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# Poll forecasts 60 percent vote for ANC

**PETA THORNYCROFT**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

OPINION polls say the ANC will receive 60 percent of the votes in the election.

If this is correct, then the ANC will have about 26 MPs from the PWV region sitting in parliament after April 27.

It is almost certain, therefore, that the following will be taking their seats for the first time as members of parliament in four months' time: Carl Niehaus, Janet Love, Aubrey Mokoena, Abe Nkomo, Frene Ginwala, Smangalis Mkhathshwa, Max Coleman,

Thenjiwe Mtintso, Mavivi Manzini, Bridget Mbandla, Cassim Saloojee, Derek Hanekom, Geraldine Fraser, Ned Kekana, Ismail Mahommed, Susan Shabangu, Elizabeth Thabatha, Dan Montsisi, Bertha Gxowa, Rapu Molekane and Titus Mafolo.

Others high up on the list who have not yet indicated to the PWV region if they are available, or who have been elected to more than one list and have not yet indicated their preference, are Raymond Suttner, Barbara Hogan, Saki Macozoma, Tito Mboweni, Limpho Hani and Sister Bernard Ncube.

Those who were elected in the top part of the list and who have already said they are not available for any political position are the Rev Frank Chikane, lawyer Tiego Moseneke and the SABC chief executive-in-waiting, journalist Zwelakhe Sisulu.

The top names of those certain to make it to parliament for the PWV region show that the ANC has achieved its goal of having at least 30 percent women.

And the laborious, but extraordinarily democratic process the ANC used to achieve its lists, shows that whites, co-

loureds and those of Asian descent are fairly represented.

It has not yet been decided how many seats the PWV provincial parliament will have. That will depend on the number of people who turn out at the polls, but there are likely to be about 100 seats of which the ANC may win 60.

Whether Winnie Mandela is going to be an MP or not is in the balance. She will certainly be in the top half of the names on the list of 200 national candidates.

But she has indicated she may not make herself available, preferring a role outside parliament instead.

## ANC trio in running for the top job in Natal

Weekend Argus Political Staff  
DURBAN. — Three African National Congress leaders are vying for the job of ruling Natal after April 27.

The three ANC areas in Natal — the Midlands, Northern Natal and Southern Natal — in a combined congress will choose between Harry Gwala, Jacob Zuma and Jeff Radebe for nomination as their candidate for premiership of the region.

ANC hardliner and communist Mr Gwala says he will make sure that Natal's Cinderella province image gets the boot if he gets elected premier

of Natal. Natal must get a bigger share of the funding cake in order to succeed with planned reconstruction and development programmes, he says.

The Natal Midlands ANC chairman, 73, joined the Communist Party of South Africa in 1942, the ANC in 1944 and after numerous detentions was sentenced to life imprisonment in 1976 for recruiting people to MK. He was released in 1988 through ill health. He is on the national executive committee of the ANC and the central committee of the SACP.

Mr Gwala, nominated unanimously for Natal's top slot by

the organisation's Midland's region and enjoying significant support in the Southern Natal and Northern Natal regions too, speaks emphatically about the need for job creation and the development of industry and commerce in the country.

His rival is Mr Radebe, 40, chairman of the Southern Natal region who joined the ANC in the early 70s and worked in Tanzania for Radio Freedom before becoming deputy representative there between 1981 and 1982. He was arrested while on a mission in South Africa in 1986 and imprisoned until June 1990. He was elected vice chairman of ANC South-

ern Natal in 1990, chairman in 1991 and has played a major role in peace initiatives between the ANC and IFP.

Also a rival is Mr Zuma, 52, ANC deputy secretary general, who joined at the age of 17, took part in sabotage actions in Natal which led to a 10-year prison sentence on Robben Island in 1963. He rose rapidly within the ANC to become a member of the NEC in 1978 and re-elected at the 1985 Kabwe Conference. In 1990 he was elected chairman of ANC's Southern Natal region and is a former ANC chief of intelligence.

■ The ANC this week admitted that the Self-Defence Unit (SDU) baby they helped conceive had turned into a monster.

