

The Star

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Result not set in stone

A huge undecided vote is good for South Africa, and for democracy.

WHEN South Africans vote for a government of national unity in April, they will be entering unexplored territory. Their pending political odyssey is certain to be an exhilarating experience for that reason.

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

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

There is, however, another more powerful reason for welcoming the findings. Democracy depends on a swing vote. It is the undecided voters who switch allegiance between or even during elections who temper the arrogance of politicians and counter the temptations of power.

The fluidity in political allegiances uncovered by the poll reinforces the point that there is nothing inevitable about the election outcome. Thus nearly 60 percent of DP supporters have shifted allegiance, opting — in descending order of preference — for the ANC, the NP and the IFP. Similar though smaller shifts have been detected in the rival white-led NP and CP.

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



INSIDE TRACK

Same election din, now in full colour

If you half shut your eyes, you could almost imagine yourself back in the Old South Africa amid the din of election rhetoric. The invective and snide gimmickry flying about are altogether reminiscent of old-time white elections.

Except, of course, that this is the new full-colour version and the choicest rhetoric is exchanged between those two power-sharing partners, the ANC and the Nats.

Take the way each capitalised this week on the anniversary of the ANC's unbanning. A big NP ad took credit for all the changes since February 2 1990, saying: "When Nelson Mandela lights a 'Flame of Freedom' today, he honours President de Klerk's achievements."

Over the page, an ANC ad, double the size, mocked such claims, saying: "Next thing they'll be telling us apartheid never existed. The lesson of history is clear: those who deny the past, must never be trusted with the future."

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Inkatha, of course, doesn't do too badly either in the bad-mouthing line. At the IFP's marathon special conference at Ulundi last weekend, a clerical gent didn't mince any words about De Klerk — he said the President "was born a liar, lived a liar and will die a liar".

This made that old master of invective, Mangosuthu Buthelezi, sound almost polite.

He was less than genteel, though, when he answered a journo's question with a quote that came, he said, from an Australian friend: "You can't ride two horses at the same time because your arse isn't big enough".

The DP's poster campaign also claims credit for ending apartheid, but its rhetoric is relatively low-key. As Tony Leon says hopefully: "We will remain cool, calm and elected."

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There was a revealing moment during De Klerk's barnstorm through the eastern Transvaal last weekend. At Driekoppies Dam, he arrived for a

meeting with a local chief to find yet another ANC group, 500 strong, intent on disrupting it.

At this point FW decided to take the offensive. He reminded the group it was he who'd unbanned the ANC, released Mandela, etc, then boldly fielded questions — and even got a polite round of applause.

From this point there are variations to the story. Some of Sauer's sources say that when De Klerk finished speaking, he paused, took a hard look at the ANC heavies, and asked in Afrikaans: "Het julle my mooi gehoor?"

To which, some swear, a muted response came haltingly from somewhere in the group: "Jja, my baas."

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Maybe it doesn't pay to be seen to be friendly with the opposition. On that same platteland tour, a number of blacks told journo's that they'd vote NP because they saw no difference between the two parties and their leaders.

Asked why she would vote for the Nats, one black woman said: "Well,

NP, ANC — same thing". Pressed further, she said: "Well, De Klerk, Mandela — good friends."

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Seen last Saturday night around Sandton City — former acting state president Plet Koorhof and his young companion Marcelle, with her 10-month old infant.

Like any other couple, they were quietly shopping in the CNA — where Marcelle was looking at baby books. She tends to plumpness, so Sauer's female informant couldn't even guess whether this constituted shopping with intent.

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Just when the fuss was dying down over that haute couture dress decorated with verses from the Koran, Britain's Oxford Union is stirring up more hornets.

Replacing a scheduled ANC/Inkatha/National Party debate (electioneering back home has delayed the discussion) is the motion "This House believes that Islam and democracy are incompatible".

One of the planned speakers on this touchy subject — Eric Pickles, Tory MP and former head of Bradford Council — pulled out at the last moment. But no such attack of nerves has troubled Yusuf Islam, the former pop singer Cat Stevens, who joins the opposition team.

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No, Sauer can't believe the rumour that the Cape Times poster based on a minor news story, "SA to Export Crunchies to Russia", was the work of some cynical boorhater.

It must surely have been just a thin day for news, with some despairing sub-editor also facing the deadline crunch.

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Don't talk to the DP's Dene Smuts about the ANC's efforts to ensure that one-third of its MPs are women.

For years, she says, her party had 100 percent female representation in Parliament — Helen Suzman.

Hector Sauer

Campaign against us, say hostel dwellers

Merafe Hostel residents, who have been accused of committing various crimes, claim there is a smear campaign against them.

