

# Concert for return of ANC exiles under fire

Citizen Reporter

THE ANC's return of the exiles concert is running into criticism not only from the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) and the Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) but from within the ranks of the ANC.

The PAC and Azapo have voiced criticism on grounds that the proposed staging of the concert represents a violation of the cultural boycott against South Africa, which to a large extent the ANC initiated and endorsed as part of sanctions against the country.

Top artists such as Bruce Springsteen, Stevie Wonder, Tracey Chapman, Whitney Houston and Phil Collins are planned to be brought out for the event.

Sharp criticism of aspects of the concert have been raised by the ANC department of arts and culture (DAC) with the political committee of the ANC.

One of the most serious criticisms raised is that musicians invited from Britain were upset over the contract, which afforded them no guarantees and little money and ceded all their rights pertaining video and recording to the South African Broadcasting Corporation (SABC).

The DAC said the question of giving recording rights to the SABC was very sensitive and had given rise to angry responses from "democratic cultural formations" which were in "delicate negotiations" with the SABC and State cultural institutions.

It was felt that dealing with the SABC and giving it the rights outlined seriously undermined the negotiations for fundamental changes, while the

DAC itself had not been consulted.

It suggested that the ANC political committee would have to consider whether the SABC should be given the go-ahead in respect of these rights.

The DAC also criticised the ANC's Welfare Department, headed by Mrs Winnie Mandela, for a lack of consultation, and in particular the concert organiser Mr Morris Rhoda.

The DAC said it had attempted a meeting with the ANC Welfare Department to iron out problems, which had not materialised.

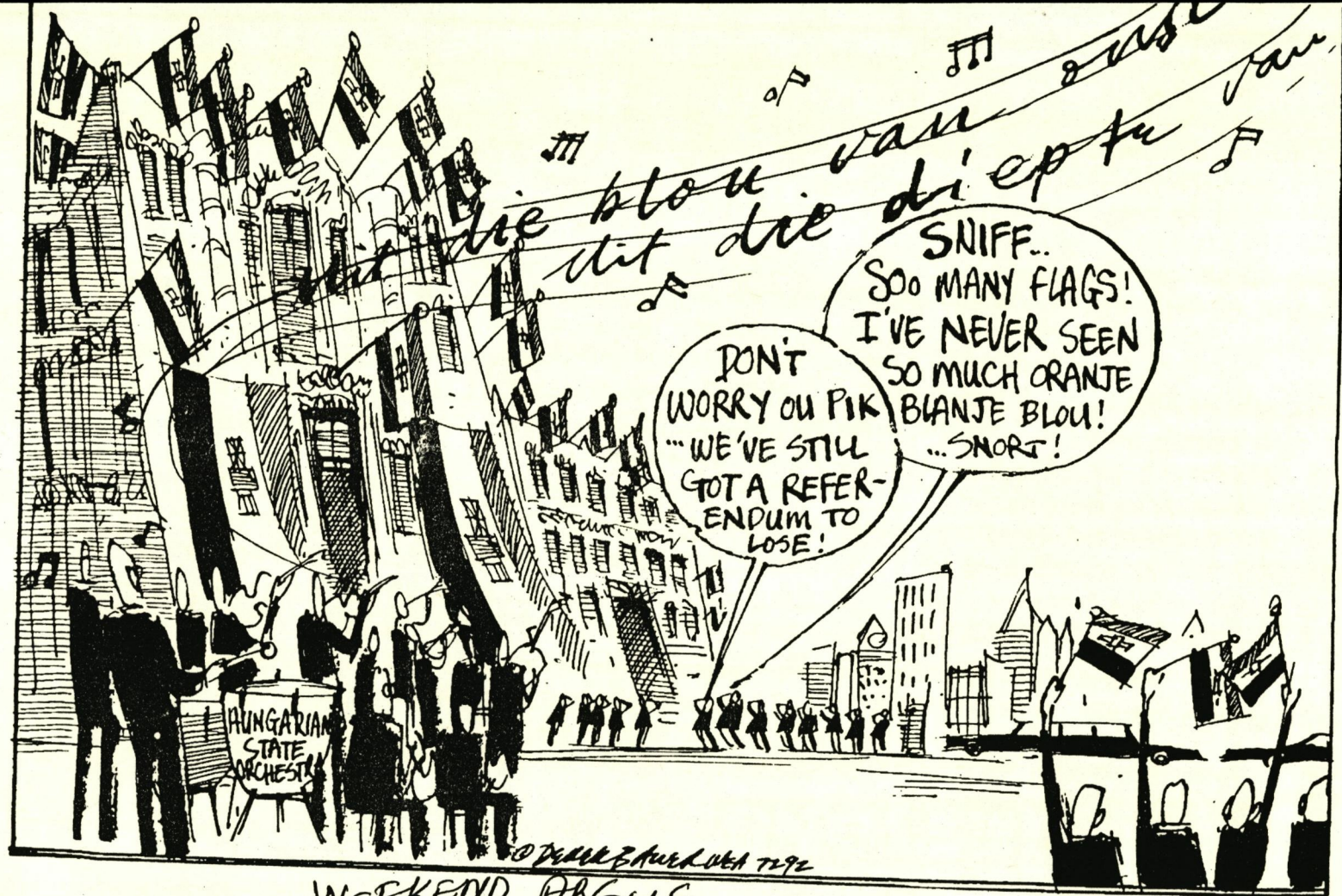
Other points emphasised the sources included the strong-wording of President De Klerk relating to dealing with illegal actions "within South Africa and beyond its borders" — including the hiding of arms and the mustering of forces on the country's borders.

This was taken to refer to situations which had been building up in the Transkei and Ciskei, but did not appear to exclude strikes beyond the country's borders if considered necessary.

16/1/14



A referendum — including a white poll — is on the cards, possibly before the end of this year, to consult voters on proposed constitutional changes. Weekend Argus Political Correspondent **FRANS ESTERHUYSE** speaks to election analysts, some of whom predict surprises.



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# Referendum rollercoaster



**E**ARLY signs are that a National Party/Democratic Party alliance will decisively defeat the Conservative Party and its rightwing allies in a white referendum.

This means the white right wing movement will virtually be swept off the table in a referendum involving all races.

The prospect of an NP/DP referendum line-up was highlighted by DP leader Dr Zac de Beer this week. He said the DP would help the government to get a majority in a referendum held to approve an interim constitution drawn up at Codesa.

And Constitutional Development Minister Dr Gerrit Viljoen told a briefing in Cape Town: "We're working on the basis of succeeding ... we are going to win."

Most election analysts consulted by Weekend Argus this week are confident — on the basis of recent and current voting patterns — that a referendum, as envisaged by the government, will produce an overwhelming Yes vote for constitutional reforms to go ahead.

They warn, however, there are many uncertainties and nobody can be sure of the outcome of the promised referendum — expected to be held before the end of this year.

One major uncertainty is about just who commands the political loyalty of black South Africans, who comprise 70 percent of the adults of voting age.

The question to be asked in a referendum is likely to be a simple one — such as asking voters to say Yes or No to proposed changes.

President De Klerk and other government spokesmen have confirmed there will be a white referendum as part of a national multiracial poll in which votes will also be counted on racial lines to test transitional government plans.

Mr De Klerk has been quoted as saying that if white voters say No it will be a case of going "back to the drawing-board". This stand has drawn sharp criticism from the African National Congress and others on the grounds that it

The NP, he says, would be in much the same situation as the old United Party was in the 1948 general election when it was defeated by the NP of Dr DF Malan.

Like the 1948 NP, the CP of today would capture many marginal seats from the NP, especially in rural areas.

Mr Simpson estimates that about two-thirds of the DP's voters would vote for the NP in a general election held now.

On the basis of current trends he predicts Potchefstroom will be captured by the CP with a majority of about 1 500 votes in the by-election on February 19.

Such a result would represent a 10 percent swing from the NP to the CP and its rightwing allies — a voter swing which, according to Mr Simpson, would be in line with by-election patterns in recent years.

He notes that the NP is holding Potchefstroom with a 1989 general election majority of 1 583 votes.

Another election analyst, Professor Japie Spoelstra, a Potchefstroom mathematician, supports Mr Simpson's prediction of a 58 percent referendum victory for an NP/DP alliance over rightwing parties.

Professor Spoelstra says this prediction is based on the worst by-election performance by the NP in the recent times. This is the Virginia by-election, in which the CP captured the formerly marginal seat from the NP with a majority of 3 166 votes in November.

Other studies of election patterns since 1989 also point to the strong possibility of a decisive NP/DP majority in a white referendum.

Econometrix research analyst Mr Tony Twine notes that DP/NP voting strength in the 1989 white general election was twice as much as CP/HNP strength on the basis of votes cast. The rightwing parties (CP and HNP) then at-

tracted 32 percent of the votes, while the NP, DP and one independent candidate polled 68 percent.

