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MEETING WITH A DELEGATION FROM THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL  
COMMISSION : ULUNDI, FEBRUARY 17, 1994

IEC DELEGATION

Mr Justice JC Kriegler, Chairman  
Advocate D Moseneke, SC, Vice-Chairman  
Mr H Khoza

Mrs S Briggs

IFP DELEGATION

Prince Mangosuthu Buthelezi, President  
Dr FT Mdlalose, National Chairman  
Rev CJ Mtetwa

Mr LPHM Mtshali

Mr VB Nldovu

Inkosi BP Biyela

Dr VT Zulu

Mr MZ Khumalo

Mrs S Felgate

Dr Z Jiyane \*

Mrs I Mars \*

Mr AJ Konigkramer \*

\* present for part of the meeting

The President read a Memorandum to the meeting regarding the IFP's perspective on the electoral process - Document No. 5826. He also reported during his presentation on a telephone call from the State President who said that he knew that what is happening in negotiations does not really meet our concerns, but thinks we should go forward.

Justice Kriegler

"It is a great privilege that you have afforded us by agreeing to this interview. You will know that I have been trying to meet with you for some weeks now. We realise that you are extremely busy and that the pressures of state are enormous, particularly at this vital stage of this history when there are vital issues to be debated at the moment. Therefore we appreciate all the more that you have given us time.

We approached you for this interview because we regard it as essential that we establish contact with all major role players in the political process. I emphasise all major role players, and I add, hardly necessarily but for the purposes of absolute clarity, that that includes those who have elected to participate, as also those who have elected not to participate in the elections.

Because we wish to speak as fellow South Africans to all major role players, it was essential that you be one of the first that we approach for an interview, because quite clearly you a

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such a major role player, not only the Chief Minister of this Government, you are the leader of a significant political party, and apart from that, you are an acknowledged significant opinion former. We cannot, if the IEC is to do its job properly, ignore people of your stature. Our position I wish to put to you as clearly as I can, as the IEC sees it, and I think I owe it to you and to the other members of your delegation here present, to define precisely where we stand.

Chief Minister, we are a product of the negotiation process, the Act which gave birth to the Independent Electrical Commission was devised by the negotiating parties in consultation with one another, and that excluded those parties who were not a party to the negotiations at that stage, but notwithstanding our ancestry, I wish to assure you and through you your party and your government, that the IEC is wholly independent, not only because of the express terms of the Statute but because from the very first day that we met, we acknowledged to one another that this is the ethos that must pervade everything that we do.

We are drawn from many ranks of not only this country but from the ranks of experts abroad, we are a polyglot people with many differing views on many different issues but on one we are of one mind and that is that it must be manifest to the people of this country and to the fascinated bystanders of the world at large that we owe allegiance to nothing other than our job. We consult certainly, we don't have all the wisdom in our own back pockets, we take advice but the ultimate decisions that are imposed on us by the Statute and by our consciences, we take on our own.

We are not only wholly independent but we hope to make manifest to all that we are completely impartial. We will perform our awesome historical task fearlessly, without favour and without prejudice. I should say to you that the technical definition of a political party is one registered as a participant in the election, is an issue to which the Commission as a whole has not turned its mind, but to which I am most certainly giving attention. And I can give you this assurance that to the extent that it is possible within the framework of the Electoral Act as it stands at the moment, and the Independent Electoral Commission Act, the stature of non-participating parties will not be overlooked.

I can say this to you, we are not in the political negotiating arena. We obviously watch it if I may say so at times with morbid fascination, but it is not our business to draw the rules of the game, it is our business to apply them. However, should, God willing, the negotiations progress and should it happen that the IFP or any other component members of the Freedom Alliance, decide to join in the electoral competition, the IEC will recommend amendments to the statutory framework within which we must conduct the elections so as to give full recognition to the wider constituency involved in the election.