In a statement issued yesterday, the IFP and the National Hostel Residents' Association said they felt "insulted" by accusations that:

■ Hostel residents hijack cars and rob taxis belonging to Soweto Transport Services.

■ The man found with two bullet wounds outside the hostel on Saturday was killed by hostel residents.

■ Car thieves bring stolen cars into the hostel.

"How can we be accused of having a part in the taxi problems when we have members from both organisations living in the hostel?" the statement asked.

It added that the residents had apprehended criminals on an ongoing basis and handed them over to the police.

In the latest incident, three alleged car thieves were caught at the hostel.

"In all instances, including train massacres, no Merafe Hostel resident has been found guilty by the courts," the statement said. — Soweto Bureau.

Tokoza pensioners still not paid

■ BY HAPPY NKHOMA

A march by armed hostel dwellers kept Tokoza pensioners from getting their pensions on Wednesday. Yesterday, "administrative problems" got in the way, and disappointed pensioners went home after a long wait — their pockets still empty.

As the pensioners stood outside the Tokoza Town Council offices yesterday afternoon, hostile youths and hostel dwellers taunted each other in the tense

township.

Earlier in the day, pensioners had been bused to Germiston where they were to have received their money. The aim was to avoid the risks of the previous day, when pensioners fled the payout office as armed hostel dwellers protested nearby against the presence of SADF members.

But only a few pensioners were paid at Germiston before they were told to wait for buses that would take them back to

Tokoza, where the payout would resume.

Back in Tokoza, pensioners queued from about 11 am to 3 pm while the pension clerks did their paperwork. At 3 pm the payments began, but lasted only half an hour. The officials refused to work overtime.

■ The task group to oversee the peace plan to be implemented in East Rand townships would be operating soon, task group head General Jan van Loggerenberg said yesterday.

TEC retains the detention law

OWN CORRESPONDENT

Durban — Fears that political unrest could threaten the democratic government to be elected in April has prompted the Transitional Executive Council to keep detention without trial on the statute books.

For decades the ANC and its front organisations and liberal political groups attacked the National Party for allowing detention without trial.

In terms of agreements

reached at the multiparty negotiations, detention without trial was to be scrapped through the Abolition of Restrictions of Free Political Activity Act that was passed by Parliament in December.

However, the ANC has balked at implementing this in the face of a growing menace of right-wing parties and problems that would be caused by an IFP boycott of the election.

The ANC-dominated TEC decided the Act should

come into operation on January 28, except for the provisions that scrapped section 29 of the Internal Security Act.

This resolution of the TEC went unnoticed until the Black Sash organisation kicked up a fuss.

It would mean people allegedly wanting to violently promote any constitutional, political, industrial, social or economic aim could, in terms of the Internal Security Act, be held without trial for 10 days at the say of

a policeman of the rank of warrant officer or higher. Police could then seek a Supreme Court order to hold them for another 10 days.

The Black Sash said the TEC's decision not to abolish Section 29 was a breach of faith. The TEC's decision was in direct contradiction of the decisions reached at the negotiating forum and in Parliament, and flew in the face of the new constitution and its chapter on fundamental rights.

Alliance dithers over two-ballot carrot

■ BY KAIZER NYATSUMBA
POLITICAL CORRESPONDENT

Crucial trilateral talks at which the ANC was scheduled to table its major concessions — including an acceptance of the double ballot system — to the Freedom Alliance ended inconclusively yesterday when FA negotiators could not guarantee flexibility in the discussions.

When the FA negotiators failed to give this undertaking, they were asked to consult with their leaders and return to the ANC and the Government by Sunday evening or Monday morning.

"The process of negotiating becomes impossible if what you are confronted with are demands," ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said after the talks.

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

FA chief negotiator Rowan

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

In a separate briefing, Meyer said the Government's proposal was "comprehensive enough to bring about a settlement".

Although Inkatha Freedom Party leader Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi said on TV's *Agenda* on Sunday that a concession to the FA's demand for a two-ballot system could make "a big difference", observers yesterday said it now appeared the FA wanted to shift the goalposts yet again.

Speaking after the trilateral meeting, Cronje said progress would be difficult unless there was movement on the FA's other demands, notably on the powers and functions of provincial governments.

He said the single-ballot

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No guarantees from alliance

◀ From Page 1

agreement had been reached in the twilight of multiparty talks at the World Trade Centre and had not until then been one of the FA's key concerns about the Constitution.

In Ulundi, Buthelezi was quoted as having said a double-ballot concession would not address his party's bottom-line demands.

He reportedly said he hoped the ANC and the Government would also agree to the IFP's remaining demands.

Meyer said the Government would try "again and again to seek a settlement until the time has run out".