When translated to proportions of total white voters, rather than votes cast, the right wing accounted for 22 percent of the voters' roll, with the NP/DP/independent bloc accounting for 47 percent.

However, Mr Twine also focuses attention on uncertain factors that could change the picture.

He notes that votes cast in the 1989 white election amounted to only 69 percent of voters registered. Far more registered voters (31 percent of total) did not vote at all than voted for rightwing parties (22 percent of total).

"This silent vote could easily wreck any projections of a referendum outcome should any of the parties attract a large proportion."

By-election results since 1989 have shown a swing towards the right. Added to this there is no guarantee that voters will support party lines in a referendum in the same proportions as in a general election.

Similarly, by-election results are often unrepresentative of national developments, as campaigns are often fought against a dominant local issue backdrop, rather than on national issues.

These are just some of many facets of a white referendum, but all this pales into insignificance against the giant reality of a 70 percent hitherto untapped black vote in the promised multiracial national referendum. (poli?)

For whom will the majority of black people vote? Who commands their loyalty?

Recent statistics from a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey published last year show Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi commanding the loyalty of two percent of African voters and Mr Nelson Mandela 52 percent of Africans under 35, and 36 percent of those over 35. However, nearly 30 percent of these groups would not reveal their preferences.

Analyst Mr Rory Riordan, of the Human Rights Trust, says the most obvious trend is that seven out of 10 potential future voters are Africans, and all market research he has seen shows the ANC continues to dominate the political process in the black community. However, the organisation has little support among whites, coloured people and Asians.

gives the white minority a veto right over the constitutional process.

Election analyst Mr Donald Simpson predicts a decisive victory for an NP/DP alliance in a white referendum.

He told Weekend Argus that his computer analyses of voting patterns — taking into account latest trends in the Potchefstroom by-election campaign — show a 58 percent combined NP/DP Yes vote for reform against a 42 percent No by the CP and other rightwing groupings. *what kind of reform?*

However, Mr Simpson's shock prediction is that if a white general election were to be held now, the NP would be defeated by the CP and its allies.

## PREDICTIONS

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**T**HE right wing will be defeated in a white referendum and will virtually be swept off the table in a multiracial national poll.

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**O**N the basis of current trends, Potchefstroom will be captured from the NP by the CP with a majority of about 1 500 votes in this month's parliamentary by-election.

*Twine not so sure*



## Washington Newsletter

THE NATAL MERCURY

## ANC's dubious investment in Fauntroy

IN ITS desperation to raise money, the ANC is resorting to ill-considered expedients which can only result in yet more desperation. Perhaps the most obvious example is Nelson Mandela's recent decision to intercede with the US and British governments on behalf of Libya's Colonel Muammar Qaddafi. To be sure, Mandela may have been motivated by an altruistic desire to help an old friend. But it is surely no coincidence that in the course of his "refuelling stopover" in Tripoli last month, he also collected a cheque for at least \$1 million.

A few years ago, this might not have mattered. Unfortunately, the closer the ANC gets to power, the more such transactions sow alarm. It is safe to say that for every dollar the ANC receives from Qaddafi, it foregoes many more that might otherwise have been forthcoming from other, far deeper pockets.

The ANC's decision to hire former Congressman Walter Fauntroy as its chief US

fundraiser and lobbyist is another dubious investment. In some respects it may even more dubious than renting out Mandela's good name to a sponsor of international terrorism. That at least involved no initial outlay and has netted some cash up front. In the Fauntroy case, all the ANC has achieved so far is a quarter of a million dollar hole in its bank account.

Fauntroy is a decent man. He is a preacher by profession and has a fine singing voice. His intentions are surely honourable. The question is whether Walter E Fauntroy and Associates, as he is known in his newly-adopted corporate manifestation, can possibly be expected to deliver on what is promised in his contract. A careful reading of the

document suggests that even Fauntroy himself has some doubts on this score. It is, shall we say, a very one-sided agreement.

Signed on October 10 last year, the day after WEFA's formal incorporation, it lays out at some length the services

Fauntroy will attempt to perform for his client over the ensuing 12 months. If all goes according to plan, "at least \$5 million will be raised." Notably absent, however, is any obligation on WEFA actually to raise said sum. The contract states this quite openly. "WEFA does not guarantee that the fundraising goals will be achieved."

To the contrary, virtually all the obligations are on the ANC, starting with delivery of \$230 000, to be paid upon signature of the contract and to cover the first three months of WEFA's basic retainer (expenses are extra). Subsequent payments totalling \$470 000 are due in three instalments, "payable on or before" the 10th of January, April and July.

The latter payments represent the extent of the incentive WEFA has to raise any money at all. They, though again not the expenses incurred in raising them, are to come from whatever donations WEFA manages

to generate. And lest there be any misunderstanding about who gets first dibs on the pot, the contract states bluntly: "WEFA has the right to be paid ... before any other amounts raised ... are disbursed to ANC or any other person."

The contract contains a number of clauses which suggest WEFA is concerned the ANC itself may hamper even the limited fundraising the firm needs to meet its own requirements. The most direct of these stipulations reads: "It is understood and agreed by the ANC that the ANC will provide full co-operation and assistance as requested by WEFA to help ensure the success of WEFA's fundraising efforts."

WEFA does not intend to go it alone. "The goals ... cannot be achieved unless ... the ANC actively assists ... by requesting selected US and other citizens, particularly African-American entertainers, to participate voluntarily in the fundraising programmes; by asking key US media executives to support the

fundraising efforts by donating TV, cable, radio and print media time; and by helping ensure that key entertainers and ANC officials appear in televised, video, radio and other media appeals ..."

Fauntroy undertakes to consult with the ANC's chief US representative Lindiwe Mabuza on the "style or content" of any promotional material WEFA produces, but only so long as this does not lead to bureaucratic and other delays. "Time will be of the essence for purposes of approval ... and (Ms Mabuza) or her designee shall therefore act in an expeditious and timely manner." The impression is left that WEFA has

some inkling of the ANC's punctuality.

What, exactly, is the ANC getting for \$700 000 plus expenses? According to the contract, the \$230 000 it has already shelled out should have resulted in several things, including a net fundraising profit of \$2 million by February 10 and the revival of

"South Africa Now," a syndicated television show devoted to airing the ANC's version of the news, but which died last year for lack of money or viewer interest.

Fortunately, the agreement did not guarantee either eventuality. They were only three-month "performance targets." As was the production of a report, "concerning," as the contract bafflingly describes it, "the ANC's proposals on development of aid, trade and investment policies which will assist South Africa for potential use with WEFA's efforts undertaken pursuant to the Agreement." A little punctuation might have helped, but it is hard to see how.

In any event, neither Mabuza nor Fauntroy were available last week to confirm the completion of this document. Perhaps Fauntroy was too busy on another target — "the dissemination of information to various states, cities and counties with a view to persuading them to maintain their sanctions."



The Citizen 18/2/92

# SABC not biased, Nats tell Codesa

THE SABC was free from government involvement or interference in any form whatsoever, the National Party told Codesa yesterday.

In a meeting described as stormy by some delegates, the NP said in a two-page submission to a sub-group looking into State-controlled media that the SABC was not even funded by the government.

"There is no justification whatsoever for any inference to be drawn that there is bias towards the government solely because the government appoints the members of the SABC board.

"The SABC is free from government involvement or interference in any form whatsoever. The mere fact that the government makes certain public appointments cannot mean that such body is contaminated as a result thereof."

The NP added it was satisfied that "the SABC's Code of Conduct and Values and its present editorial policy meet the requirements for political neutrality and impartiality and adequate community participation".

The party was also satisfied that there could be

neutrality and impartiality without any modification to the present structure.

"The status quo should be maintained as an interim measure. This should not in any way hamper the political processes."

After the meeting a senior delegate in the sub-committee accused the NP of being "closed" and unwilling to accept legitimate criticism.

The government delegate in the sub-committee, Mr Kobie Coetsee, said it was not government policy to comment to the media on Codesa issues.

Other delegates were unanimous that the

SABC board was not impartial, that it should be reconstituted and that control be transferred to an independent interim authority.

The ANC submission said Codesa should consider establishing such an authority.

State control over the media had restricted the free-flow of information and opinion which had seriously eroded public confidence in the reliability and impartiality of the information imparted.

The Democratic Party said it endorsed the view by many Codesa participants that the SABC board be urgently reconstituted. — Sapa



The Citizen 18/2/92

## Five dead, 20<sup>x</sup> hurt in Natal weekend fights

DURBAN. — The death toll following weekend fighting between supporters of the African National Congress and Inkatha Freedom Party near Empangeni on Natal's North Coast rose to five yesterday — with reports

of over 20 injured and 220 arrests.

