

Print Message(s)

B3

UNCLASSIFIED//

**ENVELOPE**

OAAUZYUW RUEHCAA1810 2280708-UUUU--RHEFDIA.  
ZNR UUUUU ZZH ZUI RUEWMCE0442 2280709

**HEADER**

RELEASE IN PART  
B3

O  
150708Z AUG 08  
FM SECSTATE WASHINGTON DC  
TO RHEFDIA/DIA WASHINGTON DC

O  
150708Z AUG 08  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO AFRICAN UNION COLLECTIVE

UN SECURITY COUNCIL COLLECTIVE

RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN

RUEH DU/AMCONSUL DURBAN

RUEHJO/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC

RUEAIIA/CIA WASHINGTON DC

RHEFDIA/DIA WASHINGTON DC

RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC

BT

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

**CONTROLS**

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PRETORIA 001810

SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED  
SIPDIS

DEPT FOR AF/S (MARBURG), AF/RSA, H (AMACDERMOTT)  
DEPT PLEASE PASS TO HILL STAFFERS R KING, P-AMARSH, DBERAKA

E.O. 12958: N/A

**BODY**

TAGS: PGOV, PREL, PHUM, ETRD, OVIP, SF, ZI  
SUBJECT: CODEL BERMAN CALLS ON OFFICIALS AND VISITS PEPFAR  
AND AGOA SITES IN SOUTH AFRICA

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THIS IS THE FIRST OF THREE CABLES REPORTING ON CODEL BERMAN'S JULY 1-6, 2008 VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA. THE SECOND CABLE REPORTS ON THE CODELS MEETING WITH DEPUTY MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS AZIZ PAHAD. THE THIRD CABLE REPORTS ON THE CODELS MEETING WITH ZIMBABWEAN OPPOSITION LEADERS. THE CABLE IS SENSITIVE BUT UNCLASSIFIED. NOT FOR INTERNET DISTRIBUTION.

1. (SBU) SUMMARY. CODEL BERMAN COMPLETED AN EXTENSIVE VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, JULY 1-6, 2008. IN CAPE TOWN, THE DELEGATION VISITED THE PORT OF CAPE TOWN TO LEARN ABOUT TRADE AND PORT SECURITY ISSUES AND MET WITH A MAJOR SUPERMARKET CHAIN CEO TO HEAR ABOUT HIS PIONEERING EFFORTS TO PROMOTE BLACK OWNERSHIP IN THE RETAIL SECTOR. IN PRETORIA, THE CODEL PARTICIPATED IN A COUNTRY TEAM BRIEFING WITH AMBASSADOR BOST, ATTENDED THE EMBASSY'S ANNUAL FOURTH OF JULY EVENT, MET WITH DEPUTY FOREIGN MINISTER AZIZ PAHAD TO DISCUSS ZIMBABWE AND SOUTH AFRICAN DOMESTIC ISSUES AND INTERACTED WITH A GROUP OF ZIMBABWEAN OPPOSITION LEADERS. IN JOHANNESBURG, THE DELEGATION VISITED THE PEPFAR-SUPPORTED THEMBA LETHU CLINIC TO REVIEW TREATMENT FOR HIV/AIDS PATIENTS, TOURED THE AGOA-BENEFITED ISSY PETITE DESIGNS FACTORY TO UNDERSTAND HOW SOUTH AFRICAN MANUFACTURED EXPORTS ENTER THE U.S. MARKET, AND LAID A WREATH AT THE HECTOR PIETERSON MUSEUM IN HONOR OF THOSE WHO FELL DURING THE ANTI-APARTHEID STRUGGLE. IN WHITE RIVER, THE CODEL VISITED THE ACTS COMMUNITY CLINIC TO REVIEW TREATMENT FOR HIV/AIDS PATIENTS IN A RURAL SETTING AND CONDUCTED AN INTERVIEW WITH TALK RADIO 702, SOUTH AFRICA'S MOST INFLUENTIAL RADIO STATION. CODEL BERMAN WAS ABLE TO MEET WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR OFFICIALS DURING THIS VISIT. THE U.S. EMBASSY THANKS CODEL BERMAN FOR CREATING THE OPPORTUNITY AND WORKING WITH THE PRESS TO GET THIS POSITIVE MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC. END SUMMARY.

2. (U) CODEL BERMAN COMPLETED AN EXTENSIVE, ONE-WEEK VISIT TO SOUTH AFRICA, VISITING THE CITIES OF CAPE TOWN, PRETORIA, JOHANNESBURG AND WHITE RIVER, JULY 1-6, 2008. THE DELEGATION WAS HEADED BY HOUSE FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN HOWARD BERMAN (D-CA) AND INCLUDED HOUSE EDUCATION AND LABOR COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GEORGE MILLER (D-CA), FOREIGN AFFAIRS COMMITTEE RANKING MEMBER ED ROYCE (R-CA), HOUSE GOVERNMENT REFORM AND OVERSIGHT COMMITTEE RANKING MEMBER THOMAS DAVIS (R-VA), CONGRESSMAN JIM COSTA (D-CA), CONGRESSMAN DONALD M. PAYNE (D-NJ), AND CONGRESSWOMAN LINDA SANCHEZ (D-CA).

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CAPE TOWN, JULY 1-2

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3. (SBU) PORT OF CAPE TOWN VISIT. CODEL BERMAN CALLED ON STATE TRANSPORTATION COMPANY TRANSNET HEADQUARTERS IN THE PORT OF CAPE TOWN ON JULY 2. TRANSNET PORT OF CAPE TOWN PORT CAPTAIN/HARBOR MASTER RAVI NAICKER, ASSISTANT PORT CAPTAIN/ASSISTANT HARBOR MASTER CARL OTTO, MARKETING MANAGER SELMA SCHWARTZ AND INFRASTRUCTURE MANAGER MAGENTRAN RUGHENAVELU PROVIDED A COMPREHENSIVE PRESENTATION ON THE PORT AND ITS INFRASTRUCTURE. THE CODEL MEMBERS RAISED QUESTIONS ABOUT THE TYPES OF TRADE HANDLED BY THE PORT, PORT SECURITY MEASURES, AND SECURITY SCREENING OF INBOUND VESSELS. THE TRANSNET OFFICIALS EXPLAINED HOW THE HARBOR WORKS, WHICH INTERNATIONAL PROTOCOLS THEY FOLLOW, AND HOW THEY INTERACT WITH OTHER AGENCIES, PARTICULARLY THE INTELLIGENCE AGENCIES, IN IDENTIFYING AND INVESTIGATING SUSPICIOUS ACTIVITIES. EACH SHIP REQUESTING ANY HARBOR SERVICES MUST DO SO IN WRITING SEVERAL DAYS IN ADVANCE. TRANSNET THEN SHARES THE REQUESTS WITH VARIOUS GOVERNMENT ENTITIES WHICH HAVE THE OPPORTUNITY TO ALERT THE HARBOR OFFICIALS IF THERE IS ANY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT THE SHIP MIGHT BE CARRYING CONTRABAND. ONLY A SMALL NUMBER OF CONTAINERS IN CAPE TOWN GET CHECKED. THE PORT OF DURBAN HAS THE TECHNICAL ABILITY TO X-RAY CONTAINERS, BUT THE PORT OF CAPE TOWN DOES NOT. THE TRANSNET OFFICIALS ALSO EXPRESSED A DESIRE TO EXPAND OPERATIONS IN THE PORT OF CAPE TOWN, BUT CAN DO SO ONLY BY RECLAIMING MORE LAND FROM THE SEA. THIS POTENTIAL RECLAMATION IS RESTRAINED BY LEGAL UNCERTAINTY ABOUT THE OWNERSHIP OF ANY LAND THAT WOULD BE RECLAIMED.