Sources said the ANC had also agreed to the extension of exclusive powers to regional governments, provided the present deadlock-breaking mechanism agreed upon at the World Trade Centre would be dispensed with. Instead, all decisions would have to be taken with a two-thirds majority in the National Assembly.

Many voters are in ferment over who to support come April — and no community is more fluid than the whites of South Africa.

THE National Party currently commands the firm support of only one out of three white voters with many former supporters unable to decide who to back in the coming election, The Argus-MMR poll indicates.

English-speaking whites are particularly confused, with almost half undecided or unwilling to state a preference.

The results of the nationwide survey also indicate that NP support has dipped among whites, coloureds, and Indians during the past two years.

The NP is placing great store on securing considerable support among these three groups and the figures indicate that it faces a stiff challenge as the election campaign swings into gear.

According to MMR, 31 percent of whites now say they would support the NP. Asked who they would have voted for two years ago, 46 percent of the whites surveyed said the NP.

Coloured support for the NP has dipped from 52 percent to 46 percent, while the drop in the Indian community is from 46 to 30 percent.

However, not all is lost for the NP. It still has higher support in these three race groups than the ANC, which could now command three percent white support, 13 percent among coloureds and 27 percent among Indians — a jump from 19 percent two years ago.

The NP is also more popular among whites than the CP, whose support in the community over the past two years has dropped from 26 percent to 15 percent.

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

VOTERS SPEAK



This category among whites has snowballed from 10 percent two years ago to 38 percent now, from 20 to 33 percent among coloureds and from 25 to 38 percent among Indians.

MMR finds that support among Africans for the NP has remained at a low one percent during the past two years. African support for the ANC has increased from 75 percent to 78 percent.

The figures again make worrying reading for the DP, with support among whites apparently dipping from 15 percent to seven percent. MMR finds that its Indian support has halved, from eight percent to four percent, while only eight percent of coloureds support the party compared to 13 percent who said they would have backed it two years ago.

Its support among blacks is now negligible at 0.2 percent.

The IFP has made gains among whites, from two to six percent, but remains extraordinarily low among blacks at only two percent. This figure may, however, be distorted by the fact that the poll did not reach the "deep rural" vote of tiny communities around the country.

The survey found that almost all African voters are sure of their choice of party, while four out of every 10 Indians who state a preference could be "waverers" — either "somewhat sure" or "not sure".

THE CAPE

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REPUBLIC

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

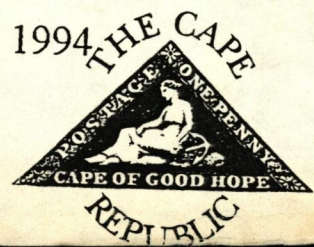
POLL RESULT

NINETY-FIVE percent of the respondents in last week's Cape Metro phone-in poll support the Cape's becoming an independent republic.

The idea was mooted first by the Cape Republic Movement, which intends to campaign for a referendum on whether the province should "remain in Azania".

Of the 1115 calls received, 1058 readers favoured an independent Cape and 57 opposed it.

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



Mercury 4/2/94 HE/IM

Leon Marshall

Viewpoint

Mandela will carry ANC's election banner

OPINION polls continue predicting a convincing election win for the African National Congress. The only question is by how much.

Initial polls suggested a runaway victory that would bring it close to the two-thirds majority that would enable it really to put its stamp on the final constitution and to dominate completely the supposed government of national unity. The latest poll holds out slightly less extravagant hopes for the organisation.

Whatever the polls say, there is no doubting the enormous advantage the ANC has over the other parties. It is by far the most populist of the parties. It has a history of struggle and resistance, and in Mr Nelson Mandela it has a leader of enormous charm and charisma who is no doubt going to make a very substantial contribution to its vote.

Although rigorously exposed to the public spotlight these past few years, he seems not to have lost any of the near-godly status his years of incarceration at the hands of the apartheid regime have helped accord him in the eyes of so many people.

Judging from the way he is already beating the election trail, he is going to be very much at the forefront of the ANC's election campaign. No matter how much the Cyril Ramaphosas, Thabo Mbekis and others have risen to prominence, or what their leadership aspirations are, it is Mr Mandela who, above all, symbolises his party's 82-year history of struggle, and it is he who is going to carry its banner in this election.

In conversation and speculation over the coming election, arguments keep coming up about ethnic animosities and tribal structures, and how

these might affect the ANC's chances.

However, from what happened in Zimbabwe and Namibia, for example, and perhaps even from Afrikaner Nationalism's own history, it is clear that the emotive drawing force of the terms suppression, struggle and resistance cannot easily be overestimated.

"The struggle continues!" is the forlorn cry we keep hearing to this day from the all but forgotten HNP's Jaap Marais. The AWP's Eugene Terre Blanche talks about oppression of the Boers, without a hint of a smile, and it is a favourite battle cry of the CP and the Volksfront.