ANC officials, however, claim at least eight people died after clashes between rival groups in Esikhawini township.

Police said they had arrested 220 people on charges of public violence and by late yesterday 206 people were still being held.

Police also said they recovered a number of weapons before, during and after the clashes. These included four hand-grenades, two AK-47 rifles, a shotgun, eight home-made firearms, several magazines and 155 rounds of ammunition.

Members of Durban's Murder and Robbery Unit found a further arsenal of 10 firearms including AK-47 rifles, shotguns and an Uzi sub-machine gun as well as a large quantity of ammunition, when they searched a bus travelling to the volatile area on Sunday.

As has become customary in recent clashes between the ANC and Inkatha in Natal, both organisations immediately accused each other of starting the fighting. — Sapa-



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## Codesa group backs down on 'consensus'

CODESA's working group on the TBVC states was forced yesterday to retract a statement that "sufficient consensus" had been reached on reincorporation.

A number of delegations, including the South African Government, protested against the minutes of a previous meeting that said "sufficient consensus" had been reached.

"Sufficient consensus" is necessary under Code-

sa's terms of reference for a decision to carry weight.

The minutes now read that "several" parties favoured reincorporation, and that Bophuthatswana reserved its position. ANC delegate Matthew Phosa said after the day's proceedings.

"The fact of the matter remains that the majority of the parties in the working group favour reincorporation," Mr Phosa added.

Plans for Working

Group Four to break-up into four sub-committees were abandoned when it became clear that last week's minutes were not going to be accepted by some delegations.

Mr Phosa said that Foreign Minister Pik Botha, a government delegate, led the protest against the inclusion of the term "sufficient consensus".

According to the ANC/SA Communist Party axis in the working group, only the Bophuthatswana delegation recorded its opposition to reincorporation last week. However, a senior government source disputed the claim, and said it was not an accurate reflection of Bophuthatswana's position.

He referred to the three options which Bophuthatswana had tabled at Codesa on the future of the TBVC states.

The position of the government, National Party, and Inkatha Freedom Party has been that the will of the people in the TBVC states had to be tested on reincorporation.

They said they would not oppose the outcome of a referendum, but at the same time none of the four states should be forced to reincorporate.

— Sapa.



## THE CITIZEN COMMENT

# Priorities

ANC President Nelson Mandela admits that nationalisation is unpopular.

"It's clear that it won't attract investment if it appears to be a Sword of Damocles hanging over people's head," he said yesterday.

"We have no ideological attachment to nationalisation but are prepared to use it as a strategy, but we are aware of its unpopularity and that it is an outdated concept."

Good heavens, if it is unpopular and outdated, why is it still being used as a "strategy" (whatever that means)?

The ANC, he added, was drawing up an investment code which, it was hoped, would satisfy businessmen.

It was still considering its attitudes towards nationalisation.

Mr Mandela knows what resistance to nationalisation he found at Davos, and he can be under no illusion that if the country is to get investment, this "unpopular" policy must be abandoned.

Nationalisation is not acceptable in these days when State intervention is taboo and free enterprise are the catchwords everywhere.

Mr Mandela should abandon any talk of nationalisation. He would in one stroke convince overseas investors that their money would be safe in South Africa even if it were governed by the ANC.

At the same time he would reassure local entrepreneurs that an ANC government is not going to nationalise banks, mines, insurance companies and other institutions.

Make no mistake about this: South Africa will be ruined if there is a flight of entrepreneurial and skilled Whites who see no future for themselves and their families in a country that uses nationalisation and other methods to strip major companies of their businesses or redistribute wealth by grabbing it from those who created it in the first place.

In fact, if Mr Mandela had the guts simply to announce that nationalisation had been abandoned as ANC policy, he would be surprised at the immediate change there would be in the perceptions of the ANC by investors and the business community.

Mr Mandela seems just as ambivalent on sanctions as he is on nationalisation.

He says the full and final lifting of sanctions will only be addressed once an interim government is in place.

Yet he admits that the level of unemployment is unacceptable — "it's a disaster" — the economy has stagnated, and there "has been no maximum production because our workers have had no incentive to increase production. This is a situation of great concern".

Every day that passes leaves more people out of work, more stomachs empty.

So why wait a moment longer before sanctions are finally ended?

Mr Mandela, it seems, is confident that there will be an interim government in three months.

This is another argument why financial curbs should be abandoned now, since the interim government is a certainty and no further pressure, via sanctions, is needed to ensure it is formed.

To take the argument further, why wait three months while people, mainly Blacks, suffer today, tomorrow and the next day?

Mr Mandela says the lifting of the sports bans is due to the ANC — and we accept this is so, since the ANC now controls our return to international sport just as, in the past, it ensured our sportsmen were not allowed to compete internationally.

But why the return of South African sportsmen to cricket, rugby and athletics should take precedence over our return to world money markets is beyond us.

Feeding suffering people, and creating jobs for them, are surely more important than playing sport internationally, however worthwhile that is?

In other words, the ANC has its priorities wrong.

The time to liberate the country from the remaining shackles of sanctions, get the money to revive the economy, provide jobs and restore business confidence is now.

What about it, Mr Mandela?



# Goldstone again asks PAC leader to testify

THE judge chairing a commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation yesterday renewed his request that Pan Africanist Congress president Mr Clarence Makwetu testify on the policy of his organisation's armed wing.

In the wake of tough statements from top officials of the PAC, who have backed Mr Makwetu's refusal to testify, Mr Justice Goldstone also said the commission was not linked to the Convention for a Democratic South Africa.

Mr Makwetu reportedly cited the alleged link as one of his reasons for refusing to appear before the commission, set up in terms of the National Peace Accord. The PAC has shunned Codesa.

Mr Justice Goldstone said that in a letter to Mr Makwetu dated February 13 he had pointed out that the commission was independent of the government, Parliament and any political party.

He had not made it clear it was also not connected to Codesa. "That, I would have thought, was obvious," he said in a statement yesterday.

The PAC military wing has admitted responsibility for a string of attacks on policemen. The political wing has not distanced itself from the actions and statements it will sustain that campaign.

## Forced

Mr Justice Goldstone, confirming he had threatened Mr Makwetu could be forced to appear before the commission, asked the PAC president to reconsider his refusal to testify.

Earlier yesterday, PAC secretary-general Mr Benny Alexander backed the PAC president's stand in more uncompromising tones.

"The PAC and its president are not answerable to the commission nor any State structure for its attitude on matters of our liberation," Mr Alexander said.

He said Apia's actions did not constitute public violence.

"The actions of all PAC structures are related to the historical necessity to destroy White domination and replace it with justice and democracy."

Outlining the run-up to the present situation, Mr Justice Goldstone said that on January 9 this year he had invited Mr Makwetu to meet informally with the commission to discuss the commission's concern about statements made by Apia, an affiliated organisation of the PAC.

In those statements Apia had claimed responsibility and expressed support for a policy of murdering South African policemen.

## Assistance

On February 12 the secretary-general of the PAC replied stating that "neither any member of our NEC nor our president Mr Makwetu bears any knowledge of the alleged activities and as such we will not be in a position to be of any assistance to you".

The letter went on to furnish the commission with the postal address and telephonenumber of Apia in Tanzania.

"On February 13 I again addressed a letter to Mr Makwetu."

"I explained that the commission wished to discuss with Mr Makwetu the attitude of the PAC to the statements and policy of Apia."

Mr Justice Goldstone informed Mr Makwetu that the commission also wished to discuss with him a Press report to the

effect that on January 24 Mr Makwetu said at a public meeting in Cape Town that, "commissions of enquiry into violence are a waste of time. The criminal can never investigate his own activities".

Mr Justice Goldstone said in the light of the foregoing and in particular the correction of the misconception as to the relationship between the commission and Codesa, the commission would welcome a reconsideration by Mr Makwetu of his refusal to meet the commission. — Sapa.



## Top German visits to SA X

CAPE TOWN. — Eight to 10 top level delegations from Germany are expected in South Africa in the next six weeks, says a spokesman for the German Embassy.

The highlight of the visits, unprecedented in their concentration, will be that by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr Jurgen Moellemmann, who will arrive with an entourage of 90 by military aircraft on February

27 for a five-day visit.

The group is scheduled to see African National Congress president, Mr Nelson Mandela and State President De Klerk.

Mr Moellemmann and Mr De Klerk will be the guests of honour at a banquet of the German-South Africa Chamber of Commerce.

The embassy spokesman said three MPs from the Christian Democratic Union Party had just de-

parted, and a group of 50 state MPs and politicians were on a fact-finding tour until tomorrow.