# 'Our mistake' says Bapela

Argus 8-9 Jan. 1994

**JOVIAL RANTAO**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

FLANKED by a fellow civic leader and an Umkhonto we Sizwe cadre, Obed Bapela, secretary general of the African National Congress's PWV region, put on a brave face and spoke like the leader he is.

"We're bold enough to admit the wrongs that we have committed," he said. "I'm sure you cannot say the same about other organisations."

Mr Bapela was not politicking. He was at pains to explain that the cause behind the fighting between SDUs was not as simple as it seemed.

The government and the SAP he asserted, were to blame for some of the community protectors — SDU members — becoming the attackers.

"If the government had, in terms of the Peace Accord, provided the SDUs with licenced firearms, that would have increased the degree of accountability and reduced the influx of illegal arms.

"If there were licenced firearms, police work would have been made easy, as they would have been able to trace the perpetrators during ballistic tests," Mr Bapela said.

At least six members of various SDUs on the East Rand have died since clashes erupted five days ago.

"We had a flood of requests from SDU members for arms. We could not help them because we do not have arms. The communities, who were constantly under attack, were then forced to acquire weapons from many places, including the black market, to defend themselves," Mr Bapela said. Illegal weapons in wrong hands, Mr Bapela admitted, were a huge prob-

lem which would confront an anticipated ANC-dominated government.

"We must find a way of getting rid of these weapons because one day they will be used against us," he said.

Mr Bapela said the influx of unlawful guns, coupled with infiltration of the SDUs by security force spies, had led to the clashes between members of the different defence units.

"The infiltrations are on a very large scale. We know some of these agents, but cannot disclose them because they will be the subject of a commission of inquiry and the disclosure might trigger more attacks."

He said infiltration was easy because there was no screening process when youths joined SDUs.

"We're talking here about communities under siege, who were ready to accept anyone with a gun to protect them. No screening process was in place and

that, more than anything, contributed to the chaos that we saw this week. It's these agents who spread rumours and misled SDU members. We as leaders, should have stepped in to help the SDU and make them accountable. That was our fault and we admit that. We've learnt a lesson," Mr Bapela said.

He and the ANC's PWV leadership this week worked around the clock to broker peace among warring SDUs in the East Rand.

A peace treaty was signed on Tuesday after a 10-hour meeting, only to be shattered a few hours later, with the death of two more members of an SDU in Katlehong's Mavimbela section. Mr Bapela said SDU members would be taught to be defenders of the communities and peace not death agents.

He said intelligence units would be established in the SDUs to ensure proper screening.

## Residents sing praises of 'brave young men'

**JOHN MacLENNAN**  
Weekend Argus Political Staff

BLOOD-CHILLING stories that include the payment of protection fees, sexual favours and arbitrary punishment — sometimes executions — in kangaroo courts are among the list of complaints against the SDUs.

But some residents said that, irrespective of the unit's "mistakes", they were a necessary evil in the strife-torn townships.

In Ramokonopi, a section

in Katlehong facing the notorious Kwesini hostel, residents told Weekend Argus they would have moved out of the area had they not had the protection of SDUs.

"The police only come in to pick up bodies in the morning rather than secure lives and property," said Mavis Mncango, 49, explaining that hostel dwellers used to come over to the area, burn and loot from houses, and kill men, women and children.

"They would have taken

over our homes were it not for these brave young men and women patrolling our area at night," she said.

Ramokonopi SDU members said that like everyone else they wanted to go to school and secure their future.

"It is because of the inability of law enforcement agencies to protect us that we have grouped ourselves into an SDU," said Sphiwe, 19.

Sphiwe and his fellow combatants vowed they

would remain "combat ready" until the National Peace Keeping Force (NPKF) was sent into their area.

"We do not trust the Internal Stability Unit, but we are ready to demobilise and surrender our weapons to the oncoming peace keeping force," they said.

"We had to take war unto war to end war," they said echoing a graffito on a wall of a house burned down at the height of the violence.

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# Kriel Western Cape

★ Weekend Argus

## PM?

LAW and Order Minister Hernus Kriel could become the Western Cape's first prime minister if the National Party maintains its position as frontrunner in the election race in this region.