What these parties lack, however, is not only authenticity but also a single leader who has suffered sufficiently to be turned into a symbol of their oppression. From the cars they drive and the way they look and talk, most of

them actually seem to have been leading quite comfortable lives.

But to get back to the examples of Zimbabwe and Namibia. In the case of the former, ethnicity certainly counted in the election, and Mr Robert Mugabe — although one of the key resistance figures — didn't have anything near the status and symbolism of a Nelson Mandela. Yet, against expectations and the confident predictions of the SA government at the time, which had its hopes pinned on moderates like Abel Muzorewa and Ndabingil Sithole, he stormed into power.

Mr Sam Nujoma, too, is far from being a Nelson Mandela, but there is no denying the enormous role he played in Swapo's landslide victory.

While presenting brave faces, it must be a somewhat depressing scenario for most

of SA's other parties.

President De Klerk, too, is a charismatic leader, and his party is no doubt going to depend heavily on him to present the new face of the National Party.

What most of these parties lack, however, is the thrust lent by political martyrdom. Also, as both the DP's and the NP's election lists show, their firmest base remains in a retreating and increasingly fractured white establishment.

Outside that, their only real chance lies in exploiting minority fears, and in the vague democratic notion about people deciding in sufficient numbers to vote against one-party domination. It's a vague hope, for as the Nationalists can tell, their opponents' cries of "vote for a strong opposition" never did them any good in the old days.

It doesn't mean the smaller parties must be written off. As the DP rightly emphasises,

under the proportional voting system even parties with less than half a percentage of the vote will stand a chance of getting a representative in parliament.

Mrs Helen Suzman's example of what just a single dissenting voice can do, must never be forgotten. In those depressing times, when many parties were banned and many people were jailed, detained or otherwise silenced, her lone voice helped keep something profoundly important alive in a society that found itself increasingly besotted with Nationalism's insatiable craze for "strong government".

It serves only to reinforce the need for every single party which is able to muster votes to get into the act and canvass support. Strong ruling parties, especially, need constant reminding that they don't own a country, but are merely supposed to run it.

FAITH GASA questions the TEC's integrity

Mercury 4/2/94 HETM

IFP says: 'Show your true colours'

DOES the Transitional Executive Council (TEC) have the integrity to investigate the role of MK, the ANC and its SDU's in South Africa's political violence — their hit squads, gun-running, Transkei connection, illegal training, their assassination of IFP leaders, etc?

And does the TEC have the guts to demand the information from those in the know — the government's security and intelligence agencies and MK's high command?

This is the essence of the direct challenge issued by the IFP this week to the TEC — a body the IFP neither recognises nor regards as legitimate. In presenting a set of documents to the TEC task force enquiring into hit squads in Natal/KwaZulu, the IFP has in effect called upon the TEC to show its true colours.

The TEC's "objects", as set out in the TEC Act, are "to facilitate and promote ... the preparation for and transition to a democratic order in South Africa" ... primarily through eliminating impediments to legitimate political activity; eliminating intimidation; securing freedom of canvassing for parties; ensuring no government disadvantages any party; and generally creating conditions conducive to the holding of free and fair elections.

All well and good, it might be thought. However, the IFP

believes the TEC to be politically partisan and believes it has no intention whatsoever of pursuing these objects — except, that is, in so far as these will benefit the ANC and perhaps, to a lesser extent, the government.

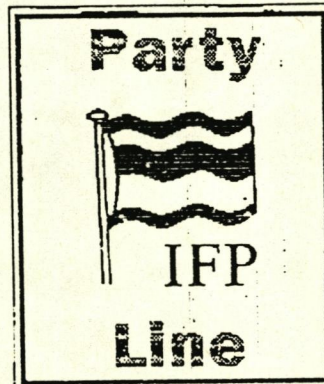
Thus the ink was barely dry on the TEC Act when the TEC revealed where it intended focusing — on one alleged hit squad within the KwaZulu Police, which the KZP had itself already uncovered and requested the SA Police to investigate.

The suspects were suspended, were under arrest, and the KZP was fully co-operating in the judicial process when lo and behold, the TEC decided to intervene after the Goldstone Commission (which appears strangely reluctant to do likewise with ANC hit squads) stated it "to be in the public interest to make the information available at this stage".

Why intervene, however, in a properly conducted judicial investigation when the matter is already being thoroughly investigated, the suspects are behind bars and where the law is taking its course?

Because, the IFP maintains, the TEC intends dealing harshly with its opponents, and leniently with its "friends" — especially those who gave birth to and now dominate the TEC.