More specifically, if it were to be the desire of any subsequent additions to the list of competitors in the electoral race, an amendment to the IEC Act to recognise such an expanded circle of competing parties, would be supported by the IEC, and to be completely specific, if it is thought that the composition of the Commission as such should be expanded, we would support it. But in any event should you or any of the other members of the Freedom Alliance elect not to participate, the IEC wishes to assure you that to the extent possible within the framework of the Electoral Act, which as you have pointed out does not make you as a party as defined, we will consult with you.

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I think I should just take a little of your time to tell you what the structure of the IEC is.

First of all, there are 11 South Africans picked from every walk of life and every ethnic, political and professional background. Some of us knew one another before, the majority of us were strangers to one another. The criteria for our selection in a nutshell were that we

were perceived to be reliable independent people. To that body of 11 South Africans was added a group of five nominees from abroad. You may be interested to know who they are and I will tell you and I'll give you a brief c.v. "

The first is Gay McDougall whom I'm sure you've certainly heard of. She is from the

United States and the Chief Executive of a major legal human rights NGO in the United States.

Then we have, going slightly north from the United States, to Canada, Mr Ron Gould, who is number two in Elections Canada, the permanent structure to run their federal elections, a man of great experience who has, like Ms McDougall, been an international observer in numerous elections around the world. Mr Gould is an election technocrat of very high standing.

Jumping the Atlantic, then we get to Professor Jorgen Elklit, he is a Political Scientist from the University of Aarhus, Denmark, he too is a political scientist, he has been an observer and adviser at numerous elections around the world.

We then move onto our continent, and we have Dr Amare Teckle from Eritrea. Dr Teckle was virtually single-handedly responsible for the Eritrean referendum after their gained their

independence from Abyssinia a couple of years ago, a superb administration, highly skilled in the conduct of all phases of Third World elections from voter education all the way through to disclosure of results in a manner to be clear to all those concerned.

Then our Northern neighbour from Zimbabwe, we have Professor Walter Khamba, an eminent lawyer, former Vice-Chancellor of the University there, Commissioner for Elections on the occasion when Zimbabwe - , and also an observer and adviser in elections outside his country.

The statutory structure of the Commission is somewhat unusual. The Statute basically makes provision for four administrative pillars within the IEC. The first is the Directorate of the Chief Executive Officer, who is the head of our internal administration, financial control, the

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responsible officer under the Exchequer Act, human resources, and procurement of vehicles and all the myriad administrative support systems required for an organisation fall under her control.

The next main division is that of the Chief Directorate of Election Administration, basically a pillar that is to organise the physical wherewithal to make an election take place, having the ballot papers printed, and ensuring that there are sufficient pins in polling stations, voting booths, ballot boxes, staff trained to conduct the elections.

The third pillar is a unique one. We have within our own ranks a Chief Directorate of Monitoring, a Monitoring Division whose task is to monitor not only the behaviour of the parties externally, the parties and the public at large, Peace-keeping forces, Police Force,



Defence Force, government, but also to monitor our own monitor our own Administration Division and to report directly to the Division on anything untoward in any of those areas.

And then lastly the fourth pillar is a special Adjudication Secretariat. Special Electoral Courts were created, hierarchy of courts from district level to an Appellate Tribunal, presided over by a Supreme Court Judge, and then ultimately an Appellate Tribunal, assisted by two Appellate Judges, and two other judges and senior Advocates. :

So, as you very astutely observed, that it is an enormous task that we have. I would like to

emphasise that and just give you some statistical bones to put into the statement. We are contemplating at this stage 9 000 polling stations, whether we will be to establish that many will remain to be seen but the ideal is to enable every enfranchised citizen to get to the polling station without undue discomfort.

You can imagine, Sir, that 9 000 polling stations under an anticipate electorate of some 22 million, we have to make very elaborate provision for courting stations and for officials to

conduct the counting and to verify and to check. And all this is to be monitored by our own Monitoring Division. The Monitoring Division in all likelihood will comprise not less than 10 000 people of whom some two and a half thousand will fulfil a broader monitoring function in the community during the electoral campaign, to mediate in disputes about broken

up meetings or refusal of access and the like, and if they can't mediate, to institute

prosecution under the Electoral Act. And then the Adjudication Secretariat will meet all these

structures from some 370 divisional offices at the lowest level and all the administrative infrastructure to process work through those courts.