4. (SBU) CODEL BERMAN THEN TRAVELED TO STELLENBOSCH TO HAVE DINNER WITH SHOP-RITE CEO WHITEY BASSON. SHOP-RITE IS ONE OF SOUTH AFRICA'S FOUR MAJOR SUPERMARKET CHAINS AND BASSON HAS BEEN A PIONEER IN PROMOTING BLACK OWNERSHIP IN THE RETAIL SECTOR. THE CODEL MEMBERS ASKED BASSON ABOUT HIS PIONEERING EFFORTS AND BASSON DESCRIBED SOME OF HIS MAJOR ACCOMPLISHMENTS AND OBSTACLES.

5. (SBU) CHAIRMAN BERMAN ALSO HAD A SEPARATE MEETING WITH SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES CHAIRMAN MICHAEL BAGRAIM AND OTHER BOARD MEMBERS AND JEWISH LEADERS AT THE OFFICES OF THE JEWISH BOARD OF DEPUTIES ON JULY 2. CHAIRMAN BERMAN SAID HE AND HIS DELEGATION WERE INTERESTED IN GAUGING THE IMPACT OF THE U.S. PRESIDENT'S EMERGENCY PLAN FOR AIDS RELIEF (PEPFAR) AND THEIR ATTITUDES TOWARDS ISRAEL. CHAIRMAN BERMAN SAID HE HAD BEGUN WORKING ON ANTI-APARTHEID ISSUES IN

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CONGRESS IN 1983 AND NOTED THAT MANY SOUTH AFRICAN JEWS HAD BEEN PROMINENT IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID. BAGRAIM DESCRIBED THE SOUTH AFRICAN JEWISH COMMUNITY AND CHAIRMAN BERMAN FIELDERD QUESTIONS FROM THE ASSEMBLED GROUP ABOUT IRAQ, IRAN, HIV/AIDS, ZIMBABWE AND THE U.S. PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION. CHAIRMAN BERMAN ALSO TOURED THE CAPE TOWN HOLOCAUST CENTRE.

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 PRETORIA, JULY 3  
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6. (SBU) COUNTRY TEAM BRIEFING. AMBASSADOR BOST, THEN DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION TEITELBAUM AND THE FULL EMBASSY COUNTRY TEAM BRIEFED THE CODEL ON THE MORNING OF JULY 3 ON A VARIETY OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AGRICULTURAL, AND HEALTH ISSUES. MEMBERS OF THE HEALTH TASK FORCE (OIH, USAID, CDC, PEACE CORPS AND DAO) HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO DISCUSS THE EMBASSY'S EXPANDING USD 592 MILLION PEPFAR PROGRAM. THE HEALTH ATTACHE NOTED THAT AS OF JULY THERE WERE NOW 500,000 SOUTH AFRICANS ON ARV TREATMENT, UP FROM HALF THAT NUMBER JUST TWO YEARS AGO. THE POLITICAL COUNSELOR RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE, WHAT THE ZIMBABWEAN OPPOSITION WANTS FROM THE U.S., AND THE IMPACT OF MILLIONS OF UNDOCUMENTED ZIMBABWEANS LIVING IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE AGRICULTURAL COUNSELOR RESPONDED TO QUESTIONS ABOUT THE REGIONAL FOOD SHORTAGE AND THE POTENTIAL EXPORT OF SOUTH AFRICA'S CORN SURPLUS TO ZIMBABWE. HE NOTED THAT THE MAIN ISSUE IS NOT FOOD PRODUCTION, BUT COST OF FOOD FOR THE AVERAGE CITIZEN. THE ECONOMIC AND COMMERCIAL COUNSELORS DISCUSSED SOUTH AFRICA'S POWER CRISIS AND THE EMBASSY'S EFFORTS TO SUPPORT U.S. COMPANY WESTINGHOUSE IN ITS USD 70 BILLION BID TO BUILD UP TO 12 AP1000 NUCLEAR REACTORS IN SOUTH AFRICA BY 2025.

7. (U) FOURTH OF JULY EVENT. THE CODEL ATTENDED EMBASSY PRETORIA'S FOURTH OF JULY EVENT AT THE COMMUNITY CENTER AT MID-DAY ON JULY 3. THE EVENT WAS ATTENDED BY 500 PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR GUESTS, INCLUDING FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPUTY MINISTER SUE VAN DER MERWE. DEPUTY MINISTER VAN DER MERWE AND AMBASSADOR BOST BOTH SPOKE ABOUT THE STRENGTH OF THE BILATERAL RELATIONSHIP. CHAIRMAN BERMAN WAS INVITED TO ADDRESS THE ASSEMBLED GUESTS. HE INTRODUCED THE MEMBERS OF THE DELEGATION, MENTIONED THEIR PRIOR VISITS TO SOUTH AFRICA, AND NOTED HOW HARD THEY HAD WORKED ON PEPFAR. CHAIRMAN BERMAN MET WITH SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS (SAIIA) DEPUTY CHAIRMAN MOELETSI MBEKI (THE BROTHER OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI).

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8. (SBU) FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPUTY MINISTER. THE CODEL CALLED ON FOREIGN AFFAIRS DEPUTY MINISTER AZIZ PAHAD ON THE AFTERNOON ON JULY 3. DEPUTY MINISTER PAHAD THANKED THE CODEL FOR VISITING SOUTH AFRICA AND EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR CONGRESSIONAL SUPPORT FOR FUNDING TO COMBAT HIV/AIDS AND FOR LEGISLATION TO REMOVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS FROM THE U.S. TERRORIST LIST. PAHAD STRONGLY DEFENDED SOUTH AFRICA'S POLICY TOWARD ZIMBABWE AND URGED THE CODEL TO SUPPORT THE AFRICAN UNION'S CALL FOR A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY, WHICH PAHAD CLAIMED WAS "THE ONLY WAY OUT OF THE ZIMBABWE CRISIS." HE EXPLAINED THAT SOUTH AFRICA IS FOCUSED ON FACILITATING DIALOGUE BETWEEN THE RULING ZANU-PF AND THE OPPOSITION MDC AND BELIEVES CALLS FOR NEW MEDIATORS AND EXPANSION OF SMART SANCTIONS ARE NOT HELPFUL. TURNING TO DOMESTIC ISSUES, PAHAD SAID THE RECENT SHIFT IN ANC LEADERSHIP WAS "HEALTHY," BUT ADMITTED THAT IN HIS VIEW THE

SWEEPING CHANGES IN THE PARTY HAD COME "TOO SOON". PAHAD CONCLUDED THAT THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT WAS DOING ITS BEST TO CONFRONT THE COUNTRY'S MANY CHALLENGES, MANY OF WHICH HAD BEEN INHERITED FROM THE PREVIOUS REGIME. A BRIEF TELEVISION INTERVIEW WITH THE DELEGATION AFTER THE MEETING WAS COVERED BY LOCAL TELEVISION STATIONS. (SEE SEPTEL FOR ADDITIONAL DETAILS.)