Thus the IFP presentation to the TEC task force. This was not an ordinary submission, and the IFP has not



asked the TEC to investigate the issues raised. Whether the TEC does or does not investigate them is in one sense immaterial since the IFP does not recognise the TEC and has no intention of asking it to do anything. But the TEC's reaction will show what that body is made of.

The IFP presentation comprises merely a list of issues, substantiated with evidence, which fall within the ambit of the TEC's objects, and which the TEC has not yet given any indication of being prepared to investigate.

They deal with: the assassination of over 320 office-bearers, mostly by hit squads; frequent massacres of IFP supporters by hit squads; ANC arms smuggling to arm their hit squads; illegal possession of weapons by ANC/MK members; the illegal training of MK cadres within South Africa; MK's hit squads operating with impunity.

Transkei; the activities of SDUs; the state's failure to protect its citizenry; and the Goldstone Commission's apparent failure to deal with ANC/MK hit squads.

Most important of all was the final point — that the state has evidence at its disposal on these hit squads and their activities which should be made public and which the TEC is legally empowered to obtain from the state. The IFP asked whether the TEC is prepared to do this. The IFP asked whether the TEC was prepared to do likewise with MK's High Command.

This was the gist of the IFP's action. As the covering statement in the presentation noted, it is intended to "test the TEC's bona fides and to test its commitment to the fulfilment of its objects".

Most likely, however, since the TEC is nothing less than the product of a cosy bilateral deal between the ANC and the SA government, it will do everything possible to avoid dealing with the ANC's hit squads — upsetting the apple cart is not on the TEC's agenda.

In short, the IFP doubts very much whether the TEC will pass the test and doubts very much whether it has any impartial commitment towards the fulfilment of its objectives.

Faith Gasa is chairman of the IFP Women's Brigade and member of the IFP central committee.

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Election congress: FW appeals to black voters

Nats sing Nkosi Sikeleli

Political Reporter

JOHANNESBURG—President De Klerk rounded up the National Party's election congress to chants of "Viva De Klerk, Vote down Mandela" to urge black and white South Africans to give his party its 11th victory at the polls.

The congress, attended by about 2 000 delegates including 200 black, coloured and Indians members, was peppered by the singing of Shozolozu — a black spiritual — Nkosi Sikeleli' iAfrika and light boere-musiek.

Mr De Klerk said the congress's spirit had been an overwhelming inspiration for him.

He said if every fourth NP supporter converted four others, the NP would win the election in April.

"We will definitely be the winning party," said Mr De Klerk, who was unanimously re-elected party leader.

"We are marching under the flag of peace, prosperity and true South Africanism," he said. "We are not prepared to hand the country over to radicals."

"In this party, reconciliation has been achieved — it is the only national party representative of all the people."

Speaker after speaker swore by the NP. Black election candidates, such as Natal MEC Dan Makanya, said they were proud to be Nats.

Another Natal candidate, Mr Tepu Matu, from Edendale, said the NP was not a party for the Zulus or the whites or the blacks but "the party for all who have hope".

Report by C. Press, 18 Osborne Street, Durban

Meanings of 'mob'

SIR — I am in complete agreement with King Goodwill's contempt at your remarks.

First, a "mob" to the majority, is something that law-abiding people are afraid of and dictionaries state this. You try to defend your words by saying that a "mob" is "a tumultuous crowd" (January 21). Add these words from Oldham's Dictionary "bent on disorder" and you have the exact meaning of a "mob". There are many others and all are derogatory. "Tumultuous" means "furious, disordered, riotous, violent" etc.

Second, you say that a "large" section of the crowd used subsidised transport to attend the gathering. In a crowd of over 40 000 people I would hardly call the 1 000 or so who used

the train a "large section" You imply that the king's subjects would not have attended otherwise.

Instead of The Natal Mercury's negative reporting in matters relating to the IFP, the KwaZulu government and the Zulu King, would it not have been kinder to state that the KwaZulu government, in hiring a train enabling some subjects otherwise unable to attend, were doing a service to these people.

Judging by your article it is all too clear with whom your loyalties lie and not only the Zulu King but the whole Zulu nation should take offence at your remarks.

Warner Beach

T GRAY

More letters on Page 8

Mercury 4/2/94
HE/IM.

Witness 4/2/94

HE/IM

Friday, February 4, 1994

our readers write

Misunderstanding

YOUR editorial of February 1 — "Who votes wins" — reflects a sad and naive misunderstanding of the games being played by the SA Government and ANC. You have the right, if you so choose, to accuse the IFP of "brinkmanship", "dubious tactics" and "blackmail", but I find it strange, indeed tragic, that you do not instead apply these same terms to the government and the ANC.

Your comment that the IFP's commitment to democracy would be best expressed through mobilising support for federalism via the ballot box is unfortunate. Surely you are aware that the interim constitution itself, the envisaged constitution-drafting process, the deadlock-breaking mechanism and the single ballot are all expressly designed to prevent the implementation of a federal system?