After Mr Moellemmann's visit, one of his ministerial predecessors, the current Vice-President of the European Community, Mr Martin Bangemann, will visit the country in his EC capacity, which includes the portfolio of Trade and Industry.

His visit will be followed by one from the Bundestag (Federal Parliament) Committee on Economic Affairs, as well as by the four party spokesmen of the Committee of Transport, who will take a particular interest in air links.

Another senior visitor will be Germany's Deputy Minister of Posts and Telecommunications, Mr Wilhelm Rawe, who will investigate the level of South Africa's technology in this field and possible areas of co-operation. His visit will last from April 15 to 23. — Sapa.



The Star 18/2/92

# Meadowlands 'war zone' survivors plan to evacuate

by Zingisa Mkhoma

One 1 Meadowlands in Soweto scene of last weekend's violent clashes between residents and hostel dwellers which left nine people dead and scores injured — resembled a ghost town yesterday.

In spite of the peace initiatives between the ANC and IFP at the weekend, occupants of the houses which were attacked had still not returned to their homes.

There were few signs of life in the deserted area and the only people who remained were the hostel inmates and their families.

The worst hit houses were those next to the hostel.

Houses that were not gutted by fire had been broken into and stripped of all the dwellers' belongings.

Four newly-built houses were completely destroyed by fire. The roofing had collapsed and graffiti had been written on the

walls.

Cars parked in the yards were riddled with bullet holes and others burnt out.

In one house, pigeons still occupied their cage next to a car which had bullet holes through the windscreen.

The few people who still remained in their houses were too scared to venture out.

Kgomotso Senokoane (25) was spotted making his way towards the remains of what used to be his home.

He said his family of nine had fled to Zone 9 Meadowlands, after their house had been looted and set on fire.

He had sought refuge with friends.

"We were lucky because the whole family was attending a funeral in Rustenburg when the attacks started.

"We don't have a home now. The house is completely ruined."

"I don't think anyone will want to go back to that house," he said.

Going from door to door, The Star spotted a young woman behind a high concrete wall.

Giminh Monareng (26) referred to herself and her neighbour, who was packing his belongings into a van, as the only "war survivors" in the area.

She said: "There is nobody left in Zone 1. We are the only two people in the area."

"It all happened so quickly and then the people retaliated and there were more killings."

"I think my family was saved

by this high wall."

George Hlongwane packed and ready to leave.

He said he was lucky to be alive even though the next door was attacked and occupants forced to flee.

"I am moving my family to a new house in Diepkloof."

"We were going to wait until the house was completely destroyed because of this fighting, I am waiting any longer."

"We may not be so lucky next time," he added.



The Star 18/2/92

## SABC editorial policy impartial, says NP

By Esther Wagh -  
Political Reporter

The National Party was satisfied that the SABC's Code of Conduct and Values and its editorial policy met the requirements for political neutrality and impartiality.

This was submitted by the NP yesterday in a subcommittee of the working group dealing with the creation of a free political climate.

The NP said the SABC was free from Government involvement or interference and noted that the corporation was not funded by the Government.

"There is no justification whatsoever for any inference to be drawn that there is bias towards the Government solely because it appoints members of the SABC board.

"The mere fact that the Government makes certain public appointments cannot mean that such a body is contaminated as a result," the NP submitted.

The distribution of time among political parties on the SABC could be dealt with by an advisory committee, the NP said.

"As the NP is satisfied that the aims with regard to neutra-

lity and impartiality can be achieved without any modification to the present structure the status quo should be maintained as an interim measure."

The Democratic Party yesterday released details of its proposal for an independent authority to oversee broadcasting.

It proposed that a seven-man SA Communications Authority or SA Independent Communications Authority be established.

Until such an authority had been formed, the DP said the SABC should hire an outside senior executive, with the title of ombudsman and an adequate staff to investigate allegations of bias by the SABC.

DP MP Peter Soal told the working group many Codesa delegates had said at last week's meeting that the SABC board should urgently be reconstituted and there had been broad consensus on the need for an independent authority.

Members should be appointed by the State President from an approved list. The DP also proposed that the body should, for the interim period, report to Codesa for policy guidance and should be fully funded and financially accountable to the Government.



# The Star

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## Crossroads at Potch

**T**OMORROW'S by-election in Potchefstroom is of critical importance to the NP and the CP. The build-up has been intense; both sides have proclaimed it a crucial trial of strength. The result will inevitably reverberate in the white community for some time to come.

Defeat for President de Klerk's NP will strengthen the CP's claim that it represents majority white opinion and that Mr de Klerk has lost touch with the voters who elected him to power in 1989. It may even raise the spectre of rejection by the white voters in a referendum of whatever settlement emerges from the negotiating table at Codesa. What it cannot do, however, is reverse the tide of change.

Defeat for the CP could be just as disastrous for Andries Treurnicht. The party's image of ineluctable growth — the swing to the CP has averaged more than 7 percent in the 10 by-elections since Mr de Klerk came to power — could easily be shattered.

If the NP loses Potchefstroom, it will have only itself to blame. The Nats have left their effort very late, rushing in no less than 10 cabinet ministers last week in a concerted bid to win a lion's share of the estimated 5 000 student votes. In earlier days, when most voters still went to the polls on election day, a strong surge might have been strategically astute. But the new special vote, designed to neutralise election boycotts in the black community in the 1980s, has changed that. More than half of Potchefstroom's 23 000-plus voters have already cast special votes and the NP's campaign managers may have left their election charge too late.

To the voters who are old-fashioned enough to want to go to the polls on election day, our counsel is this: vote for the party of settlement, which is the NP. Whatever its present deficiencies and past errors, it has had the courage to admit its mistakes and seek a peaceful political settlement. Unlike the CP, it aims to take us into the future, not back into the past.



# Not all gloom and doom ahead for SA

**G**LOOM? What gloom? Almost 60 percent of South Africans are confident of a happy future for all. They are not exactly brimful — only 18 percent are "very confident", the rest "fairly" — but that still means twice as much confidence in circulation as there was six years ago.

Moreover, 43 percent think race relationships are improving, only 24 percent say they are deteriorating, and 68 percent reckon relations are not bad.

That's the good news in Markinor's latest survey of how South Africa views itself, conducted in November among whites nationwide and blacks in metropolitan areas.

Unfortunately that is also where the good news ends, especially from whites. For the first time in the survey's 14 years a majority of whites (52 percent) say they are now worse off. The lowest number yet (16 percent) consider themselves better off.

Blacks have a cheerier view of recent economic movements: averaged over the last two years 25 percent of blacks have felt better off and 29 percent worse off.

Blacks are also more hopeful for the year to come. Thirty-two percent anticipate see themselves being better off by Christmas, 27 percent worse off, with the wealthiest category, who are earning more than R1 500 a month, much more confident of making financial headway than their breadline brethren.

Among whites, 20 percent expect a better-stocked pantry by the end of the year, 47 percent expect deprivations. Here, too, the rich (R5 000 or more) are more optimistic than the poor.

Economic confidence shows an odd pattern. Rich whites and poor blacks have identical feelings: 43 percent pessimistic and

A survey by Markinor reviews the situation ahead for SA and makes some interesting political and economic discoveries.

Report by  
**DENIS BECKETT.**

25 percent optimistic. The poorest whites (less than R2 000 a month) are the gloomiest segment, 56 percent seeing a harder year ahead.

Not that this translates into political correlations. Rich or poor alike, 81 percent of whites think F W de Klerk is leading the country either "very well" or "fairly well". So do 60 percent of blacks, and only 9 percent of either group think he is doing "not at all well".

The news is not altogether comforting for Mr de Klerk. His rating among blacks is up from the 37 percent that P W Botha averaged, but down from his own 88 percent peak in 1990.

Among blacks, 33 percent feel less favourable towards him than "a few months ago"; 23 percent are more favourable. The trend applies in every city except Durban, where it is sharply reversed. In Durban, Mr de Klerk has gained favour in the eyes of blacks at a rate of two to one, as he has done among whites across the board.

Only in the OFS is Mr de Klerk losing white sympathy faster than he is gaining.

Blacks have moved massively towards Mr Mandela, 71 percent are more favourable towards him now than in the past, only 6 percent less favourable.

Nonetheless, in Markinor's total catchment of 8 million people (4.7 million black, 3.3 million white) Mr de Klerk's

performance draws an "approval rating" of just on 70 percent — far more than George Bush or John Major would dream of.

Only 9 percent of blacks, down from 22 percent in 1990, choose him as the person who should lead South Africa. This places him a poor second to Mr Mandela, 69 percent, but nonetheless second. Clarence Mawethu of the PAC checks in at third place (4 percent), with Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, Joe Slovo and Zach de Beer, barely blipping the screen and the president of Azapo getting an unadulterated 0.