9. (SBU) ZIMBABWE OPPOSITION LEADERS. SENIOR OFFICIALS OF THE ZIMBABWEAN OPPOSITION PARTY MOVEMENT FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE HOSTED THE CODEL ON THE EVENING OF JULY 3. THE OFFICIALS TOLD THE DELEGATION THAT THE ZIMBABWEAN JUNE 27 RUN-OFF ELECTION WAS A FARCE, MUGABE'S PRESIDENTIAL CLAIM WAS ILLEGITIMATE, AND A TRANSITIONAL AUTHORITY - NOT A GOVERNMENT OF NATIONAL UNITY - WAS NEEDED TO PREPARE THE WAY OUT OF THE ZIMBABWEAN POLITICAL CRISIS VIA NEW ELECTIONS IN THE NEXT 18 MONTHS. THEY DECRIED THE RECENT TREND IN AFRICA WHICH ALLOWS A LOSER WHO IS PRONE TO THE USE OF VIOLENCE TO NEGOTIATE A POWER SHARING AGREEMENT. THEY ALSO EXPRESSED A COMPLETE LACK OF FAITH IN SOUTH AFRICA'S MEDIATION EFFORT AND THE ABILITY OF THE AU AND THE SOUTHERN AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT COMMUNITY TO SOLVE THE CRISIS. THEY EXPRESSED HOPE THAT THE UNSC COULD DO MORE AND ASKED FOR PRESSURE FROM THE U.S. AND THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO INSIST THAT THE OUTCOME OF NEW ELECTIONS IN ZIMBABWE "REFLECTS THE WILL OF THE PEOPLE." (SEE SEPTEL FOR ADDITIONAL BACKGROUND.)

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 JOHANNESBURG, JULY 4  
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10. (U) HELEN JOSEPH HOSPITAL. THE CODEL VISITED THE PEPFAR-SUPPORTED THEMBA LETHU ARV CLINIC AND RIGHT TO CARE TREATMENT FACILITY AT THE GOVERNMENT-FUNDED HELEN JOSEPH HOSPITAL IN JOHANNESBURG. THE CLINIC IS ONE OF THE FIRST ARV CLINICS IN THE COUNTRY AND IT IS A CENTER FOR EXCELLENCE IN THE HEALTH AREA. IT HAS MORE PATIENTS ON ANTIRETROVIRAL THERAPY (ART) THAN ANY CLINIC IN THE COUNTRY. RIGHT TO CARE COUNTRY DIRECTOR IAN SANNE PROVIDED A BRIEFING ON RIGHT TO CARE'S SIX COUNTRY-WIDE MODELS FOR ARV DISTRIBUTION. HE ALSO HIGHLIGHTED THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENT AGENCY/NGO EFFORTS (USAID/NIH/RIGHT TO CARE) AT THE SAME SITE, THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENT TREATMENTS (VCT, ARV DISTRIBUTION AND TB TESTING), AND THE IMPORTANCE OF SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT FUNDING FOR THE CLINIC'S EFFORTS (79 PERCENT OF TOTAL FUNDING). AN INDIGENOUS CHOIR WARMLY WELCOMED THE CODEL, AND TWO HIV/AIDS PATIENTS WHO ARE NOW EMPLOYED AS HEALTH WORKERS BY RIGHT TO CARE TOLD THEIR LIFE STORIES AND THANKED THE DELEGATION FOR U.S. FUNDING AND TECHNICAL SUPPORT. CNBC AFRICA COVERED THE VISIT AND BROADCAST THE SEGMENT ACROSS SUB-SAHARAN AFRICA.

11. (U) ISSY PETITE DESIGNS FACTORY. THE DELEGATION TOURED THE ISSY PETITE DESIGNS FACTORY IN INDUSTRIA, A FORMERLY "COLORED" TOWNSHIP NORTH OF SOWETO. ISSY IS A RAPIDLY GROWING, PREVIOUSLY DISADVANTAGED PEOPLE-OWNED BUSINESS THAT DESIGNS AND MANUFACTURES HIGH-END FURNITURE FOR DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL CUSTOMERS. ISSY HAS A SECOND FACTORY IN NIGERIA, IS IN THE PROCESS OF ESTABLISHING A SECOND FACTORY IN ANGOLA AND PLANS TO OPEN A SHOW-ROOM IN DUBAI. ISSY ALSO BENEFITS FROM DUTY-FREE EXPORTS TO THE U.S. MARKET AS A RESULT OF THE AFRICAN GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY ACT (AGOA). ISSY MANAGING DIRECTOR ISSY PENNIKEN EXPLAINED TO THE CODEL HOW USAID'S SOUTH AFRICA BUSINESS LINKAGE (SAIBL) PROGRAM HAS HELPED THE COMPANY MAKE STRATEGIC BUSINESS AND MARKETING IMPROVEMENTS, ATTEND INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITIONS, ACHIEVE HIGH-QUALITY ACCREDITATION AND BENEFIT FROM AGOA. HE THANKED THE CODEL FOR U.S. TECHNICAL SUPPORT AND ACCESS TO THE MARKET AND SAID, "IF IT HAD NOT BEEN FOR U.S. TECHNICAL SUPPORT, I WOULD NOT BE WHERE I AM TODAY."

12. (U) HECTOR PIETERSON MUSEUM. THE CODEL VISITED THE HECTOR PIETERSON MUSEUM AND LAID A WREATH AT THE MEMORIAL SITE FOR THOSE WHO FELL DURING THE STRUGGLE AGAINST APARTHEID. ANTOINETTE SITHOLE, THE SISTER OF SLAIN HECTOR PIETERSON, TOLD THE DELEGATION HOW HE DIED AND GAVE HER EYE-WITNESS ACCOUNT OF HIS DEATH. THE SOWETAN, A

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INFLUENTIAL, AFRO-CENTRIC NEWSPAPER WITH A CIRCULATION OF MORE THAN 150,000, INTERVIEWED CHAIRMAN BERMAN AFTER THE

WREATH-LAYING. THE ARTICLE, WHICH APPEARED ON JULY 7, QUOTED THE CHAIRMAN'S COMMENTS ABOUT THE STRUGGLE AND MENTIONED HIS WORK SPONSORING THE NEW BILL THAT REMOVED NELSON MANDELA AND OTHER ANC MEMBERS FROM THE LIST OF TERRORISTS.