He is being tipped as the most likely NP top man, although Cape leader Dawie de Villiers also has strong support and could come a close second if he were to challenge Mr Kriel for the premiership.

However, political analysts say it is by no means certain that the NP will be the winning party. The latest opinion poll showed the African National Congress alliance was not far behind — and it can, therefore, still overtake the NP at the polls on April 27.

ANC regional leader Allan

■ Who will become the first prime minister of the Western Cape after the April 27 election? That is the big question now being asked in Cape political circles as polling day draws nearer.

**FRANS ESTERHUYSE and TYRONE SEALE**  
Weekend Argus Reporters

Boesak is still claimed by ANC insiders to be in line for his bid to become first premier, despite earlier indications that his political star was fading.

The fact that Dr Boesak's name does not figure as prominently on ANC candidate lists as expected led to speculation that he had suffered a setback in his bid for the premiership.

Meanwhile several other prominent leadership figures are being mentioned as likely candidates for prime minister if the ANC emerges as the winning party in the Western

Cape.

They include Western Cape regional secretary Lerumo Kalako and former secretary Tony Yengeni, both of whom are known to have strong support.

Observers say it is also possible that the ANC will opt for prominent "coloured" candidates for the premiership in a bid to strengthen the organisation's support in coloured communities.

Names mentioned include University of the Western Cape rector Jakes Gerwel and Pen-

# WEEKEND Argus

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## The role of the peacekeepers

**F**ORMATION of the National Peacekeeping Force — as crucial in the short-term for holding a successful election as it will be in the longer-term for maintaining peace in the country — has been left late. Worryingly so.

Instead of being in existence already, months before the April 27 election date as originally planned, the go-ahead has only now been given by the Transitional Executive Council's sub-committee of defence to proceed with establishing a 10 000-strong force.

Defence analysts argue rightly that, in the 13 weeks left from the time the peacekeeping force is established and starts its training on January 24 to the election date, only a basic, crash training course will be possible for most of the ordinary members of the force.

There is a real, and justified, fear that arming semi-trained squad members could be a disastrous repetition of the *kitskonstabel* debacle; rather than keeping the peace, it is feared, many of the squad members, because of lack of training in a sensitive and volatile situation, may themselves be the cause of serious breaches of peace.

The success or failure of the NPF will have considerable impact on the transition of the other two security wings and will, in many cases, be operating in tandem or in competition with them. Because the NPF's work is essentially police work, it would seem sensible for it to be based on a good quota of well trained and experienced policemen and policewomen. That way, the peacekeepers will be able to perform the immediate duty of overseeing the election and would also be available for a reconstructed police force after the election.

## More brinkmanship

**S**TILL the brinkmanship continues. After another meeting of its central committee, the Inkatha Freedom Party has reaffirmed its decision not to take part in the Transitional Executive Council or in the April 27 election.

But that is far from being the end of the story.

In its latest resolution, the IFP is careful to add that its decision applies "under the interim constitution" as it stands. This means, presumably, that there is still some room left for a rethink if changes are made in that constitution.

With the final deadline for calling the election being January 26, there is still some time for further discussions between the government, the African National Congress and the Freedom Alliance. These discussions will no doubt pick up next week where they left off at the end of the last year.

It is to be hoped that suitable understandings and compromises can be reached to enable at least the IFP to change its mind. The most important of these relate to the powers of the various regions. Some hard bargaining lies ahead.

All parties have much to lose. An election without Inkatha participation will probably be disastrous for voters in Natal and it would undermine the legitimacy of the new government. On the other hand, Inkatha stands to lose its powerbase in the province by default, perhaps never to be regained.

All imperatives point to an accommodation being found.

Transkei military leader Major-General Bantu Holomisa believes the South African government, by claiming that Apla "terrorists" have his personal protection in the homeland, is intensifying its anti-Transkei campaign in the run-up to the election. **TERRY VAN DER WALT** spoke to the man who has been described as the "people's general" at his Umtata office.

# It's a set-up, says Holomisa

WEEKEND Argus

8/9 /1/94

**T**HERE was no power in Umtata on Wednesday, but General Holomisa kept things cool in his 11th-floor office by opening windows, letting a breeze blow across a pile of faxes dealing with his latest war of words.