If you take the survey as gospel you believe there are 24 000 white people, mainly university graduates, whose first or second choice to run the country is the PAC.

You also believe Inkatha has five white supporters for every one (metropolitan) black supporter. And 606 000 whites and 125 000 blacks would allegedly give it either their first or second choice.

In keeping with the recent tradition of clipboard surveys, Markinor ascribes a 1 percent support base to Inkatha. Lar-men often have difficulty swallowing this figure but among the research fraternity there is a well-known explanation. As one social scientist, not from Markinor, says: "Inevitably the interviewers look and talk like ANC types, so only the boldest respondents admit to Inkatha sympathies."

What of the by-election? Nats may be consoled to hear that in white hearts and minds nationwide they are trouncing the CP by 56 percent to 20 percent. In the Transvaal platteland, according to the survey, NP support is running 12 percent ahead of the CP. Whether that applies to Potchefstroom, tomorrow will show. □



# A barometer of white sentiment

ONE OF two constituencies held by the NP in the western Transvaal — offers a representative profile of the Afrikaner. The town comprises the military, academics, students, factory workers and miners and is probably 95 percent Afrikaans-speaking.

The parties contesting the seat — the National Party and the Conservative Party — have both attached immense importance to the by-election.

The NP flew 10 cabinet ministers, several deputy ministers and MPs into Potchefstroom for an 11th hour blitz last Monday. The campaign was finally wound up by President de Klerk on Thursday.

The CP pushed several MPs into the field to address the same crowds as the ministers had, immediately after them.

Its campaign was rounded off by CP deputy leader Dr Ferdie Hartzenberg.

Mr de Klerk says it will be a decisive by-election, acting as a barometer of white sentiment. Dr Hartzenberg goes further, believing it is the most crucial election of the century — with the power to cause Codessa's failure and halt it in its initial phase.

NP candidate Theuns Kruger, who says the by-election will retrospectively be referred to as "the battle of Potchefstroom", is campaigning for a vote in support of a peaceful settlement through negotiations. "It is about the future of the country," he says.

CP candidate Andries Beyers says the by-election is "a battle along the road to freedom".

Either way, much is at stake. And it is not only about the

election of a new candidate for the House of Assembly.

It is about white support, or lack thereof, for the Government's reform programme and the negotiation process.

The result of the by-election will send clear signals on Thursday, both locally and internationally.

Contrary to Dr Hartzenberg, NP chief secretary in the Transvaal Dr Gerhard Koorhof argues that a CP victory cannot derail the negotiation process.

"We have a futuristic vision. The CP is fighting for a better past," Dr Koorhof says.

Mr Kruger says the only positive spin-off from a NP defeat is perhaps reaching compromises with the ANC quicker. The line of thinking behind this is that Mr de Klerk will then be able to demonstrate the prob-

The by-election in Potchefstroom tomorrow is not about choosing a new representative for the House of Assembly. It is a battle for the soul of the Afrikaner, reports Political Reporter ESTHER WAUGH.

lems the Government is having with rightwingers.

Mr Beyers says a NP defeat will strengthen the CP claim that it represents the majority of whites and a CP defeat will be a setback for the freedom struggle.

Mr de Klerk last Thursday night spelt out some of the implications of a hypothetical CP takeover: the forced removal of millions of blacks, the return of job reservation, the segregation of public amenities, the banning of the ANC and the jailing of ANC president Mr Nelson Mandela.

Both the candidates were

born and bred in the western Transvaal.

Mr Kruger spent four years in the same class as AWE leader Eugene TerreBlanche "until Mr TerreBlanche failed Std 9".

He says it has been easy to sell the NP policy to Potchefstroom voters because the CP policy was based on a vacuum.

There is no other viable option to the NP vision of the future, he says.

Asked what sold him on the new NP strategy, Mr Kruger says without hesitation: "The influence of sanctions, because no country can exist in isolation."

He admits the local and inter-

national media attention has been something of a shock.

The main objections against the NP policy have been the inter-denominational prayers at Codessa I, violence and the economy, he says.

Mr Kruger, a local estate agent, admits the CP was ahead in the race for the seat "but never by far — at the most 800 votes".

But they peaked too early, he says.

By last Thursday almost half — 10 500 — voters had cast special votes.

Mr Kruger believes the NP can win the seat — a belief echoed by Mr de Klerk — and will win by "probably 500 votes".

Mr Beyers, the CP's chief secretary and the youngest member of the Provincial Council at 24, counters by saying the CP,

unlike the NP, is putting its policy before the voters.

The CP has spent less than half of its time attacking the NP, he says.

The NP's failure to present its policy has resulted in voters considering the CP policy of self-determination through new eyes, he says. Mr Beyers believes there are two choices for Potchefstroom voters: a NP victory would quicken the pace to an interim government and eventually an ANC-dominated government or a CP victory which would delay the process of handing over power.

He says the objections against NP policies offered by voters, have been the NP's lack of credibility, the Government's lack of a secure vision for the future and the poor economic situation.

Voters realise the NP policy

would lead to a *cui de sac*, he says.

Mr de Klerk, however, says the CP vision is a road to suicide for whites and minority groups.

Statistics, compiled in March last year, show there are only 46 800 whites compared with 106 000 blacks in the Potchefstroom magisterial district.

The white utopia the CP offers is not possible for South Africa, Mr de Klerk says.

The bottom line is that the by-election is a mini-referendum on white sentiment about the negotiation process.

The voters of Potchefstroom have an enormous responsibility tomorrow — they are not only casting a vote for the NP or for the CP but in support of or in opposition to a peaceful settlement through constitutional negotiations in the country.



# 'Crime against Whites'

## FROM PAGE 1

ents must either decide by a two-thirds majority to remain a status quo school, and therefore be satisfied with drastically lowered standards, or fall in with a racially-mixed Model C school and enormous financial responsibilities.

"The CP rejects this so-called 'rescue plan' for White education as a crime against the White community.

"It will lead to Africa standards in White education because Whites, who are already over-taxed, will be unable to afford from their own pockets the maintenance of standards."

Mr Gerber added: "It is frightening to consid-

er that this announcement is only the first step to place White education on the same level as Black education in the RSA.

"As the policy of equalisation for all is phased in, standards will decline and it will bring additional financial obligations for Whites.

"The abolition of 4 000 educational posts cannot be ascribed only to a decrease in the number of students, but is particularly attributable to the policy of equalisation in a unitary state.

"This principle is now being gradually applied. The result will be that further thousands of White teachers will lose their posts.

"The government has lost control — including control over education. It has broken every promise with regard to White education.

"The CP demands that the government resigns because the collapse of White education affects the future of our country," said Mr Gerber.

The National Party last night denied that the automatic conversion of White government schools to state-aided Model C schools was tantamount to a unilateral "opening" of schools by the government.

Reacting to the new system of White educational announced yesterday, the NP stressed that "own" cultural and linguistic standards would now be subject to the control of parents and communities.

"Opponents of the NP will undoubtedly present this development as a unilateral opening of schools by the government. This would be far from the truth," the NP said.

"Indeed, communities now obtain the authority to decide for themselves over the management of their schools, instead of this being prescribed by the government of the day.

"Parents should grasp the greater management autonomy they will acquire, so as to maintain teaching standards and to place their own cultural accent on the activities of their schools.

"The new system gives a greater measure of self-determination to

communities on educational matters.

"This accords with the NP approach that the protection of language and culture, as well as community schools with strong community control and mother-tongue education, for those who wish it, must be made possible.

"The principle of self-determination in regard to education is thus of real importance. Auto-genous (eiesoortige) quality education for those who choose it is possible in terms of the proposed system and it is therefore welcomed."

## CP: Crime against Whites

By Brian Stuart

CAPE TOWN. — The Conservative Party has described as a "crime against the White community" the government's plan to convert all White schools to State-aided Model C schools.

Mr Andrew Gerber, MP for Brits and CP spokesman on education, said the government had broken all its promises about education as it lost control

and White education collapsed.

"The announcement faces parents with an impossible choice. Par-

TO PAGE 2



The Citizen

18/2/92

## 3 die in train attack

By Kevin Flynn

THREE men were killed and a fourth was seriously injured in an attack on a train between Kwesing and Natalspruit last night.

A hand-grenade was thrown and shots were fired by a group of unknown men.

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## 3 die in train attack

FROM PAGE 1

The victims were then thrown off the train at Katlehong station, according to police spokesman, Lieut Wikus Weber.

The injured man, Mr Lucas Mthimanyi (32), is in the Natalspruit Hospital.



# ANC lash police raid on safe house

By Sapa, Chris  
Oickers and  
Kevin Flynn

THE African National Congress yesterday lashed out at the police in the wake of a raid on an ANC safe house, claiming a cynical exploitation of the Peace Accord and a dirty tricks war against the organisation.