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 WHITE RIVER, JULY 4  
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13. (U) ACTS COMMUNITY CLINIC. THE DELEGATION VISITED THE AIDS CARE, TRAINING AND SUPPORT (ACTS) COMMUNITY CLINIC NEAR WHITE RIVER, IN MPUMALANGA PROVINCE. THE FIRST NGO TREATMENT SITE, SUPPORTED BY RIGHT TO CARE, THE ACTS COMMUNITY CENTER IS FOCUSED ON THE EFFECTIVE DELIVERY OF ART IN A RURAL COMMUNITY WHERE THERE IS NO GOVERNMENT HOSPITAL PRESENT. RIGHT TO CARE COUNTRY DIRECTOR DR. IAN SANNE PROVIDED A TOUR OF THE FACILITY WHICH INCLUDED A CDC TOGATAINER SITE. THE CDC TOGATAINER SITE REPRESENTS CDC'S EFFORTS TO LOCATE MODULAR MOLECULAR AND GENERAL PATHOLOGY LABORATORIES IN CONVERTED SHIPPING CONTAINERS FOR ON-THE-SPOT TESTING AT EXISTING CLINICS IN RURAL AREAS. DR. SANNE AGAIN HIGHLIGHTED THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENT AGENCY/NGO EFFORTS (USAID/CDC/RIGHT TO CARE) AT THE SAME SITE, THE INTEGRATION OF DIFFERENT TREATMENTS. CHAIRMAN BERMAN ALSO DEDICATED A NEWLY COMPLETED PHARMACY. A LOCAL YOUTH CHOIR WELCOMED THE CODEL AND THE DELEGATION MEMBERS WERE GIVEN THE OPPORTUNITY TO INTERACT WITH ARV PATIENTS.

14. (U) TALK RADIO 702. CHAIRMAN BERMAN AND CONGRESSMAN PAYNE THEN CONDUCTED A LIVE TELEPHONE INTERVIEW WITH STEPHEN GROOTES, A REPORTER FOR TALK RADIO 702, SOUTH AFRICA'S MOST INFLUENTIAL RADIO STATION WHICH TARGETS AN ESTIMATED 300,000 URBAN COMMUTERS DURING THE RUSH HOUR ON THEIR WAY TO AND FROM WORK. GROOTES SPOKE TO CHAIRMAN BERMAN ABOUT THE RECENT PASSAGE OF LEGISLATION WHICH WILL REMOVE ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS FROM THE U.S. TERRORIST LIST. HE THEN TALKED WITH CONGRESSMAN PAYNE ABOUT THE U.S. CONGRESS' PLANS TO RENEW AND EXPAND FUNDING FOR PEPFAR. THE INTERVIEW RECEIVED BROAD COVERAGE THAT AFTERNOON.

15. (U) STATE-OWNED SABC TELEVISION REPORTED ON JULY 4 THAT PRESIDENT BUSH SIGNED THE LAW REMOVING NELSON MANDELA FROM THE LIST OF TERRORISTS. THE ARTICLE QUOTED LIBERALLY FROM CHAIRMAN BERMAN'S PRESS RELEASE ABOUT THE BILL THAT HE SPONSORED.

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COMMENT  
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16. (U) CODEL BERMAN WAS ABLE TO MEET WITH A WIDE VARIETY OF SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTOR OFFICIALS DURING THIS EXTENDED VISIT. THE DELEGATION WAS ALSO ABLE TO ENGAGE ON A RANGE OF REGIONAL AND BILATERAL ISSUES, INCLUDING THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC CRISIS IN ZIMBABWE. A SERIES OF TV, RADIO AND NEWSPAPER INTERVIEWS ON JULY 3-4 HELPED PUBLICIZE WHAT THE U.S. IS DOING IN AND FOR SOUTH AFRICA, FROM PEPFAR AND AGOA TO THE RECENTLY PASSED LEGISLATION REMOVING ANTI-APARTHEID ACTIVISTS FROM THE U.S. TERRORIST LIST. THE U.S. EMBASSY THANKS CODEL BERMAN FOR CREATING THE OPPORTUNITY AND WORKING WITH THE PRESS TO GET THIS POSITIVE MESSAGE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC.

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ADMIN

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**ENVELOPE**

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**HEADER**

P  
170901Z MAR 97  
FM DIA WASHINGTON DC

RELEASE IN PART B3  
NR

INFO RUEACMC/CMC WASHINGTON DC  
RUFQBBA/US SURVEY SHAPE BE  
RHHJMCY/JICPAC HONOLULU HI  
RUWTAEA/NAIC WRIGHT PATTERSON AFB OH//SCIR//  
RUEOAYC/CDR NGIC CHARLOTTESVILLE VA//IANG-TACD//  
RUWSMXI/USCINTRANS INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//J2-J//  
RUCQVAB/USCINCSOC INTEL OPS CEN MACDILL AFB FL  
RUFTAKC/UDITDUSAREUR HEIDELBERG GE

RUEDADA/HQ 497IG AMHS  
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHINGTON DC  
RUDMQAN/MARCORINTACT DET QUANTICO VA  
RUEADADI/AFOSI IOC BOLLING AFB DC//DTA//  
RUDMGRD/COGARD INTELCOORDCEN WASHINGTON DC  
RUFTAKA/UCIRF AUGSBURG GE  
RHEFOCB/OC-2  
RUEALGX/SAFE

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

P

170823Z MAR 97  
FM AMEMBASSY KUALA LUMPUR  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7180  
INFO RUEKJCS/JOINT STAFF WASHDC PRIORITY

RUEKJCS/SECDEF WASHDC PRIORITY  
RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA 0008  
RHHMUNA/USCINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
BT

**CONTROLS**

C O N F I D E N T I A L

KUALA LUMPUR 000972

DOD ALSO FOR SECDEF COHEN

CINCPAC ALSO FOR AMB TEARE

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/10/12

**BODY**

TAGS: MASS, PREL, MY  
SUBJECT: MALAYSIA CONSIDERING SOUTH AFRICAN  
HELICOPTER PURCHASE

REF:

B3

1. CLASSIFIED BY AMBASSADOR JOHN R. MALOTT UNDER SECTION 1.5 (D).

2. THIS CABLE CONTAINS AN ACTION REQUEST. SEE PARA 12.

3. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: IN THE WAKE OF MANDELA'S RECENT STATE VISIT TO MALAYSIA, KUALA LUMPUR AND PRETORIA HAVE QUIETLY AGREED TO STUDY THE POSSIBILITY OF CO-PRODUCING THE SOUTH AFRICAN ROOIVALK ATTACK HELICOPTER. WITHIN THE GOM THE IMPETUS FOR THE ROOIVALK DEAL COMES FROM PRIME MINISTER MAHATHIR: HE SEES POTENTIAL IN THE ROOIVALK FOR SHOWCASING MALAYSIA'S ABILITY TO HELP SOUTH AFRICA AS WELL AS PROMOTING AN INDIGENOUS AEROSPACE INDUSTRY. A ROOIVALK PURCHASE AND CO-PRODUCTION AGREEMENT IS NOT YET A DONE DEAL. DEFENSE MINISTER HAMID HAS RECOMMENDED AGAINST THE ROOIVALK BECAUSE HIS MINISTRY IS WARY OF MAKING A HUGE FINANCIAL INVESTMENT--800 MILLION USD BY SOME ACCOUNTS--IN AN UNPROVEN ATTACK HELICOPTER WITH QUESTIONABLE MARKET APPEAL. SENIOR GOM ECONOMIC ADVISORS ARE ALSO ARRAYED AGAINST INVESTING IN THE ROOIVALK. MOD HAMID STRONGLY FAVORS THE MCDONNELL DOUGLAS APACHE. HOWEVER, ONE REPORT SAYS THE MALAYSIAN CABINET WILL AUTHORIZE SHORTLY A PURCHASE OF EIGHT ROOIVALKS. PARAS 11-13 PROPOSE HOW THE USG CAN ADVANCE THE PROSPECTS OF THE APACHE AS PART OF OUR EFFORTS TO HELP ALL U.S. MANUFACTURERS INTERESTED IN MALAYSIA'S POTENTIALLY LUCRATIVE HELICOPTER MARKET. END SUMMARY.

