANC caves in to civil war threat by Inkatha

THE African National Congress unveiled a dramatic list of constitutional concessions yesterday, bending over backwards, in the words of Nelson Mandela, to defuse the threats of war by South Africa's black and white right.

The white parliament, thought to have performed its swansong in December, will sit one last time before the April poll, to introduce the ANC's proposed amendments to the constitution. These are geared to addressing fears of the Inkatha Freedom Party and its allies in the Afrikaner Volksfront that they will be swamped by an ANC-dominated central government. Last night right-wing sources said they were cautiously optimistic about the concessions.

Mr Mandela, the ANC president, announced six concessions, as he freely described them, at a press conference yesterday evening:

- Inclusion in the constitution of a principle on self-determination, to include provisions for the notion of an Afrikaner homeland, or *volkstaat*.
- A shift from a single-ballot to a double-ballot system; people may cast separate votes for a new national parliament and a provincial parliament.
- Provision for each province to manage its own finances.
- Provision for each province to determine the shape of its government.
- Guarantees that the powers of the provinces would not be substantially diminished by future elected governments.
- Change in the name of Natal province (in deference to the demands of Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi) to KwaZulu/Natal.

"This is our mark of good faith," Mr Mandela said, "to show that we are prepared to bend over backwards in order to find a solution."

The ANC president, eager not to appear weak, also had

JOHN CARLIN
in Johannesburg

harsh words for Inkatha and the Volksfront, partners in the so-called Freedom Alliance. Describing them as "steeped in the politics of ... racism, ethnic chauvinism and violence", he said: "We cannot ... be held to ransom by captives of the apartheid past."

Tough words, but held to ransom the ANC was. Mr Mandela admitted it was the threat of civil war that persuaded the ANC to cave in. "If we did not treat the threat seriously we wouldn't worry about making the concessions as far-reaching as they are."

A senior ANC official acknowledged after the press conference that the decision to capitulate to these Freedom Alliance demands had been made by the National Executive Committee 10 days ago. They were not made public earlier because, until now, the position of the ANC had been that they would only make the concession on condition that the Alliance agreed first to take part in the elections.

What the ANC has done is to offer something approaching an unconditional surrender. It is by no means certain, however, that the Alliance partners will agree either to participate in the April vote or drop their threats of violence.

Despite the ANC's assurances that they will consider the idea of a *volkstaat*, it is out of the question that they will allow a separate piece of territory to be carved out for Afrikaners where blacks, as hard-line right-wingers envision their future, are legally discriminated against. And the question remains whether Chief Buthelezi has any real intention of participating in an election he knows he will probably lose, even at provincial level in KwaZulu/Natal.

Mandela acts to avert poll boycott by S African right

By Patti Waldmeir in Cape Town

Mr Nelson Mandela, leader of the African National Congress, yesterday announced constitutional concessions aimed at averting a rightwing boycott of South Africa's all-race elections and reducing the threat of violence.

"We must treat the threat of civil war seriously. That is why we have gone out of our way to make these concessions," Mr Mandela said after an emergency meeting of the ANC's policy-making national executive com-

mittee. The concessions would strengthen the powers of provinces under the country's post-apartheid constitution, but they fall short of the demands of the Zulu-based Inkatha Freedom party for provincial autonomy.

Mr Rowan Cronje, chairman of the Freedom Alliance which comprises Inkatha and rightwing whites, said he would ask for a meeting with the ANC today.

Inkatha said it would study the concessions. However, before the ANC announcement, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha

leader, speaking in Cape Town, outlined a tougher stance. He said he believed the demand by Zulu king, Goodwill Zwelithini, for an independent Zulu homeland, which Mr Mandela ruled out, was probably "irreversible".

Mr Mandela proposed constitutional changes are aimed at accommodating not only Inkatha, but also the white rightwing Afrikaner Volksfront, which demands a homeland for Afrikaners. The concessions include powers of taxation for provincial governments and a safeguard for

the right to "self-determination" - a key demand of the white right - as well as measures to protect the powers of provinces when the elected assembly writes a new constitution to replace the 1993 interim constitution.

These concessions would probably not affect the basic nature of the current constitution, which provides for strong central government rather than the federal system demanded by Chief Buthelezi. But they would partly meet Chief Buthelezi's concerns, and demonstrate the ANC's will-

ingness to consider compromise.

On provincial powers, Mr Mandela said: "The matter is on the agenda, and we are prepared to hammer out a solution." He said the ANC approved amending the new constitution to allow consideration of an Afrikaner homeland after the election.