Since the negotiations process has been rigged to deny us federalism and the double ballot has been dropped precisely in order to weaken the significance of the regional vote, and since you have frequently applauded the IFP's stand on the principles of meaningful powers of the regions and the need for separate regional

and national ballots", then are you now prepared to drop these principles in the name of narrow political expediency?

Given that these comprised the core issues during the 11th hour negotiations and given that the ANC would not budge an inch, why do you not accuse the ANC of "brinkmanship", "dubious tactics", and "blackmail"?

The IFP does not accept the interim constitution and we have the democratic right to not participate in the elections, or to resist the constitution. Let it not be forgotten that those accusing us of being spoilers are the very parties which have ignored not only our input into negotiations, but equally, our submissions from CODESA 1 on stating that we would not accept that to which we had not been party.

In the circumstances, I see no need for you to preach to the IFP on any possible negative consequences arising out of our stand. Say rather to the ANC and the government — as you sow, so shall you reap.

DR ZIBA JIYANI
IFP National Spokesman
Durban

04/02 '94 12:57

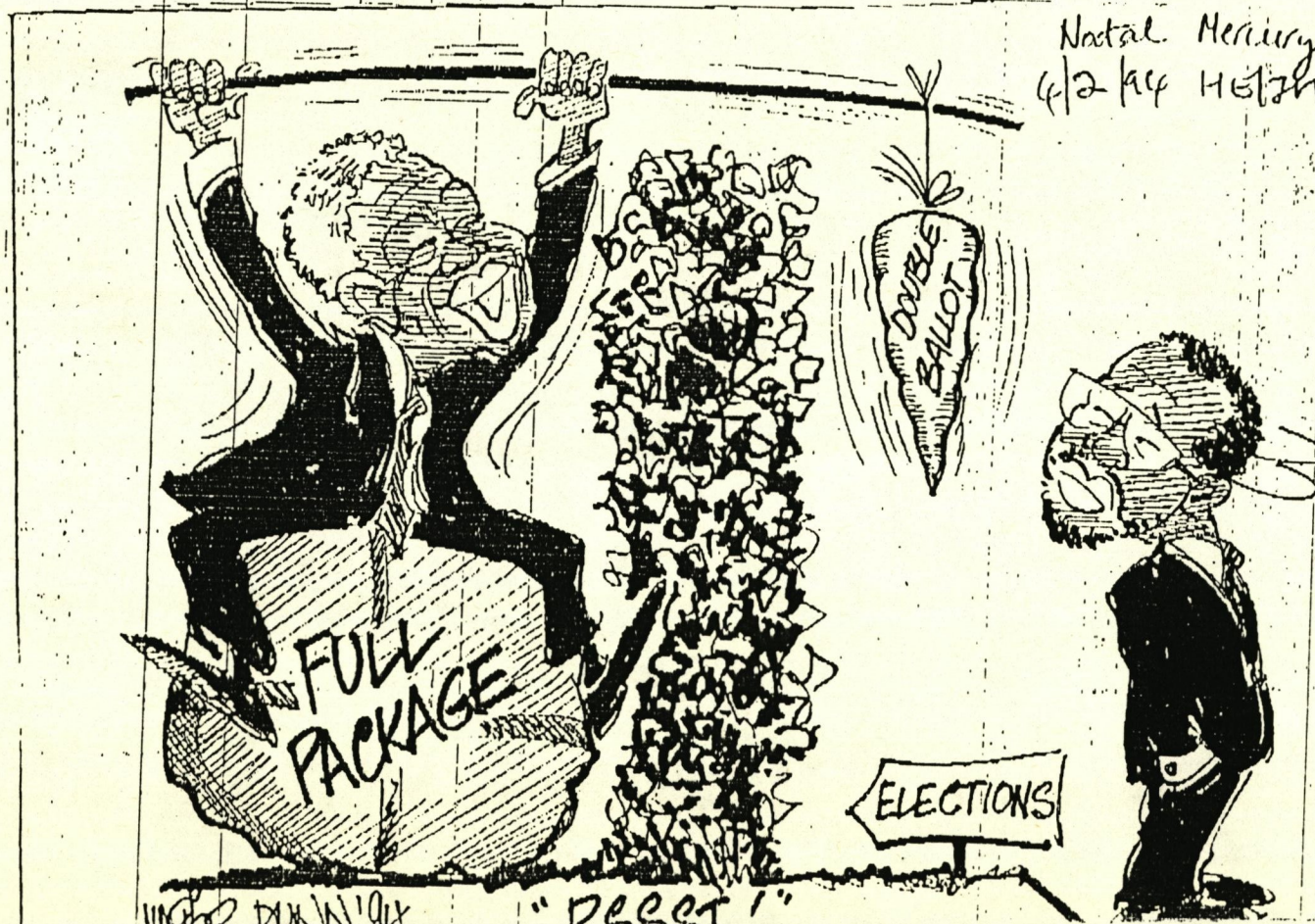
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WICKED TALK '94

"DECEIT 1"

Govt gives alliance new deal

JOHANNESBURG—The ANC yesterday refused to put its new package of proposals to the Freedom Alliance, saying it would disclose it only when the alliance committed itself to being flexible.