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MANDELA TOUTS THE ROOIVALK  
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4. ~~(C)~~ MALAYSIA IS CURRENTLY CONSIDERING SEVERAL MAJOR HELICOPTER PURCHASES FOR ITS MILITARY FORCES, INCLUDING AN ATTACK HELICOPTER FOR THE MALAYSIAN ARMY. THE

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4/20/2015

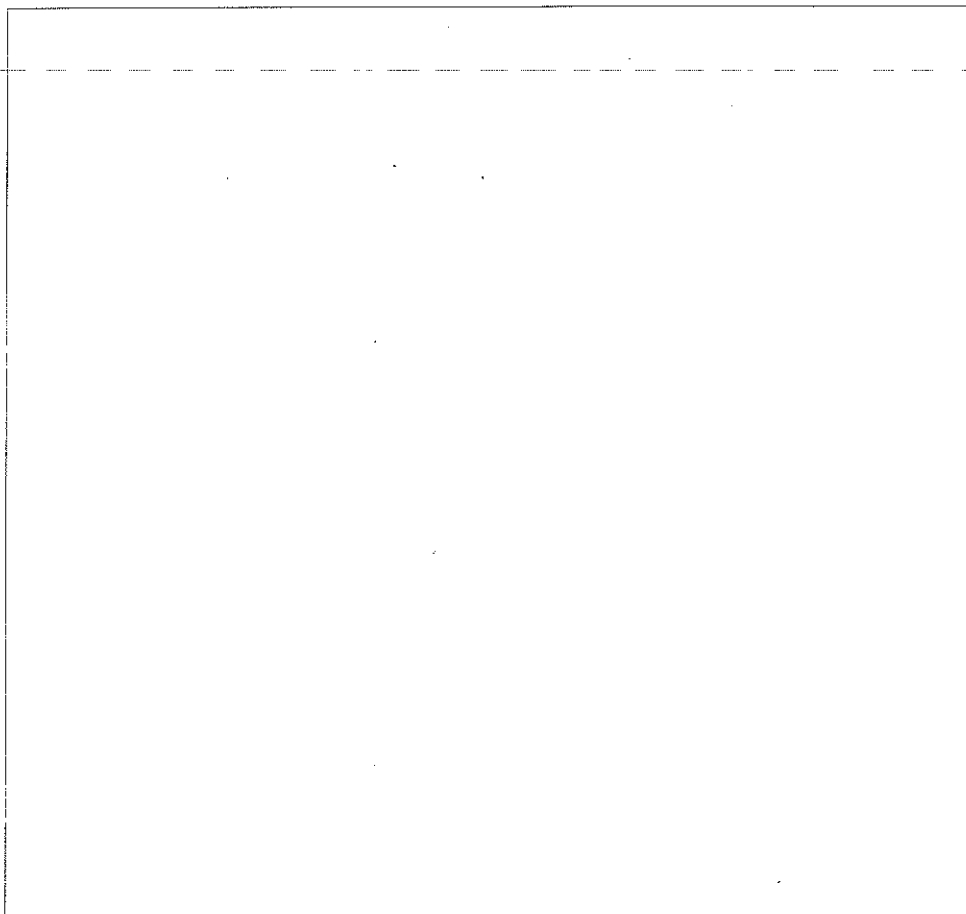
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MCDONNELL DOUGLAS APACHE IS A LEADING CONTENDER FOR THIS ORDER. DURING HIS RECENT STATE VISIT NELSON MANDELA MADE A PITCH FOR MALAYSIA TO PURCHASE AND CO-PRODUCE THE DENEL/ATLAS CSH-2 ROOIVALK ATTACK HELICOPTER. AS INSTRUCTED BY THE GOM'S CABINET, THE GOM'S RESPONSE WAS THAT IT WOULD INITIATE "NEGOTIATIONS" TO STUDY THE FEASIBILITY OF MALAYSIA'S PURCHASE AND CO-PRODUCTION. SPECULATION THAT THE GOM/SAF HAD SIGNED A ROOIVALK MOU LED DEFENSE MINISTER HAMID TO DECLARE THAT KUALA LUMPUR WAS "INTERESTED" IN THE HELICOPTER, BUT HAD NOT "COME TO A FINAL DECISION." (REPORTEDLY, THE INITIAL SOUTH AFRICAN CO-PRODUCTION TERMS ASKED THE GOM TO FUND 40 PERCENT OF THE NON-RECURRING ENGINEERING AND START UP COSTS FOR THE ROOIVALK AS WELL AS SIGN AN AGREEMENT TO PURCHASE 40 HELICOPTERS.)