He has been accused by senior South African policemen of harbouring the Heidelberg Tavern attackers, allegedly linked to the St James Church massacre a year ago by ballistic tests, and of allowing Transkei to be used as a launching pad for "terrorist" attacks.

"You are free to take me to any place where there is an Apla base in Transkei. When someone says 'General, here is an Apla base', we can talk," said the 38-year-old general.

On Monday he sent a strongly worded diplomatic note to South

eral issues and have done so since 1978. So for this man to come out of the blue and say that they know the killers are in Transkei is ridiculous," he said.

Asked if he had reason to believe Apla was using his territory, General Holomisa suggested that the massacre and others in the past could be the work of a third force, possibly the right wing.

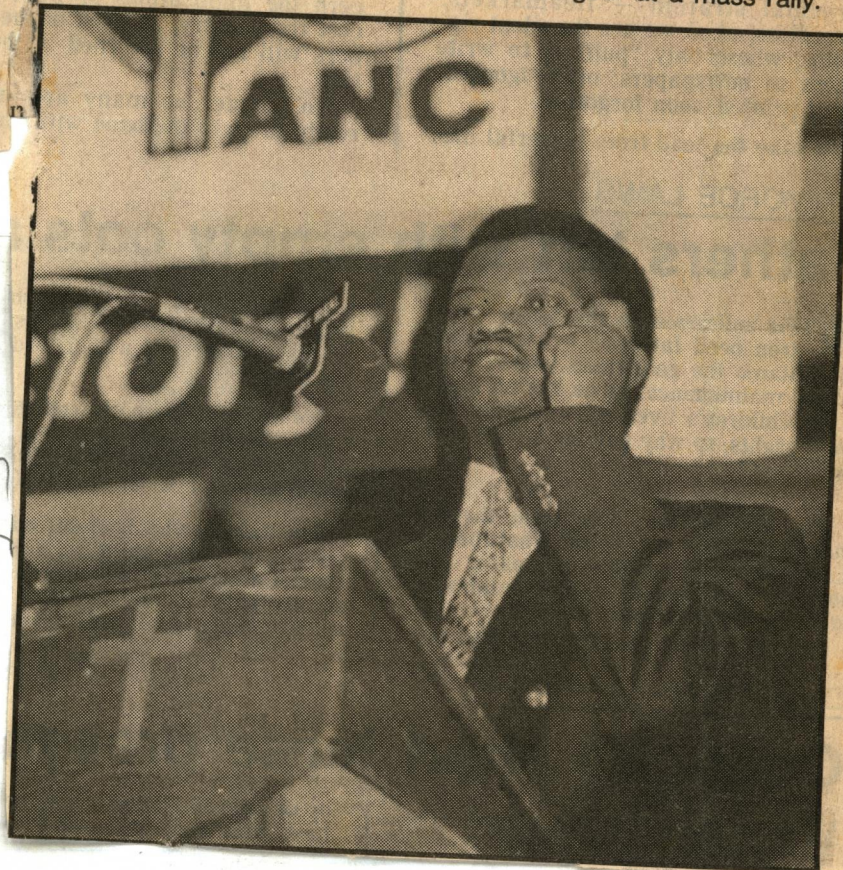
"I am not a policeman, but I am sceptical about the whole thing. With due respect to Apla and its claims of responsibility, I don't believe it is them and will only believe it when they have been tried and convicted.

"The speed, the professionalism, the copybook-type operation and the areas targeted make it smack of a ploy of someone who has been trained conventionally and unconventionally," he said.

Pointing out that the targets in King William's Town, Queenstown and Cape Town were in traditional-



□ **THE GENERAL:** In camouflage combat gear at a mass rally.



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## Peace bid: ANC set to restructure its SDUs

**BRUNO JUBASE**

Weekend Argus Correspondent

THE African National Congress is to restructure the controversial SDUs before they are disbanded when the National Peacekeeping Force (NPKF) is in place.