The ANC charged that the raid, which police said was related to evidence of an ANC assassination plot, was to deflect attention from alleged State-approved hit squads and to reduce the capacity of the ANC to defend itself.

In a statement the ANC said the raid, on a house in Bezuidenhout Valley, Johannesburg,

had also been "to obtain documents illegally".

An earlier police statement said the house was used by members of the organisation's intelligence unit. It said that the raid was related to evidence involving two ANC members who had hired assassin Damie Odendaal to kill former ANC official turned police Askari Glory Sidebe.

The ANC statement said only that the Bez Valley house had been used by two of its members.

The house had long been under surveillance, and the ANC had made several unsuccessful representations to the government complaining about this.

"Assurances were given, but they have been followed by provocative

incidents such as this raid."

The organisation also reacted to the police accusation that it had violated the Peace Accord by refusing to co-operate in investigating evidence that ANC members were involved in an assassination plot.

"The ANC rejects the accusation that it has violated the Peace Accord. The South African Police are shamelessly and cynically exploiting an instrument fashioned to serve peace and save lives for their own purposes of conducting a dirty war against the ANC," the statement said.

The ANC said the raid was part of the intimidatory surveillance that the two members and other ANC officials had

been subjected to in the past year.

"Throughout the search the police were interested in and seized all documents they could lay their hands on."

The organisation said the raid was carried out by 30 policemen who, "without the courtesy of a knock, broke a glass door, apparently trying to find a key in the inside lock. When they didn't find a key, they broke both the front and the back doors".

Police said members of the Crime Investigation Services conducted a three-hour long raid after a search warrant had been issued by a magistrate.

Detectives arrived at the 8th Avenue home in Bezuidenhout Valley at 6.15 am yesterday morning.

The search "related to allegations made under oath that the ANC had paid Mr Damie Odendaal to infiltrate the AWB and to assassinate a former policeman", said CIS chief, Brig Piet du Toit.

"We were left with no other option. The ANC had made many promises of help and we have to investigate these serious allegations," he said.

Brigadier Du Toit said his unit had repeatedly requested the ANC since the 13th of last month to assist them with their investigations but to no avail.

"Although no arrests were made, we did interview several people and once we have completed our investigations, a dossier will be forwarded to the authorities so that justice can follow its course," he said.



THE CITIZEN 18/2/92

## Palazollo 'friend of Gqozo, but not adviser'

BISHO. — The Ciskeian Government last night denied that convicted drug financier Vito Palazollo was acting as an adviser to Council of State chairman Brig Oupa Gqozo.

A statement from the Ciskeian Government, reacting to weekend reports did, however, confirm that the Sicilian was living on property belonging to Brig Gqozo.

"There is nothing sinister about this arrangement because Mr Palazollo is a personal friend of Brig Gqozo and he has not committed any crime in Ciskei," the statement said.

The suggestion that the Sicilian exile had been allowed into the territory in return for donations to Ciskeian development was also not true.

Mr Palazollo was deported from South Africa in October last year and will apparently have to apply for a visa if he wants to return to the country.

There are no border posts between Ciskei and SA, however. There is also an agreement between the two territories, the statement noted, that Ciskeians have dual citizenship and can move freely in and out of South Africa. — Sapa.



The Citizen 18/2/92

## Nationalisation used as strategy: ANC

CAPE TOWN. — The basic policy of the ANC was nationalisation and the organisation was prepared to use it as a strategy, but was aware of its unpopularity, the president of the ANC, Mr Nelson Mandela, said here yesterday.

"It's clear that it won't attract investment if it appears to be a Sword of Damocles hanging over people's heads," he told a capacity audience at a President 100 Club luncheon.

"We have no ideological attachment to nationalisation but are prepared to use it as a strategy, but we are aware of its unpopularity and that it is an outdated concept."

"We have to create a climate suitable for investment and businessmen should have the confidence to invest and get a safe return."

He said the ANC was drawing up an investment code which, it was hoped, would satisfy businessmen.

"We must still consider our attitudes towards nationalisation because no

doubt it has become an unpopular concept."

This would not be easy, as for many years ANC followers had been told this was the solution.

"It's going to be quite a task to put this over to our people, but if this is the best way to solve the problems of our community, then we have to face it."

He said this was the

motivation after he and several colleagues had returned from the recent World Economic Forum held in Davos, Switzerland, where they had had discussions with leaders in world business. It had become clear that even Socialist countries had realised it was better to give private enterprise room to conduct its business. — Sapa.



# Local and central govt in spotlight at Codesa

THE status of regional, local and central government emerged as the central issue in debate on constitutional principles at Codesa yesterday.

Certain differences still remain between the ANC and the NP viewpoints on the issue.

At a Press briefing, Economic Co-ordination Minister and NP spokesman on Codesa Dr Dawie de Villiers said the major difference between the NP and ANC was that the NP insisted on the necessity of constitutionally entrenching and defining the functions of regional government.

Dr De Villiers said the NP was concerned with drafting a constitution taking into account the

unique South African situation. It would not be modelled on any existing constitution but was based on internationally tested and approved principles.

The NP proposals which were submitted to Codesa yesterday emphasise that regional and local authorities should not be mere administrative extensions of central government with decentralised functions but should be accorded autonomous, constitutionally defined and entrenched authority.

The ANC's proposals, which were tabled at Co-

desa last week, called for the functioning of government at national, regional and local levels with "the appropriate division and decentralisation to encourage non-racial, democratic participation and administration at all levels".

The NP proposal on constitutional principles also called for the embodiment in the constitution of the principle of meaningful and effective participation by political minorities — another issue which may prove controversial in future debate.

It said domination in

any form was unacceptable.

After presentation of the remaining proposals, yesterday's working group was scheduled to discuss points of commonality between the groups which, according to a document leaked last week, included:

- The supremacy of the Constitution;

- South Africa should be a united, democratic, non-racial, non-sexist, sovereign state;

- The diversity of languages, culture and religion would be recognised;

- The right to universally recognised human rights;

- The division of power between the legislative, executive and judicial authorities;

Issues which are contentious and have still to be discussed include:

- The meaningful participation of minority groups in the political process;

- Economic freedom, state interference and the economic system;

- The accommodation of diversity of languages, cultures and religions;

- The contents of a Bill of Rights; and

- Self-determination.

— Sapa



The Star 18/2/92

Star 18-2-92  
**ANC spokesman  
fined over pistol**

ANC spokesman Gill Mareus was yesterday found guilty in the Vosloorus Magistrate's Court of illegal possession of a Makarov pistol and ammunition, according to Witwatersrand police liaison officer Captain Eugene Opperman.

She was fined R1 000 (or 250 days) for possession of an unlicensed firearm and a further R500 (or 125 days) for the illegal possession of ammunition.

The case arose after police stopped a vehicle on the East Rand and found a man with the Makarov. — East Rand Bureau.



## PAC faces showdown on Apla refusal

By Thabo Leshilo  
Political Staff

The Pan Africanist Congress is bracing itself for a showdown with the Goldstone Commission after PAC president Clarence Makwetu refused to appear before the commission to give an account of the activities of the Azanian People's Liberation Army (Apla).

Mr Makwetu says he is not responsible for the activities of Apla — the PAC's armed wing. Yesterday, PAC secretary-general Benny Alexander said the organisation had told Mr Justice Goldstone it did not know of "specific acts" carried out by Apla.

The PAC has persistently refused to condemn Apla for its actions, which include the recent murder of policemen.

In a letter delivered to Mr Makwetu last week, Mr Justice Goldstone said the PAC should declare its support or opposition to Apla policy.

He said the commission was an independent body, not a creation of Codesa as alleged by the PAC. Mr Makwetu was also asked to discuss a report in which he is alleged to have said commissions probing violence were a waste of time. He is alleged to have said: "The criminal can never investigate his own activities."

This, Mr Justice Goldstone said, was a serious reflection on the integrity of the commission.

He warned Mr Makwetu to reply within 14 days to his invitation or be subpoenaed. If he fails to appear, Mr Makwetu could be charged with contempt of court. He could spend a year in jail or be fined R4 000.

Mr Alexander said Mr Makwetu was not afraid of prison and he dared the commission to have him arrested. He said other reasons for Mr Makwetu's refusal to appear were:

- The commission was appointed by an "illegitimate" regime.
- The activities of Apla did not constitute "public violence and intimidation", but were part of a just struggle for democracy.



B. Day 18/2/92

# ANC set to make concession to federalism

THE ANC is set to make a major concession to federalism by agreeing that the powers of regional governments be enshrined in the constitution.

This emerged yesterday from participants in the Codesa working group dealing with constitutional principles.

ANC secretary-general Cyril Ramaphosa said yesterday government and the ANC were approaching agreement on the status of regional government under a new constitution. He said an agreement could be announced as early as today.