NR



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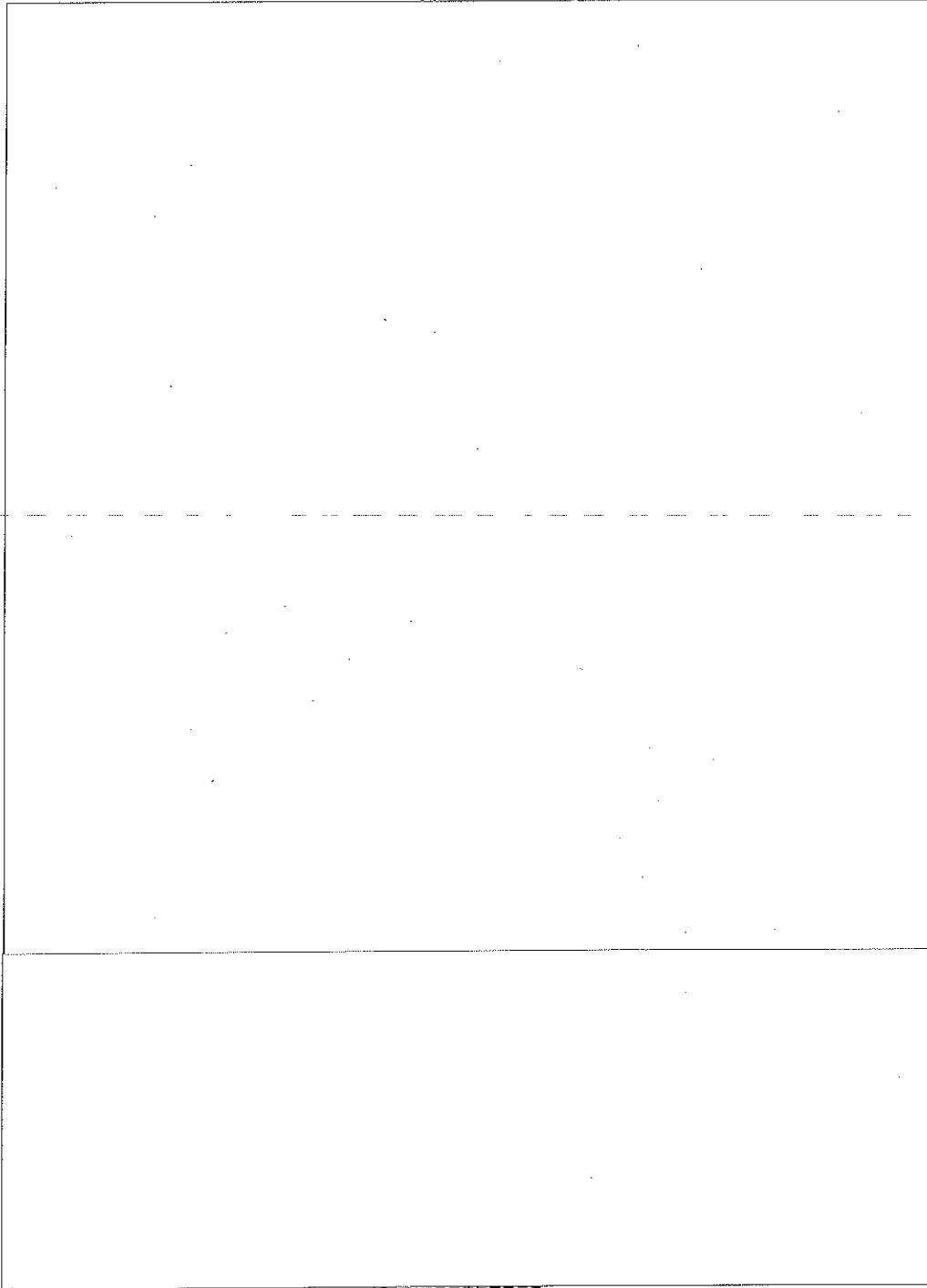
4/20/2015

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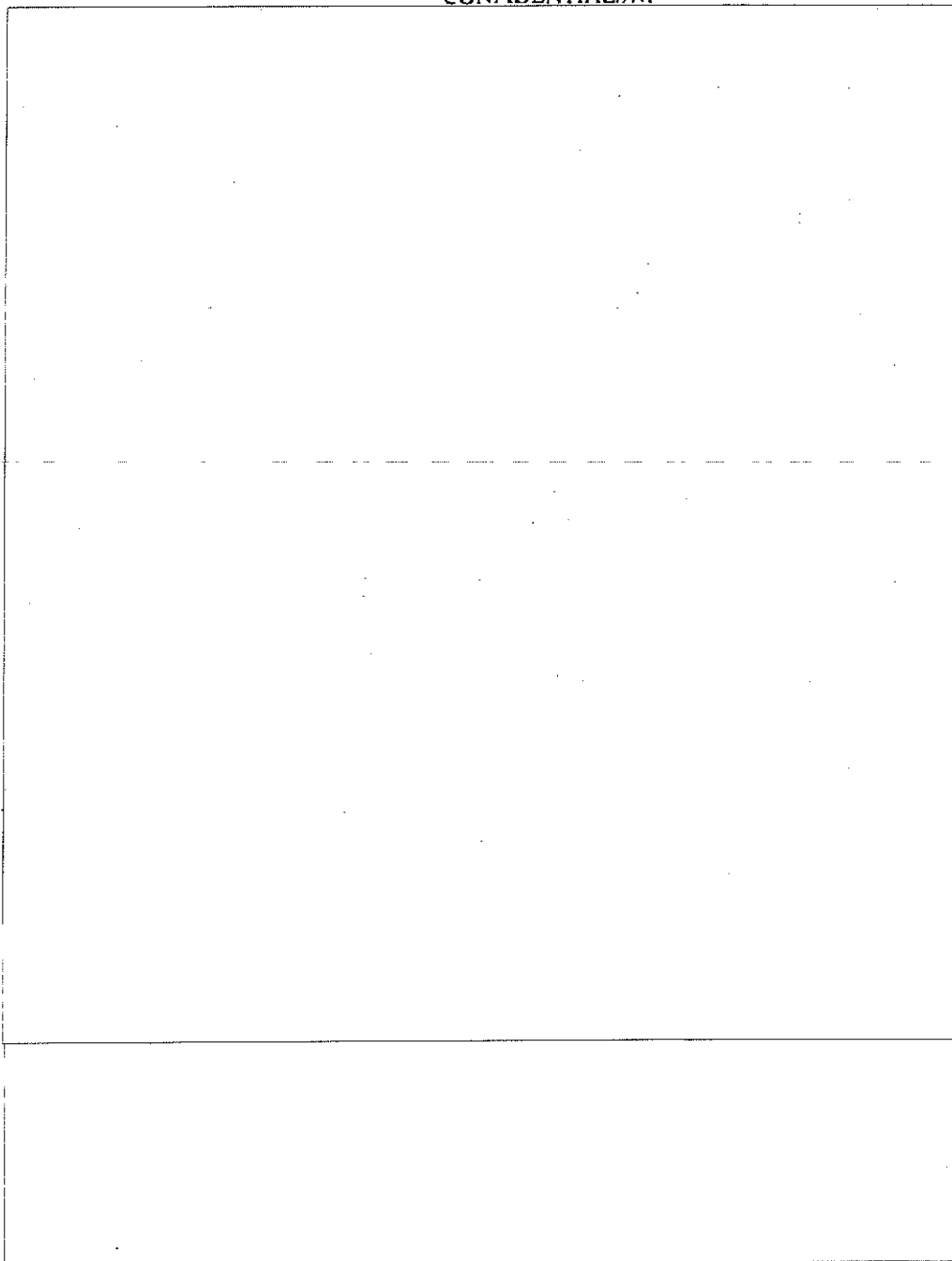
4/20/2015