If you put an estimate of 150 000 South Africans engaged in the actual administration of the

election in its various forms, that would be an accurate assessment. It is a massive exercise,

involving many, many people outside the formal structure of the IEC. And, Sir, if one isn't

daunted by that task, one is either uninformed or bereft of one's senses. It is an enormous

job without any political disruption it is an enormous administrative job.

It is in that spirit that we come here today. We come here to inform you as a major role player, who we are and what we do, and the enormity of our task. But we actually come here for a more important secondary purpose.

Chief Minister, ultimately our task is one capable of simple definition. We are to conduct proper elections, that is for a National Assembly and the nine Provincial Assemblies. And that task capable of essentially simple definition, then breaks down into two simple components. An election postulates informed voters being free to exercise their choice, i.e.

the voters must have access to information, all information, and they must have access to the ballot box. And it is our duty to facilitate access in both of those instances.

It is no secret, and it didn't take us long to become convinced that there are two major impediments to free and fair elections. The first is access by political parties to the electorates, and the second is potentially, but realistically anticipated, an impediment preventing substantial numbers of voters from getting to the ballot box, be it natural causes, political or criminal. But there is a real risk foreseeable now that some voters in some regions may be precluded from exercising this right of access to the ballot box.



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If we want to do our job, we believe that we must facilitate access by all major political parties to all significant sectors of the community. The major role players should be afforded as wide a platform as it is possible to devise.

Sir, I under-score what we mean, that if the IFP wishes to put to the people of Orlando West in Soweto its message that the Constitution is fatally flawed and people should not vote in the elections devised in the framework of that constitution, the voters are entitled to hear that message. Likewise, if the PAC wants to put its programme to the voters on 200 \231 Mr van der Merwe's farm in the Wolmaransstad District, it should be able to do so because the voters are entitled to know the options.

By a like token, if the ANC or the NP wishes to put its programme in KwaZulu, it should be entitled to do so. We don't believe that it is the right of the political parties that we are talking about, we believe it is the right of the voters we are talking about. They in their capacity of taxpayers are financing the IEC, they are our constituency and we owe it to them to seek to devise in consultation with all the role players, strategies to achieve the first of these two ideals, namely access to knowledge.

We did some lateral thinking within the IEC and we have the germ of a scheme on which we seek your advice which we want to put to you for your comment, and which we have put to all of the other major role players.

The essence is one of mobility. We wish under the aegis of the IEC, under the control of the IEC, under the co-ordination of the IEC, and under its sponsorship and chairmanship, to present mobile debating forums throughout the country.

In a nutshell, what we envisage as a possibility which we are putting to you, is mini-buses equipped with public address equipment in the colours of the IEC, owned and controlled by the IEC, travelling the length and breadth of the land offering to the voters as many points of view as there are applicants for time by the major role players. For instance, on a given day in Pietersburg and Mpumalanga, Khayalitsha and in Krugersdorp, there will be a mini bus with a chairman, introducing to the people in the town square, or outside the co-op, or at a mini bus station, or in Mitchell's Plain, or the main shopping area, the IEC brings you today the following five points of view.

We will have an IFP, and a PAC, and an ANC, whatever. We will co-ordinate that with the role players, we will draw the sequence of speakers by lots, we will have equal time, we will introduce it as a service to the voters, we will combine it with a session of voter education, in which we will show there and then what a ballot box looks like, what a ballot paper looks like, what a voting booth looks like, in the course of which we will hope to satisfy the electorate that every single vote will be secret, because the process is such that you cannot identify the author of a particular ballot paper.