The restructuring will kick-off with a workshop including SDU commanders and all progressive structures in the townships, including the ANC, SA Communist Party, The Congress of SA Trade Unions (Cosatu), the SA National Civics Organisation (Sanco), the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo), the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and others.

Among agreements reached at a meeting on Tuesday between the feuding Katlehong SDUs is a commitment to respect elected local leadership and a restructuring of the SDUs with a view towards making them more transparent and accountable to the broader community.

"The agreement reached between the SDUs is still holding and we have received reports of only one other person who has died in clashes not connected with the recent fight between the SDUs," said Nceba Soyaya, chairman of the ANC's Katlehong branch.

During a follow-up meeting in Katlehong at the ANC office in Msiliki section Jabu Zwane was killed.

The meeting sought to finalise the fragile truce between the warring SDUs.

After Mr Zwane was killed the meeting dispersed as the other SDU commanders went searching for Mr Zwane's killer.

While Mr Soyaya agrees that there are problems with a few individual SDU members, he does not think that the problem is as widespread as the media makes it out to be.

"In Katlehong we have more than ten people found dead near the local hostels every week and no one makes a great deal out of that", he said.

# 10 INTERNATIONAL NEWS

Buthelezi and Nationalists raise fear of communism

## Inkatha sticks to hard line on poll

David Beresford in Cape Town

**C**HIEF Mangosuthu Buthelezi's Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday reiterated that it would not be taking part in South Africa's liberation elections on April 27 unless significant amendments were made to the new constitution.

Inkatha's central committee also confirmed that it would maintain its boycott of the Transitional Executive Council and defy decisions having a bearing on its stronghold of KwaNatal.

A final decision on Inkatha's participation in the elections is due to be taken at a consultative conference scheduled for next weekend. But yesterday's statement from the central committee indicates that the leadership is determined to maintain its hardline stance despite reports of a threatened rebellion among Inkatha politicians who fear they will be marginalised unless they take part.

The committee said that it would only reconsider its stance if the government and the ANC accepted its proposals for amendments to the interim constitution. In particular it regarded the introduction of a double ballot paper — for separate votes on regional and national government — as non-negotiable. Provisions for a

deadlock-breaking mechanism in the final constitution were also completely unacceptable.

"The IFP wishes to state that the South African government and the ANC are fully aware of the constitutional demands of the IFP" and its allies in the Freedom Alliance, said the statement. "The ball is in their court".

The Inkatha leader, Chief Buthelezi, warned a group of US politicians yesterday that South Africa could provide the base for a communist renaissance among the world's developing countries.

Speaking before the Inkatha central committee meeting, the chief told a delegation from the US House of Representatives that 75 per cent of the ANC's central committee were Communist Party members.

"It might no longer be a threat to the essential interests of the United States of America, but communism is of terrifying relevance to the people of this country," he said.

The chief also strongly criticised the new constitution, saying the "fundamental aspirations and cries for self-determination arising from all corners of South Africa have been totally ignored".

He claimed that, during the constitutional negotiations, Inkatha had been "constantly ignored" and "silenced". Inkatha had "dramatically reduced [its]

original demands without being met by corresponding efforts from [its] counterparts," he said.

"Manipulation and arrogance characterised the process, leaving no space for true negotiations with us."

The influence of the South African Communist Party in the ANC looks likely to be one of the central issues in the April 27 elections. The ruling National Party issued a statement yesterday claiming that 31 of the 55 members of the ANC's executive were members of the SACP "with a possibility of another seven".

Disputing an ANC claim that there were only 16 communists on its executive, the National Party said that, in addition, on 11 out of 14 regional executives "at least half of the chairmen and secretaries are SACP members".

The Human Rights Commission reported yesterday that nearly 2,000 people had been killed in political violence in Natal in 1993, compared with 1,319 people in 1992 and 965 in 1991.

● South African police said yesterday that they had arrested nine men in connection with an incident on December 13 when a group of whites stopped two cars on a road west of Johannesburg, forced the occupants out and opened fire on them.

## Inkatha leaders spurn election

**Johannesburg:** The Inkatha Freedom Party yesterday reiterated its opposition to South Africa's first all-race election unless changes are made in the new constitution (Our Foreign Staff writes).