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NR



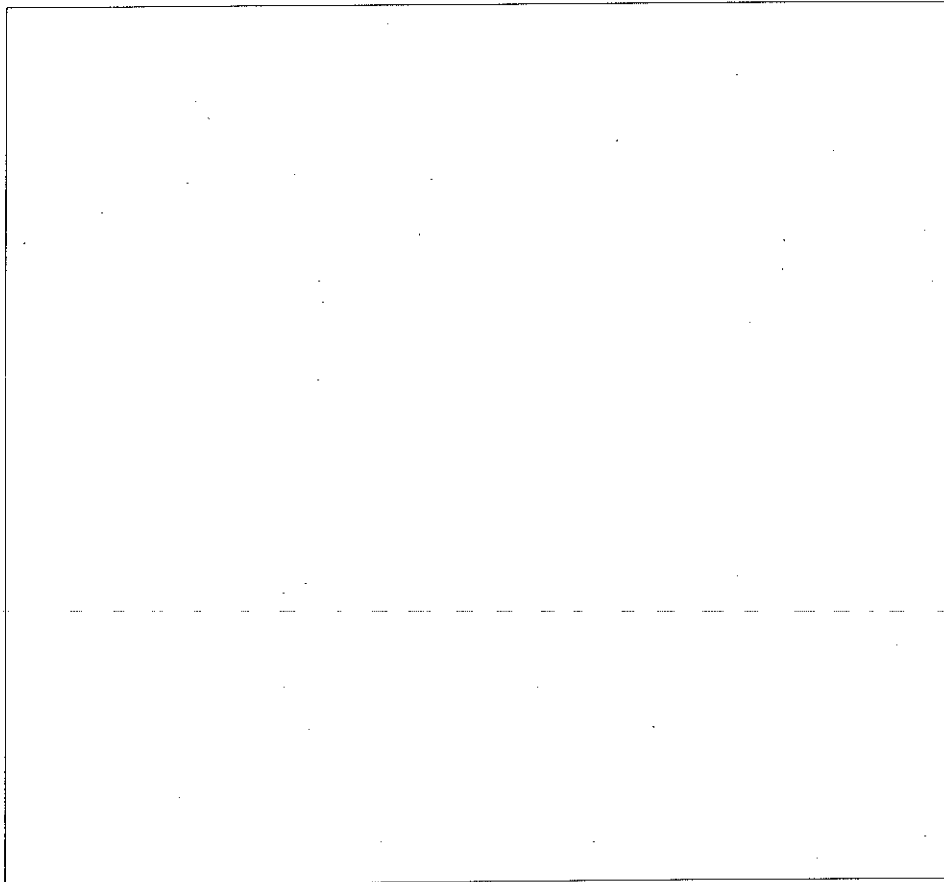
~~CONFIDENTIAL//NF~~

4/20/2015

Print Message(s)

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NR



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ 5

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ADMIN

BT

#3660  
985B

~~CONFIDENTIAL/NF~~

4/20/2015

Print Message(s)

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~~CONFIDENTIAL//NF~~

NNNN

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4/20/2015

Print Message(s)

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RELEASE IN PART  
B1,1.4(D)

**ENVELOPE**

CDSN = CFS400 MCN = 96334/11475 TOR = 963341044  
OTTTCZYUW RUEKJCS0170 3341042-CCCC--RUEALGX.  
ZNY CCCCC

Classified by Director A/GIS/IPS, DoS on 08/18/2017 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL ~ Reason:  
1.4(D) ~ Declassify on: 11/08/2021

**HEADER**

O  
291042Z NOV 96  
FM DIA WASHINGTON DC  
INFO RUEAHQA/CSAF WASHINGTON DC  
RUWSMXI/USCINTRANS INTEL CEN SCOTT AFB IL//J2-J//  
RUDMQAN/MARCORINTACT DET QUANTICO VA  
RUFODA/JAC MOLESWORTH RAF MOLESWORTH UK//CC/DOA//  
RUEALGX/SAFE

O  
291024Z NOV 96  
FM AIT TAIPEI  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9397  
INFO RUEHSA/AMEMBASSY PRETORIA PRIORITY 0011

RUEKDIA/DIA WASHDC  
RHHJJAA/JICPAC HONOLULU HI  
RHHMUNA/CINCPAC HONOLULU HI  
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN 0064  
RUEHGB/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG 0088  
RUEHHK/AMCONSUL HONG KONG 9115  
RUEHSH/AMCONSUL SHENYANG 3211  
RUESLE/AMCONSUL SHANGHAI 5554  
RUEHGP/AMEMBASSY SINGAPORE 6285  
RUEHUL/AMEMBASSY SEOUL 8301  
RUEHKO/AMEMBASSY TOKYO 4882  
RUEHBJ/AMEMBASSY BEIJING 7555  
BT

**CONTROLS**

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~ SECTION 01 OF 02

TAIPEI 005618

DEPARTMENT FOR EAP/RSP/TC, AF/S, AND AIT/W

E.O. 12958: DECL: 11/29/01

/\*\*\*\*\* THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE \*\*\*\*\*/

~~SECRET//NF~~



Print Message(s)

~~SECRET//NF~~

**BODY**

TAGS: PREL, PGOV, TW, CH, SF  
SUBJECT: TAIWAN REACTS ANGRILY TO  
-           PRETORIA'S DECISION TO SEVER RELATIONS

REF: A) PRETORIA 8241; B) TAIPEI 3918 AND PREVIOUS

1. (U) CLASSIFIED BY CHRISTOPHER J. LAFLEUR, DEPUTY DIRECTOR, AIT TAIPEI. REASON: 1.5 (B) AND (D).

2. ~~(C)~~ SUMMARY: PRESIDENT MANDELA'S NOVEMBER 27 ANNOUNCEMENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA HAS DECIDED TO TRANSFER FORMAL DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS FROM TAIPEI TO BEIJING CAUGHT TAIWAN LEADERS TOTALLY BY SURPRISE. REACTION HERE HAS BEEN STRONGLY NEGATIVE, WITH TAIWAN INDICATING THAT IT WILL RECONSIDER ITS AID AND MASSIVE INVESTMENT PROGRAMS IN SOUTH AFRICA. THE SOUTH AFRICAN STEP IS A SERIOUS BLOW TO TAIPEI'S "PRAGMATIC DIPLOMACY" AND WILL ONLY FURTHER FUEL RESENTMENT HERE TOWARDS BEIJING. END SUMMARY.

3. (U) NEWS OF SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT NELSON MANDELA'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT SOUTH AFRICA WOULD SEVER DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN IN FAVOR OF THE PRC HIT TAIWAN AT 2200 HOURS LOCAL TIME ON NOVEMBER 27. THE MEDIA HERE REPORTED AT LENGTH THE TEXT OF MANDELA'S ANNOUNCEMENT (REF A). ACCOMPANYING NEWS STORIES FOCUSED ON MANDELA'S ANNOUNCEMENT THAT HE HAD BEEN FORCED BY THE PRC TO ABANDON HIS PLANS FOR DUAL RECOGNITION OF BOTH THE PRC AND TAIWAN, AS WELL AS THE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESIDENT'S DESIRE THAT THE PROCESS OF TRANSFERRING RECOGNITION BE DRAWN OUT UNTIL JANUARY 1, 1998. ALTHOUGH THE REPORTING WAS EXPECTEDLY CRITICAL OF MANDELA FOR GOING BACK ON PAST PLEDGES, SOME PAPERS DECIDED TO PUT A POSITIVE SPIN ON MANDELA'S REPORTED HOPE TO CONTINUE "CONSTRUCTIVE" RELATIONS WITH TAIWAN. THE MEDIA ALSO REPORTED PRESIDENT MANDELA'S STATEMENT TO THE PRESS THAT HE HAD MET WITH THE TAIWAN AMBASSADOR IN SOUTH AFRICA ON NOVEMBER 26 TO BREAK THE BAD NEWS.