Those self-same vehicles, we will then use on the voting days as mobile voting states. We have a highly sophisticated network of telecommunications, at this stage in the planning stage,

by early April it will be in operation, backed by an aerial fleet of aircraft equipped with television cameras which will enable us to be proactive in providing voting facilities where



they are necessary, through the means of a this fleet of mobile voting stations.  
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It is a scheme novel in its conception, fraught with administrative and logistical problems ,

surrounded by a myriad of risks, but we are thinking if we have the support of all the major role players, and I mean support in the sense of their moral backing and active co-operation, very vociferous and repeated adherence to this programme of democracy, we can yet surprise the world. Without that broad spectrum of support, not only by lip service, but by actual implementation, the scheme is still-born, but properly planned and properly prioritising on targets, with the proper consultation of the parties, we believe that we can take a great step towards achieving free and fair elections. And I say to you, Sir, that I am not in any way arrogating unto myself the role of adviser to any political party. I am an ignoramus on politics!

But the fact of the matter is that if elections become gravely unstuck, we will be set back decades in our history, whether one is a participant or whether one is not a participant, I think we must all as South Africans agree, a major disaster in respect of the elections will have implications, from a repeated phrase we have heard before, we have implications too horrible to contemplate.

Chief Minister  
Too ghastly!

Judge Kriegler  
I have misquoted! You have no doubt thought of it more often than I have. [Laughter]

In a nutshell, we are here today to put to you as Chief Minister of KwaZulu and as leader of Inkatha and as a major opinion former in the country, a request for your support for us to investigate this scheme, pursue it and if so advise to implement it. It is a request that we have put to the State President, to Mr Mandela, to Mr Makwethu, to Zach de Beer, to Mr van der Mere, the spokesman on Home Affairs for the Conservative Party, to the African Christian Democratic Movement, the national leadership, they are also one of the parties that subscribe as a party to participation in all nine provinces and at the national level. We have discussed it with the President of the Agricultural Union, also the SA Agricultural Union whom I have reason to believe has been a neighbour of yours for some years, Mr Fourie [?] we are meeting with the Transvaal Agricultural Union's Chairperson tomorrow, the Free State Agricultural Union in order to see if we can make this thing work for the benefit of all of us.

And that's the purpose of our visit here today, to introduce ourselves and to come with a request. Thank you, Sir.

Dr Mdlalose

Emphasised that it was our democratic option not to participate in elections. If the mobile structure idea worked, it would be very positive, but he could see that they might be abused or monopolised to the disadvantage of certain parties, and he could see it being taken as a pro-vote campaign, being taken as a campaign pro-ANC. There have been many examples of bias in favour of the ANC, over television, over radio. If this mobile structure should ever wear the mantle of partiality, then he could see fires, literally speaking.

Mr Mtshali

Referred to the mini-buses going around, and the voter education component built into the public address system and the public debate arrangements. He wished to know the nature of the voter education programme being offered, and whether it would be such a programme which would also make it possible for people to exercise their democratic right not to participate in elections; would the programme be balanced in its approach, not promoting one aspect which is the choice to vote, where people would prefer to abstain from voting; whether the voter education leaflets would be made available to the main role players to enable them to assess what is on offer and whether it will be democratic in its implementation.

Judge Kriegler

Taking Dr Mdlalose's In terms of the Electoral Act as it stands, there is a distinction between participating parties and the others, for instance the IEC has to co-operate with and consult with national, regional and local parties liaison committees, once the registration has been finalisation - that is a formal structure. And the parties having the right to participate in that are the registered parties. That we cannot change as it is.

If the Act is to be changed, that is certainly something that could be changed to do away with a distinction between registered and unregistered parties. I must add that I would anticipate a prerequisite to such an amendment would be that a prospective non-participant that wishes to have their presentation should subscribe to the Code of Conduct. I don't think you can have "in" without paying the price and the price will have signifying adherence to the Code of Conduct for the so-called non-participant, or an opponent of the election as a whole. I am speaking purely off the top of my head, I think that would be a price that would have to be paid.