Inkatha leaders, meeting in Ulundi, the capital of the KwaZulu black homeland, also said they rejected the new multiracial Transitional Executive Council that is helping the white government run the country until April's election.

They said they would only change their position if the government and the African National Congress allow separate ballots for national and regional voting. Separate ballots for elections would allow groups such as Inkatha to concentrate on their home bases and gain control of regional governments.

*The Guardian*  
8/1/94 London

*The Times*  
8/1/94  
London

# ANC election list brings surprise for candidates

By Christopher Munnion in Johannesburg

AN embarrassed African National Congress yesterday sought to explain how it came to release a list of election candidates which included a number of well-known personalities who are not members of the organisation or who have no interest in politics.

The list of candidates for provincial and national legislative seats in the Pretoria-Witwatersrand-Vereeniging region were published in order of popularity among local delegates. It included businessmen, leading sportsmen, academics and television personalities.

Many of those named expressed surprise at their inclusion either having no interest in politics, or being members of other parties. Most had not been approached by the ANC before the list was published.

Mr Klippies Kritzing, a former Springbok rugby player, was taken aback by his inclusion: "I have no ties with the ANC and am, in fact, the member of another political party."

Bruce Fordyce, an international athlete and marathon runner, immediately declined his nomination. "I am honoured but my running commitments prevent me from accepting any other responsibility," he said.

Several of the businessmen named said they were upset as the perceived alle-

giance to a political organisation could affect their businesses. The reigning Miss South Africa, Jacqui Mofokeng, expressed her "total surprise".

The list contained other surprises. Topping what seemed more like a popularity poll was Mr Carl Niehaus, an Afrikaner and the ANC's main spokesman. Conspicuous by its absence from the list was the name of Mrs Winnie Mandela.

The National Party accused the ANC of using the names of prominent people without obtaining consent.

"This undemocratic procedure causes grave embarrassment to people who differ fundamentally with ANC policy and who are public figures who do not want to be embroiled in political controversy," the NP said.

Mr Paul Mashatile, ANC regional secretary-general, said the list included names put forward by supporters at a conference last December. It embraced people who were not ANC members but who were popular with the grass-roots.

"It is not a final list," Mr Mashatile said. "Although some proposed candidates have not been told of their nomination they will still be able to say whether or not they wished to stand." The final ANC candidate list will be announced at the end of this month.

## Inkatha threatens to boycott SA poll

JOHN CARLIN  
in Johannesburg

THE Inkatha Freedom Party (IFP) said last night it would not take part in South Africa's first democratic elections on 27 April so long as the constitution adopted by parliament last month remained unaltered. In a statement after a meeting of its central committee, Inkatha said it would only reconsider if amendments were made to the constitution in line with proposals put forward by the right-wing Freedom Alliance, to which Inkatha belongs.

"The IFP endorses the decision of the leaders of the Alliance to reject the preconditions laid down by the South African government and the African National Congress (ANC) which must be met before they are prepared to meet negotiate with the Alliance," the statement said. "The government and the ANC are fully aware of the constitutional demands of the IFP and the Alliance. The ball is in their court. We demand they not negotiate without any preconditions."

But the Freedom Alliance, in which Inkatha and the white far right are the principal partners, is continuing negotiations behind the scenes with the government and the ANC, prompting political observers to suggest that the statement should not be taken as Inkatha's final word on electoral participation.

Significant elements within Inkatha believe the party should contest the elections and should not be in alliance with white racist parties. Party members have already started raising funds and planning for an electoral campaign. But Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Inkatha's leader, belongs to the hardline camp and so far his word has been law.

A special conference Inkatha is due to hold on 21 January is expected to address the question of participation in the elections. And the government and ANC might yet make sufficient concessions to persuade Inkatha to change heart.

Militating against that, however, were Chief Buthelezi's words yesterday to a group of US congressmen. Claiming that 75 per cent of the ANC's leaders are Communist Party members, he said that while Communism "might no longer be a threat to the essential interests" of the US, it was of "terrifying relevance to the people of this country".

The Daily Telegraph  
8/1/94 - London

The Independent  
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