A KaNgwane Inyandza National Movement delegate confirmed this, saying the ANC had agreed in principle to regional

PATRICK BULGER  
and ALAN FINE

powers being enshrined in the constitution.

The NP had made a concession by accepting that the precise nature of those powers need not be defined at Codesa but could be thrashed out at the constitution-making body which both parties agree should be elected.

Ramaphosa confirmed this, saying: "We have agreed we cannot define the powers at Codesa. The powers of regions can only be decided in a constitution-making body."

The ANC has not placed constitutional proposals before the working group but

has always insisted on strong centralised government to help redress imbalances caused by apartheid.

NP delegation leader Dawie de Villiers said yesterday the NP would insist Codesa agree in principle that regional government powers be incorporated in a constitution. Such powers should not merely be delegated by central government.

Sapa-AFP reports from London that Ramaphosa told the Financial Times the ANC was ready to enter a power-sharing agreement with the NP.

"We would agree, soon after a new constitution is adopted ... to bring people

☐ To Page 2

## Federalism

from other parties into government," even if the ANC did win a large majority of votes, Ramaphosa said.

But he rejected "a forced coalition with any party".

The ANC would like a new constitution "which has sufficient checks and balances to prevent one dominant party exercising power all on its own", he added.

Ramaphosa said a system of power

☐ From Page 1

sharing could be implemented by requiring a majority vote, which would need the agreement of other parties in Parliament, to amend certain clauses in the constitution or to make certain decisions.

"That could well be a permanent feature in a constitution ... the type of feature that could give comfort to those parties that feel they could be marginalised by a majority party," he said.



B. Day 18/2/92

**Political Staff**

CAPE TOWN — ANC president Nelson Mandela said yesterday he would try to persuade his organisation to ditch its unpopular nationalisation policy.

Mandela acknowledged there was no doubt nationalisation had become "a very unpopular concept" with foreign investors and the SA business community.

Mandela told a President 100 Club luncheon that when "the whole world" questioned the ANC's commitment to nationalisation, it was time for him to communicate this to his organisation.

If had become clear SA was not going to attract foreign money if potential investors felt a "sword of Damocles" was hanging over their heads.

## Nationalisation is flawed — Mandela

He said it could be "quite a task" to ensure a rethink within the ANC on nationalisation as for many years ANC followers had been told this was the solution. "But if this is the best way to solve the problems of our community, then we have to face it."

He said the ANC would have to study recommendations by the IMF, the World Bank and other financial institutions that SA should strive to achieve "redistribution through growth rather than the other way around".

● See Page 3



B. Day 18/2/92

## Goldstone renews appeal to PAC

THE judge chairing a commission of inquiry into violence and intimidation yesterday renewed his request that PAC president Clarence Makwetu testify on the policy of his organisation's armed wing.

Following PAC statements, Mr Justice Goldstone emphasised the commission was not linked to Codesa.

Makwetu cited an alleged link as a reason for refusing to testify.

Mr Justice Goldstone said in a let-

ter to Makwetu he had pointed out the commission was independent, but that he had not made it clear it was not connected to Codesa.

"That, I would have thought, was obvious," he said.

Mr Justice Goldstone explained in the letter the commission wanted to discuss the PAC's attitude and that of its armed wing.

He confirmed that Makwetu could be forced to testify — Sapa.



B. Day 18/2/92

# ANC is still undecided on a trade policy for SA

THE ANC has no trade policy, its economic adviser on international economic relations, Alan Hirsch, told a trade briefing in Johannesburg yesterday.

"The ANC's general economic policy documents have very little to say about trade policy, if anything," he told about 100 businessmen, manufacturers and exporters who expected to hear whether a new government would support changes being made to the country's trade policies.

He attributed the lack of a policy to the ANC's reasoning that it was an adjunct to central economic questions, "many of which we are still grappling with".

He was confident his views were broadly in line with ANC economic policy in the making: the ANC and Cosatu ("though I cannot speak for Cosatu") accepted exports of manufactured products and services to be vital for medium and long-term economic growth. However, "it is true that most ANC advisers expect economic concerns in the first few years of transition towards democracy to focus internally on providing for the basic needs of economically deprived South Africans."

SA's existing trade policy was in dire need of reform, and protectionist tariffs were being abused by manufacturers who priced products according to import parity rather than to cost or demand.

He warned against Industrial Development Corporation proposals that tariffs be homogenised and lowered to World Bank standards for a strongly outward oriented policy.

This assumed, he said, that exposure to world prices would make manufacturers more competitive because it would force them to allocate their resources efficiently.

## Revisions

"This may be fine in the abstract world of neo-classical economics, but in the real world many other factors impinge on the ability of a country to compete internationally." Among these were access to technology, terms of relationships to foreign buyers or sellers, and the role of foreign investment.

The ANC felt it necessary to "think deeply and strategise carefully" about restructuring SA's relationships with trading partners and inter-

national bodies such as GATT, PTA, the EC and Lome. However, it would be necessary to move quickly.

Government's reluctance to reposition SA as a "developing country" rather than as a "developed country" was due to pride, and it was losing economic advantages as a result.

He said "government had made no attempt to even consult the ANC, let alone negotiate with it, over revisions to trade policy."

Replying to Hirsch, Trade and Industry director-general Stef Naude said export incentives had been changed because they had been abused.

The government was aware of the possible advantages of joining trade groups such as Lome, but until now this had been politically impossible.

No mechanism existed at GATT for the reclassification of SA as a developing nation and pride had nothing to do with the issue.

In his earlier briefing, Naude rejected any idea of a "big bang" move away from protectionism, saying SA had a responsibility through the Customs Union to some of the poorest countries in the world. But tariff levels would have to be reduced. — Sapa.



B Day 18/2/92

## Investment 'key' to future democratic development

INVESTMENT was one of the key factors which would decide whether SA was on the path to democracy, peace and justice, ANC president Nelson Mandela said last night.

Speaking at the Frankel, Max Polak, Vinderine conference, Mandela said without adequate and appropriate investment, SA would not be able to create jobs.

"We will not have funds to remedy the wrongs of apartheid ... let us be clear, unless we remedy those wrongs, we cannot hope for a stable economic development or for lasting peace," he said.

Mandela urged businessmen to help resolve the country's investment crisis by throwing their weight behind a rapid transition to a democratic state.

"Whether at national or local level, we need the support of business to bring about a democratic and efficient system of government which is acceptable to the majority of South Africans," he said.

He recognised that the solution to SA's problems did not lie solely in

### WILSON ZWANE

state control of the economy. All South Africans had to encourage investment, generating a safe and profitable investment climate.

He said businessmen should be involved in setting up consultative structures to look into the economic problems.

He warned, however, that the ANC still urged the retention of remaining sanctions.

"We realise that sanctions cause a lot of headaches for business people but we cannot hope for a real solution to our economic crisis unless changes come about quickly.

"Unfortunately, one of our few instruments for hastening the political transition remains sanctions on the economy," he said.

Mandela also called on business to work with trade unions.

He said such a development would provide a firm basis for broader social co-operation under a democratic government.



B. Day

18/2/92

## English top choice for blacks

PRETORIA — Most black, coloured and Indian respondents to a Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) survey agreed that English should be the medium of instruction in primary schools.

However, most whites disagreed.

Forty-five percent of white respondents felt parents should decide which language should be the medium of instruction in primary schools.

Twenty-three percent believed it should be English, and 12% Afrikaans.

More than half the black respondents, 56%, favoured English as the medium of instruction at primary level.

An increasing number of whites, 51%, favoured children of all race groups sharing the same schools and classrooms. This means the number of whites who favour open schools has increased by 15% since a similar survey was done in 1989.

This is the third survey carried out by the HSRC education research programme. More than 2 000 respondents participated.

The survey also found that the majority of Afrikaans-speaking respondents, including coloureds, 68,4%, favoured open schools.

However, there was a large degree of

GERALD REILLY

consensus on some topics, including:

- ☐ Education in primary schools should be free and compulsory (80,6%);
- ☐ One year of pre-primary education should be introduced (72,9%);
- ☐ There was a need for community centres for adult education (72,6%); and
- ☐ Children should be made aware of political trends in the country (71,4%).

The survey found that although technical education was seen as important, parents still preferred sending their children to academic schools.

The majority of black, Indian and coloured respondents agreed a common SA identity would be possible only if children of all race groups shared classrooms.

Of white respondents, 52% thought education standards would fall if scholars with different home languages shared the same classrooms. Some 22,4% believed this to a lesser degree.

The majority of black respondents said education should receive the most funds in a democratic SA, while the other three population groups regarded employment as the most important.