The secondly, Sir, I take your point about mini-buses possibly being abused. The point is that if that happens it will happen in the hands and under the control of an employee of the IEC. We will run the mini-buses, we will present the programme, we chair the meeting. Those who wish to participate are not selected on a random basis. They are selected by the IEC from the list of applicants for a particular meeting at a particular place. If it goes wrong, we have fallen down on the job. It will not be run by a political party. And I take your point that of course officials can go wrong. Then our monitors must pick it, they must rectify it and if there has been an abuse we must try to even the playing field again by precluding the advantaged party from having another meeting in that area and arranging the next meeting to give a platform to that one that is being prejudiced by the abused official.

We are speculating about detail. If we co-operate with the parties, if we are sensitive to the parties, if we are receptive to their input, it should not happen and it certainly shouldn't repeat itself, it should be rectifiable. I fully agree with you that if property of the IEC paid for by the South African taxpayer is abused to support a particular party, there will be fire and there will justifiably be fire, because then we will have failed in our job to be impartial.

As far as the Minister of Education and Culture's questions are concerned, the voter education programme that will be offered in conjunction with the mobile platforms, will be a very specific voting education programme. It will be a voting instruction more than voter education. It will be limited to this is a ballot paper, this is a ballot box, this is what

it looks

like, this is how the names appear on the ballot paper. It's really the mechanics of voting.

If the IFP, or the CP or the DMP, or whoever, who buys into the scheme wants to put across to the voters in the course of the debate, in the time of that speaker, you need not vote and you should not vote, and it's your duty not to vote because the constitution is fatally flawed, that is entirely up to you, that's your right and it is the right of the people to hear that.

As far as the general voting education programmes are concerned, you ask for a right of assessment by a non-participating party, that's in essence what you're asking for, I don't

think we can give you that, quite frankly, the interim party liaison committee and the national party liaison committee after registration to a large extent, fulfils that role. But what I can

say that if I follow up on what the Chief Minister said in page two and three of his welcoming observations, I can see no reason why we can't come to a working arrangement

outside the party liaison committee to give you an opportunity to vet it informally. After all,

what we are looking for is impartiality. Criticism from anywhere that will improve our work,

we are happy with that. And sometimes I firmly believe that one learns more even from ill-intentioned criticism than from flattery.

Advocate Moseneke

Wished to emphasise some point which he felt was an important part of what the IEC stands for. It is correct that the Act recognises the right of a registered party to convince supporters. In fact the IEC has a duty to make sure that that prevails. The democratic right of parties and individuals who elect not to participate in elections and to put across

their view, is recognised. One should add that the scheme that the IEC is proposing, a scheme of access, is accessed by all parties so that they can put their views, both the view not to participate as well as their view to participate.

The IEC has deliberated on this point and had to take a position about parties which do not participate. Such parties would include the IFP, AZAPO, the CP and other parties that may finally make their decision. The official IEC position is the right starts with the right to select and having made the choice, they must be protected in proclaiming that choice.

The IEC must be available to all communities, where there is strife or no strife in a visible

and real way to provide voter education, and if there are parties who want to put their position on why people should not vote, that viewpoint should be not just tolerated, but all facilities should be made available so that viewpoint can get across.

There is an obvious need to consult if the IEC is to come to any part of KwaZulu, it would expect certain levels of security to be made available to our officials who will have distinguishable, clear IEC insignias. The IEC would expect their employees to be afforded normal law and order protection in order to execute their duties. The same applies to any other policing agency in any other part of the country.

The Chief Minister made reference to a technical committee to be set up as a matter of urgency between the IEC and the Freedom Alliance in order to examine issues of common interest, which he would leave Judge Kriegler to deal with. He had no doubt that there would be several issues which would emerge. In principle, he found very little reason that

there would be difficult to create a liaison mechanism, though other Commissioners would need to be consulted.