But the government unexpectedly presented a set of proposals to the alliance, including concessions on a double ballot and the right to levy regional tax.

However, the government's package included a second section demanding that the alliance commit itself to taking part in the elections and all transitional structures, including the TEC.

The alliance agreed to refer the proposals to its principals, and another round of talks has been scheduled for Monday. These talks are expected

Political Staff

to continue for the next 10 days, the deadline for parties to register for the elections.

However, registration does not bind parties to taking part in the elections and they could withdraw at any stage up to April 26.

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said: "We have been negotiating for a long time and we have put several proposals forward for the alliance and no agreement could be reached. One problem is that the alliance has been negotiating on the basis of demands that must be met and are non-negotiable."

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said the government's proposals, the details of which constitutional development

minister Roelf Meyer refused to divulge, stated:

☐ The Freedom Alliance accept the powers and functions of regions as contained in the interim constitution.

☐ The government concede to a double ballot.

☐ Wider powers of taxation be granted to regions as negotiated with the alliance.

☐ Central government will be able to override regional constitutions.

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

Mr Meyer said after the meeting that he had proposed a comprehensive settlement on all the outstanding issues in such a way that "if there is a will, there is a way of reaching agreement".

● IFP leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi said his party's participation in the April election would depend on more than the ANC agreeing to a two-ballot system.

In an address to Durban businessmen, he stressed constitutional issues surrounding regional powers were crucial for the IFP's participation.

"Even if the government and the ANC/SA Communist Party alliance do relent on this issue of the double ballot, the double ballot by itself is quite meaningless if regions do not have the autonomy which cannot be interfered with by the constituent assembly," Dr Buthelezi said in a speech for delivery.

(Report by W Paddock, 11 Diagonal Street, Johannesburg)

Witness 4/2/94 HE/IM

Human rights group slates ANC record

JOHANNESBURG — The German-based International Society for Human Rights (ISHR) says in a new report on the human rights record of the African National Congress, that the ANC has failed to implement key recommendations concerning its record in exile.

According to the report released yesterday, the ANC has failed to implement "any of the key recommendations made by either independent or internal commissions and reports, con-

cerning the ANC record in exile".

The ISHR in its analysis said despite the ANC initiating two inquiries and reports, an ANC national executive committee special session which produced its own proposals, as well as a further four external reports, the ANC has not taken any serious steps at all.

"Only three of the 29 recommendations made in the seven reports analysed have been implemented, and these are the

three suggesting that the internal ANC reports be released to the public," the ISHR said.

The report noted the Motsuenyane Commission report as well as the recommendations made by Amnesty International in December 1992, the Douglas report in January 1993, the two ISHR reports in May and August 1993, and the 1992 ANC's Skweyiya report, had all been completely disregarded by the ANC. — Sapa.

ANC economic policies won't pay bills, says FW

by WYNDHAM HARTLEY
Political Editor

THE ANC will not be able to deliver on its election promises because the outdated economic policies which it favours will not be able to pay the bills, President F.W. de Klerk said yesterday.

Speaking at a press conference before the release of the NP's election manifesto at its federal congress near Johannesburg, he said collective international wisdom is that the free market policies of the NP will allow it to deliver on its election promises.

In sharp contrast, international experience shows that ANC undertakings in terms of houses, health and education will fail because its policies will fail.

Cape NP leader Dawie de Villiers, introducing the manifesto, said it

does not contain "empty promises".

The undertakings in the NP manifesto are made in the context of its proven economic track record to make the economy grow and according to the ability of the country to pay.

National Health Minister Rina Venter continued the theme and criticised the ANC's recently released health policy document as highly irresponsible. It promises the poor "everything their hearts desire without any thought for affordability".

"The National Party will be the voice of reason in this election campaign," Venter said.

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ANC holds back plan

FROM PAGE 1

While the ANC's promised proposal did not materialise, the government put forward a proposal which included a two-ballot system and concessions regarding the right to taxation by provinces.

The government did not, however, see its way open to making concessions on the powers and functions of provinces.

FA chairman, Mr Rowan Cronje said from his home in Bophuthatswana last night that the government's proposal were of no consequence.