The ANC also dropped its demand for a single-ballot system in the April 26-28 election, and called for multi-party negotiations to be reconvened on Monday to approve the decision. Separate ballots would be cast in

provincial and national elections, favouring the regional parties.

President F.W. de Klerk said parliament would be recalled in March to incorporate the proposed amendments in the constitution and to extend the deadline for parties to register for elections. Government officials argue that this should be done, whether or not the right accepts the amendments, to undermine the right's moral position in boycotting elections.

Sutherland in S Africa, Page 5

Was it stage-managed by the IFP, Mr Tillet?

SIR — In his letter published in The Daily News on February 1, the IFP's Ed Tillet accuses the ANC of not caring about the economic development of Durban.

We are told by Mr Tillet that members of the IFP took photos of the ANC youth toying and vandalising beachfront property during the festive season.

Ed Tillet specifically invites me to his office to see a series of these photos.

Unwittingly, Mr Tillet tells the readers that IFP members on that particular date went to the beach armed with cameras. Were they expecting anything dramatic? Was that toying

and vandalising not stage-managed by the IFP using its youth wearing ANC T-shirts?

Since when do people go to the beach as a group wearing T-shirts of political organisations?

It is usually the police who go to crowded areas armed with cameras. It would not be far fetched to conclude that those photos Mr Tillet has were given to him by the police to vilify the ANC.

These accusations are quite strange especially when they come from a member of the IFP and Ed Tillet in particular, a former leader of the

Moderate Students' Organisation, an affiliate of the National Students' Federation which was the project of the Military Intelligence (MI).

Tens of thousands of rands of public money was used to fund that organisation. That money could have been used to develop the economic potential of Durban and other areas.

The Inkathagate scandal, the training of IFP squads in Caprivi and Matigulu, several IFP rallies organised and financed by the MI through the taxpayer's money were quite expensive projects.

That money could have been used to boost the economic potential of Natal and KwaZulu.

With R33 million used by the bantustan Zulu administration to buy Chief Minister Mangosuthu Buthelezi a brand new aeroplane, the ANC could have built 600 houses.

You cannot be IFP and be concerned with the economic development.

I promise Mr Tillet that I would want to see those photos as he has thrown a challenge to me. But I am not prepared to see them at his office. Will Mr Tillet please bring those photos to the voting station on April 27?

DUMISANI MAKHAYE
98 St George's St
Durban

director Allister Sparks.

Speaking during a panel discussion on journalism training at the International Press Institute conference yesterday, he said white control and ownership of the media would soon change rapidly as blacks were promoted to positions for which they had not been adequately trained.

Deteriorating standards in journalism would, however, tempt a new government to crack down on the media.

Mr Sparks said the best safeguard against government intervention was to ensure newly appointed black editorial and management executives were properly trained.—Sapa

are impressed by the determination of so many people to make the new South Africa work, a **Daily News Correspondent** reports from Cape Town.

ALL political leaders have heard the strong message that Press freedom is essential in the new South Africa, says International Press Institute chairman David Laventhol.

In his closing remarks to the institute's 43rd annual assembly yesterday, Mr Laventhol — editor-at-large of the Times Mirror Company and re-elected as IPI chairman — said nearly 500 delegates had attended proceedings.

They had included some of

we helped," he said.

Delegates had been struck by the determination of so many people to make the new South Africa work and of the "extraordinary difficulties" that these people faced.

South Africa's political leaders had heard "formally and informally" of the need for full Press freedom, Mr Laventhol said.

"Our message is clear. Our presence really has been felt and we're following it up.

"We will do all we can to help ensure the freedom of the Press."

Institute director Johann Fritz said a strong international monitoring group of respected journalists, editors and publishers was likely to be based in South Africa during April to monitor and act on allegations of intimidation and violence against journalists covering the

was... probably increase further in the run-up to the election.

The institute's executive had agreed to set up a special monitoring group in South Africa from April 20 to 28 to receive complaints.

These would be quickly investigated and given "full publicity", and the Government would be pressed to take action.

Unesco had promised support for the mission and had agreed to transfer its mission from Namibia to South Africa.

Countries that had expressed support included the United States, Britain, Germany, Sweden, Holland, Taiwan, India, Indonesia, Canada, France and Norway.

The South African Conference of Editors and the Newspaper Press Union would be asked soon for their approval, Dr Fritz said.