Dr Ngubane

Asked where the people would be drawn from to run the mobile units. The KwaZulu Government/IFP had serious concerns at CODESA where the general office work-force were Operation Vula people or others with a distinct political affiliation who were employed on the staff of CODESA. '

Advocate Moseneke

The IEC has developed a Human Resources Department and so on as previously explained by Judge Kriegler and has advertised in newspapers, on radio and television. A code of impartiality has been devised which all members accept and sign as they are employed by the IEC. There are 100, 000 or 150 000 of positions to be filled and applications are urged.

Vacancies are still available for various jobs and those already employed are very representative of the country. Anyone was welcome to pay a visit to the IEC. They could not guarantee, there may be ANC, DP, IDP, PAC people who have applied for jobs. All possible care is being taken regarding neutrality. The IEC will not be turned into a vehicle of any party.

Judge Kriegler

[ am a very, very arrogant person. I need the job in the IEC like a hole in the head. I have established a reasonable reputation for myself as a lawyer and a Judge. I am not going to allow my reputation to be besmirched by little foxes in the vineyard. The trucks will be driven by monitors. These are not people we take off the street. These are people that we select and that we train. And point number one, you can't be a monitor if you are partial.

You fail in your job right at the entrance to the job if you are perceived to be partial, you can't do your job.

I may add too that if we can develop the working committee that the Chief Minister suggested, we can actually try to devise ways of satisfying the non-participating parties as to how our staff structures, because you have a legitimate interest in them. The reality is that up to now the majority of our staff probably didn't come from non-participating ranks because they weren't interested in the election process. I don't know what the politics are of the various staff members, I don't even know about the Commissioners, but if there's something wrong, let's fix it up. I want it to be done for my sake, let alone the voters' sake.

Prince VT Zulu

He appreciated that the work of the IEC is made difficult by the fact that there is a lack of an all-inclusive settlement in South Africa. He did not want to be pessimistic but there could be the prospect of ending up with none, right up to the election, but once there is a settlement there is the possibility of the inclusion of other parties. He felt there was a difficulty in the operation of the IEC in that the peace monitoring force would not be all-inclusive. If members of other parties are included in the team and in the committee, those members would need some training, as well as staff members.

Voter education had also not started and he wondered how people could be trained in such a short time due to unfortunate deadlines. He appreciated that the IEC did not make the

rules but questioned whether the Commission could allow itself to be put under such pressure and do nothing about it. People needed to be included later on and they needed training. Dr Zulu thought this situation lessens the chances of the Commission being able to say there had been a free and fair election.

For example on the peace monitoring force, it is said there are difficulties and the time is inadequate. The problem as he saw it was the insistence on April 27th before there is an all-inclusive settlement. 3  
Judge Kriegler

My mother taught me an expression, two men looking through prison bars, the one saw mud and the other saw stars. Of course the time is desperately short but at the same time there is the great advantage that the time for the build-up of great animosities and the loss of enthusiasm is also short. Let me say this. We are not in the IEC looking to the National Peacekeeping Force to play a role in our administration of the election, at all. We are in planning with the law and order maintenance agencies of the country to ensure that there is not only reasonable stability generally, but with regard to our own specific function as an electoral administration body to have our own peacekeeping force drawn from the ranks from of the existing agency of law and order, identified as being our servants by uniform or by insignia answerable to us, co-selected by us and trained by us in the very special duty of being the watchmen at a voting station. That is as far as our relationship with the National Peacekeeping Force is concerned where they don't figure in our plan.

Secondly, you say that the training time is short. That certainly is so, but I would have invited you with great alacrity to come into our offices over the last couple of days to see

what a magnificent effort our Monitoring Division has put together. There are very highly developed skills around the world in the mass planning of trainers and our monitoring training trainers are at this very time that we are sitting here in an intensive course at the World Trade Centre. It's not an impossible task, it's a very difficult task but to have sufficient numbers of monitors trained is on our common time schedule well under control. Let us not fool ourselves and exaggerate the enormity of the task either.