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

The ANC's demand for assurances that the FA would be prepared to negotiate its proposals would, however, be taken to the FA's principles for a decision.

Mr Cronje said the question of a double or single ballot system was a side issue as far as the true concerns of the FA were concerned.

When the FA was formed and started negotiations with the ANC and the government, the issues under discussion were the concern of the FA over the powers of regions. At that stage the Kempton Park process had not yet decided on the single ballot issue.

Later, when the multi-party negotiation process decided on a single ballot system, this became a further concern of the FA.

"We cannot forget about our original agenda, as the government now seems to expect us to do, just because one stumbling block has been removed," he said.

The ANC's national chairman, Mr Thabo Mbeki, said after the talks that before the ANC's proposals could be

tabled, clarity was needed if the negotiations were proceeding as negotiations, or if it would proceed with the FA making certain demands.

If the FA was approaching the matter on the basis of demands with no flexibility, there was no sense in continuing the process.

"The process of negotiation is impossible if we are confronted with demands. For this reason, the FA was given until Monday to give clarity on this matter after which negotiations would continue," he said.

Mr Mbeki did not want to say what the ANC's proposals would contain, but did indicate that his organisation was flexible on the powers of regions as long as the other parties involved in the process were prepared to move forward.

Mr Cronje stressed that the FA did not want to negotiate the ANC's proposal as a package, but wanted to address the outstanding issues one by one.

"Instead of a process of horse trading, we want to negotiate for possible movement on all issues," he said.

Concerning the government's proposal, Mr Cronje said the FA could not accept the provincial powers as they stood in the interim constitution.

The government's acceptance of a double-ballot system was not significant seen in the light that long before the decision on a single ballot system had been taken at the World Trade Centre, the FA had been negotiating with the government and the ANC on the other issues, and more particularly the powers of regions.

"The single or double ballot issue is a one-off thing. We have to live with the constitution long afterwards," he said.

Mr Cronje said after

yesterday's talks he was not more optimistic than he was before they started, nor was he more pessimistic than he had been all the time.

The government's chief negotiator, Mr Roelf Meyer, said the government's proposals were comprehensive enough to solve all the outstanding issues.

"Our proposals were reasonable and attractive. The FA will now have sufficient time to consult with their principals."

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

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

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

THE CITIZEN

Friday 4 February 1994

ANC FAILS TO TABLE 2-BALLOT PLAN

**Talks
halted
until
Monday**

By Fred de Lange

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

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

could proceed.

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

TO PAGE 2

BUSINESS DAY
4/2/1994

ANC digs in its heels over Alliance

Govt in bid to break talks stalemate

THE ANC yesterday refused to put its new package of proposals to the Freedom Alliance, saying it would disclose it only when the alliance committed itself to being flexible and seeking a negotiated settlement.

But government unexpectedly presented a set of proposals to the alliance, including concessions on a double ballot and regional authority to levy taxes.

However, government's package included a demand that the alliance commit itself to taking part in the elections and all transitional structures, including the TEC.

The alliance agreed to refer the proposals to its principals and another round of talks were scheduled for Monday. These talks are expected to continue for the next 10 days, up to the deadline for parties to register for the elections.

However, registration does not bind parties to taking part in the elections and they may withdraw at any stage up to April 26.

ANC national chairman Thabo Mbeki said: "We have been negotiating for a long time and we have put several proposals forward for the alliance to negotiate on and no agreement could be reached. One problem is that the alliance has been negotiating on the basis of demands that must be met and are non-negotiable, rather than looking for a negotiated settlement."

Alliance negotiators had to obtain mandates from their principals to be flexible in negotiations before the ANC would resume negotiations with the alliance.

Alliance chairman Rowan Cronje said government's package of proposals, the details of which Constitutional Develop-

BILLY PADDOCK

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

- ☐ The Freedom Alliance accept the powers and functions of regions as contained in the interim constitution;
- ☐ Government concedes to a double ballot;
- ☐ Wider powers of taxation be granted to regions as negotiated with the alliance;
- ☐ Central government be empowered to override regional constitutions; and
- ☐ Limited changes be made on the issue of self-determination.

Meyer said after the meeting that he had proposed a comprehensive settlement on all the outstanding issues in such a way that "if there is a will, there is a way of reaching agreement".

One ANC source indicated that government's proposals were very similar to those discussed by the ANC in devising its package.

Meyer denied having seen the ANC package.

Cronje said he was not too happy about negotiating package deals in a way that amounted to horsetrading. He would prefer compromises be made by negotiating issues on the agenda.

Government's double ballot concession did not provide enough of an incentive "because the ballot issue is a one-off but the constitution is something we have to live with for a long time".

He said regardless of their mandates, alliance negotiators would discuss deals to the best of their abilities, then take these back to their principals for approval.