B. Day

18/2/92

**COMMENT****No other option**

**W**IN or lose in Potchefstroom tomorrow, the National Party still has a long hard fight on its hands. The by-election result will show just how difficult the struggle will be.

President de Klerk's team is battling to pull off an upset win in what used to be a safe NP seat. The Conservative Party has swept the western Transvaal in successive elections, leaving Potchefstroom and neighbouring Stilfontein as lonely and vulnerable Nationalist islands. The NP held the seat by 500 votes in 1987 and 1 500 in 1989. The dramatic political changes of the past two years have seen a steady erosion of NP support to the right; drought and economic recession have helped to compound government's problems.

That the NP has not given up is shown by its decision to throw a battery of Cabinet Ministers into the fray at the last minute, but it is the CP who believes it is on a roll. After its convincing victory in formerly Nationalist Virginia, it was told Potchefstroom would be the real test. The CP has every intention of inflicting a humiliating defeat on President de Klerk.

Because of this build-up, Potchefstroom is being billed as symbolic of the fight for the soul of Afrikanerdom, a test of the mood of the *volk* and an indication of whether President de Klerk can win the white referendum to which he is committed.

What it will do is show the NP how much work it has to do to persuade conservative whites that apartheid is dead and buried and cannot be resurrected. The NP must bear much of the blame for the fact that so many white Afrikaners still live in a land of make-believe. They have allowed the CP to keep presenting apartheid as a viable alternative; vote De Klerk out and we can return to the good old days. The CP map of "white" South Africa on the 87% of land not ceded to the homelands is not a plan for the future but a return to the past.

President de Klerk abandoned that past because it threatened what the NP has always sworn to protect: white security in general and Afrikaner security in particular. He abandoned apartheid because he had no option. The path of his predecessors was leading to economic impoverishment and to a violent racial clash which would leave the Afrikaners once again a broken and subject people. President de Klerk has chosen to negotiate a position for his followers; it is the only security they have.

If Potchefstroom opts for dangerous folly, government's task will be all the more difficult. If the NP surprises itself and wins, the months ahead will be only slightly easier. A government eager at last to face reality can gain support only by convincing others that there is no other course.



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**I**N ITS desperation to raise money, the ANC is resorting to ill-considered expedients which can result only in yet more desperation.

Perhaps the most obvious example is Nelson Mandela's recent decision to intercede with the US and UK governments on behalf of Libya's Muammar Gaddafi. To be sure, Mandela may have been motivated by an altruistic desire to help an old friend. But it is surely no coincidence that in the course of his "refuelling stop-over" in Tripoli last month, he also collected a cheque for at least \$1m.

A few years ago, this might not have mattered. Unfortunately, the closer the ANC gets to power, the more such transactions sow alarm. It is safe to say that for every dollar the ANC receives from Gaddafi, it foregoes many more that might otherwise have been forthcoming from other, far deeper pockets.

The ANC's decision to hire former congressman Walter Fauntroy as its chief US fund-raiser and lobbyist is another dubious investment. In some respects it may be even more dubious than renting out Mandela's good name to a sponsor of international terrorism. That at least involved no initial outlay and has netted some cash up front. In the Fauntroy case, all the ANC has achieved so far is a \$230 000 hole in its bank account.

**F**auntroy is a decent man. He is a preacher by profession and has a fine singing voice. His intentions are surely honourable. The question is whether Walter E. Fauntroy & Associates (WEFA), as he is known in his newly adopted corporate manifestation, can possibly be expected to deliver on what is promised in his contract. A careful reading of the document suggests that even Fauntroy himself has some doubts on this score. It is, shall we say, a very one-sided agreement.

Signed on October 10 last year, the day after WEFA's formal incorporation, it lays out at length the services

# Risky fund-raising could soon part the ANC and its money

SIMON BARBER in Washington

Fauntroy will attempt to perform for his client over the ensuing 12 months. If all goes according to plan, "at least \$5m will be raised". Notably absent, however, is any obligation on WEFA actually to raise said sum. The contract states this openly. "WEFA does not guarantee that the fund-raising goals will be achieved."

To the contrary, virtually all the obligations are on the ANC, starting with delivery of \$230 000, to be paid upon signature of the contract and to cover the first three months of WEFA's basic retainer (expenses are extra). Subsequent payments totalling \$170 000 are due in three instalments, "payable on or before" the 10th of January, April and July.

The latter payments represent the extent of the incentive WEFA has to raise any money at all. These payments, though again not the expenses incurred in raising them, are to come from whatever donations WEFA manages to generate. And lest there be any misunderstanding about who gets first dibs on the pot, the contract states bluntly: "WEFA has the right to be paid ... before any other amounts raised ... are disbursed to the ANC or any other person."

The contract contains a number of clauses which suggest WEFA is concerned the ANC itself may hamper even the limited fund-raising the firm needs to meet its own requirements. The most direct of these stipulations reads: "It is understood and agreed by the ANC that the ANC will provide full co-operation and assistance as requested by WEFA to help ensure the success of WEFA's fund-raising efforts."

**W**EFA does not intend to go it alone. "The goals ... cannot be achieved unless ... the ANC actively assists ... by requesting selected US and other citizens, particularly African-American entertainers, to participate voluntarily in the fund-raising programmes; by asking key US media executives to support the fund-raising efforts by donating TV, cable, radio and print media time; and by helping ensure that key entertainers and ANC officials appear in televised, video, radio and other media appeals."

Fauntroy undertakes to consult

the ANC's chief US representative, Lindiwe Mabasa, on the "style or content" of any promotional material WEFA produces, but only so long as this does not lead to bureaucratic and other delays. "Time will be of the essence for purposes of approval ... and (Mabasa) or her designee shall therefore act in an expeditious and timely manner." The impression is left that WEFA has some inkling of the ANC's punctuality.

What, exactly, is the ANC getting for \$700 000 plus expenses? According to the contract, the \$230 000 it has shelled out should have resulted in several things, including a net fund-raising profit of \$2m by February 10 and the revival of South Africa Now, a syndicated television show devoted to airing the ANC's version of the news, but which died last year for lack of money or viewer interest.

Fortunately, the agreement did not guarantee either eventuality. They were only three-month "performance targets". As was the production of a report, "concerning", as the contract bafflingly describes it, "the ANC's proposals on development of aid, trade and investment

policies which will assist SA for potential use with WEFA's efforts undertaken pursuant to the agreement." A little punctuation might have helped, but it is hard to see how.

In any event, neither Mabasa nor Fauntroy was available last week to confirm the completion of this document. Perhaps Fauntroy was too busy on another target — "the dissemination of information to various states, cities and counties with a view to persuading them to maintain their sanctions". Retaining elites who had been expecting resettlement allowances from the ANC will no doubt be glad to know that money which might have been theirs is not only being frittered away in America but is being used to help reduce their chances of employment.

WEFA's one solid achievement to date has been to establish (though not, as yet, to publicise) a pay-per-call telephone number. Callers are charged \$5.96 to hear a brief recorded message from Mandela thanking them for their contribution to the Mandela Freedom Fund which, he implies, will use the money to train teachers, build schools and improve medical services for apartheid's victims.

**I**t is not clear how much of the \$5.96 will ever make it to the fund after various service charges, commissions, and taxes have been deducted, or even if the money will ever end up in the fund at all. A group of black church leaders have agreed to urge their congregations to call the number next Sunday. Their aim is to gross about \$500 000 in donations. Enough to pay WEFA through April with change to spare for expenses.

Perhaps WEFA will ... station. Then again, it is probably just as well Fauntroy has insisted on an exclusive contract. At least this year the ANC will be barred from making the same mistake twice. In the meantime, it would do better to invest whatever ... that offer ... SA government ... for example.



B. Day

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## ANC violated peace accord — SAP

AFTER raiding an ANC house in Johannesburg yesterday, police accused the ANC of violating the national peace accord.

A police statement on an investigation into the existence of A. C. hit squads said the house in Bezuidenhout Valley, used by the ANC's intelligence unit, was searched after allegations that ANC members had paid a Danie Odendaal to

### ADRIAN HADLAND

infiltrate the AWB and assassinate an ex-policeman.

The ANC said the house was raided by 30 policemen who broke doors and windows to gain entry. One of its intelligence officers, Ynnis Mia, was made to lie face down on a bed with a gun pressed against his head, the ANC alleged. Documents were seized.

The raid followed claims that two ANC operatives paid Odendaal R10 000 to assassinate "turned" ANC member Glory "September" Sidebe. Police said the allegations were made under oath, compelling them to act.

Their statement said despite repeated requests to the ANC for help in terms of the national peace accord, and promises of assistance, none was given.

"Police were left with no other option but to go ahead and investigate the serious allegations without the assistance of the ANC."

The ANC rejected the accusation that it had violated the peace accord, and described the raid as "intimidatory surveillance".