I want to tie in with what my colleague, Advocate Mosencke said. Let's take the vast majority of the people that we will need on the voting days and these will be performing the substantial majority of a clerical function, performing a mechanical function of checking an identity document, stamping it, issuing the ballot paper, seeing its being put in the ballot box, or on the counting days to go through some 20 million ballot papers and count the votes. These are mechanical exercises, not calling for a Phd in physics or chemistry, or applied mathematics.

We will be drawing from the ranks of junior civil servants, from teachers, from students, from prosecutors, from bank clerks, from insurance company clerks, all over society and it matters not one iota whether they happen to be ticket bearing members of the SACP or the old United Party or the IFP or whatever, we need people to do a job under supervision which is basically mechanical. In the monitoring part, we are selecting and training people to do a responsible job and that is a different cup of tea. I repeat, our training programmes at this stage are on schedule to have enough people of the requisite training in the field.

Advocate Moseneke

Referred to the question of how the IEC felt about the pressure they are under regarding April 27, 28 and 29. The answer is that the IEC do not make the rules. They are process people, not dealing with substance. They have been appointed to do a particular job. If there is agreement and they are told that elections would be two months later, we will be there with our skills which had to be acquired in a short space of time to do so. If there are to be 22 odd million voting ballot papers to print, for instance there is no one single utility in South Africa which can handle that need, which includes security features, water mark and so on. With two ballot papers it becomes 44 million that are required.

They are involved in the process, they are mechanics. It is not their job to decide dates and they make the statutes and so on. If they are amended, the IEC has to implement them. IEC programmes would have to be adjusted to fit in with a further date or a nearer date.

Mr Konigkramer

Commented on the Chief Minister's Memorandum, what he referred to as the structure of force and on what Dr Ngubane said and Judge Kriegler's comments that the monitoring was fair and that there was a proper process. He suggested that perhaps the Chief Minister should make available to the Judge the submissions made to the State President in September last year, to which there has been no response.

That document described in detail how MK was being used to create a force which is going to intimidate people in the elections and it was spelt out in very great detail. Apart from the fact that those facts are in the document, we are also aware that the State Intelligence Services know this. They know it went as far as the importation of very large numbers of uniforms from Cuba which were to be worn by people prior to the election. There was training on an extensive scale of young people for drafting into MK and self-defence units. This training was in blatant disregard of the DF Malan and the Pretoria Minute. The IFP produced evidence, including video evidence to the State, to show what was going on in terms of the plan, but to this day there has been no response.

He would ask that that document be made available to the Commission which should also formally ask the State Intelligence Services to release that information to them so that they can plan to meet the obstruction to the election which is being planned.

Judge Kriegler

May I say that is exactly why I am here. If people profess to subscribe to the democratic process of free access by parties to people and by people to ballot papers, I say put your money where your mouth is. I want to run a countrywide debating campaign in which all parties buy in. That's exactly what it's about. It's people who want to train people. I am not saying that I agree or disagree with your factual input, but if this is bought into by all, where is the intimidation, it cannot work.

It is exactly to side-step that kind of problem that we have devised a scheme which says you profess democracy, let's all practise democracy. [I would add that if you have a copy of the Report, I would be only too pleased to study it and discuss it with security advisers who don't happen only to be South Africans.]



Mr Khoza

I wish to refer to point no. 2 as Director of Communication of the IEC. I believe that the provision of media coverage from where we stand seems to be the responsibility of another organisation, or shall we say, seems to rely on the IMC as opposed to the IEC. Whilst we may understand the sentiments of the point, I doubt if the IEC would be in a position to effect any changes, or recommendations may be made. I think it outside the control of the IEC. Thank you.

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Judge Kriegler

Mr Chief Minister, excuse me, I'm a rude Afrikaner! Could we have some kind of indication whether we could expect a response to our proposal and if so when, that we buy into a joint platform around the country.

Chief Minister

We have no problem with that. There is no problem.

Chief Minister

I'd be delighted to be able to tell the electorate at large, this has been subscribed to by all of the major role players.

A Press Conference followed.