INITIAL REACTION: STUNNED DISBELIEF  
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4. ~~(C)~~ DESPITE MANDELA'S ASSERTION THAT HE HAD ALREADY INFORMED TAIPEI'S AMBASSADOR, THE NEWS THAT THE BIGGEST -- AND MOST IMPORTANT -- OF TAIWAN'S 30 DIPLOMATIC ALLIES WAS CUTTING RELATIONS CAME AS A TOTAL SURPRISE

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Print Message(s)

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TO LEADERS HERE. TAIWAN'S MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, JOHN CHANG, TOLD THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR NOVEMBER 28 THAT HE FIRST HEARD THE NEWS WHEN MOFA OFFICIALS ROUSTED HIM FROM A PARTY HELD BY VICE PRESIDENT/PREMIER LIEN CHAN AT 0100 HOURS ON NOVEMBER 28. THE SOUTH AFRICAN AMBASSADOR, JOHANNES LODEWIKUS VILJOEN, TOLD RADIO REPORTERS THAT HE HAD NOT BEEN GIVEN THE NEWS UNTIL TEN MINUTES BEFORE MANDELA ISSUED HIS STATEMENT IN PRETORIA -- A STATEMENT LATER CONFIRMED INDEPENDENTLY BY ANOTHER CONTACT IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN EMBASSY HERE.

5. (U) OFFICIALLY, THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS (MOFA) QUICKLY EXPRESSED "REGRET" THAT SOUTH AFRICA'S "UNFRIENDLY DECISION" HAD "SERIOUSLY HARMED THE FRIENDLY RELATIONS BETWEEN BOTH COUNTRIES." MOFA SUBSEQUENTLY ANNOUNCED ON NOVEMBER 28 TAIWAN WOULD HAVE TO REVIEW ITS LARGE INVESTMENT AND AID PROGRAMS IN SOUTH AFRICA, WHICH TOTAL MORE THAN USD 1.5 BILLION. (THIS FIGURE DOES NOT INCLUDE THE USD 3.5 BILLION PETROCHEMICAL PLANT WHICH TUNTEX CORPORATION WAS CONSIDERING BUILDING IN SOUTH AFRICA.) MEANWHILE, OPPOSITION DEMOCRATIC PROGRESSIVE PARTY LEGISLATORS USED SOUTH AFRICA'S DECISION AS AN OPPORTUNITY TO URGE THE AUTHORITIES TO REVIEW THEIR "ONE-CHINA" AND FOREIGN RELATIONS POLICIES.

6. (U) MOST OF TAIWAN'S IRE, HOWEVER, HAS BEEN DIRECTED TOWARDS BEIJING'S EFFORTS TO BLOCK TAIWAN'S EFFORTS AT PRAGMATIC DIPLOMACY. VICE PRESIDENT LIEN AND THE FOREIGN MINISTRY BOTH ISSUED STATEMENTS CONDEMNING THE PRC AND ACCUSING BEIJING OF TRYING TO ISOLATE TAIWAN -- A MOVE, OFFICIALS HERE SAID, WHICH WOULD ONLY FURTHER HURT CROSS-STRAIT RELATIONS.

STEP TWO: CONTROLLING DAMAGE

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/\*\*\*\*\* BEGINNING OF SECTION 002 \*\*\*\*\*/

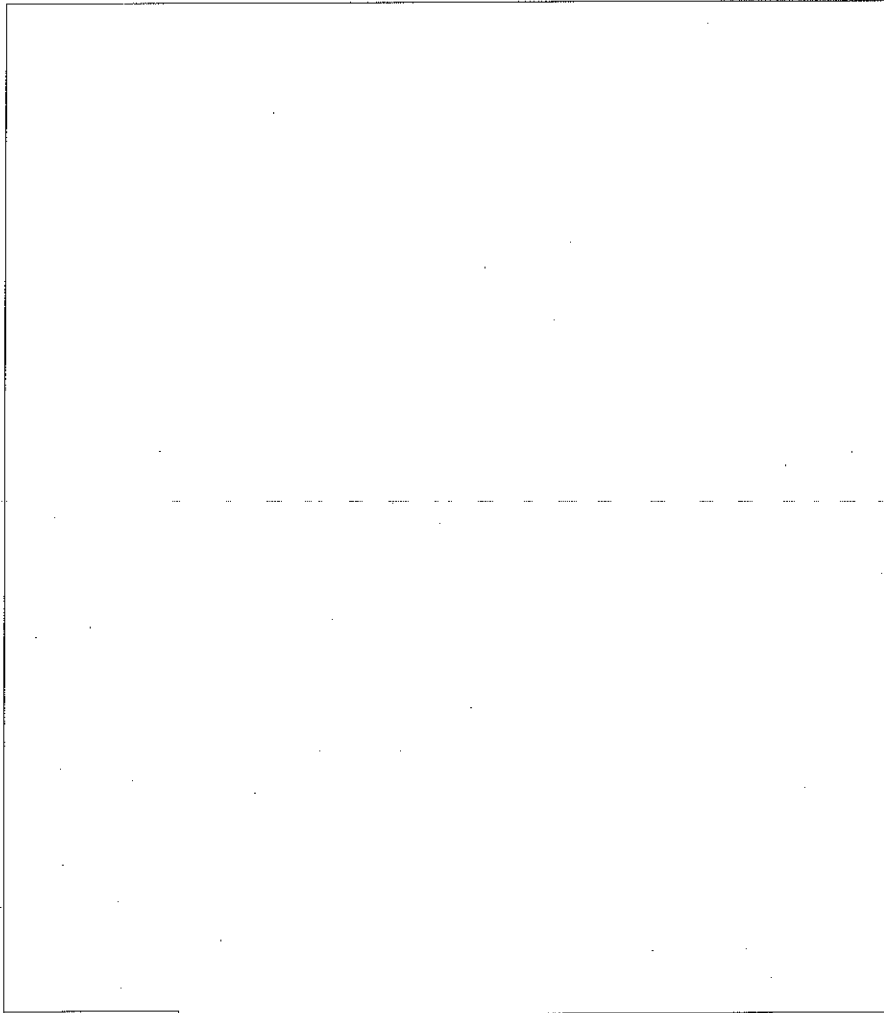
7. (C) TAIWAN OFFICIALS ARE NOW GOING IN TO A DAMAGE CONTROL MODE. MINISTER CHANG TOLD THE DEPUTY DIRECTOR THAT HE PLANNED TO DEPART FOR SOUTH AFRICA ON MONDAY, DECEMBER 2; WHILE CHANG SAID HE WAS GOING MAINLY TO TRY TO FIGURE OUT WHAT HAD TRIGGERED THE SUDDEN DECISION, HE WILL PUSH PRESUMABLY FOR SOME KIND OF DUAL RECOGNITION AND ALTERNATIVELY WILL TRY TO CUT THE BEST DEAL POSSIBLE WITH THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT.

~~SECRET//NF~~

Print Message(s)

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COMMENT  
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1.4(D)  
B1

JOHNSON

BT

ADMIN

#0171

NNNN

~~SECRET//NF~~

Print Message(s)

B3

~~SECRET//NF~~

**ENVELOPE**

RATCZYUW RUEHSAA0543 0820716-CCCC--RHEFLGX.  
ZNY CCCCC ZOC STATE ZZH  
MSI4158  
RR RUEHC

**HEADER**

RELEASE IN PART  
B1,1.4(D),B3

R  
230716Z MAR 09  
FM AMEMBASSY PRETORIA  
TO RUEHC/SECSTATE WASHDC  
INFO AFRICAN UNION COLLECTIVE  
RUEHUJA/AMEMBASSY ABUJA  
RUEHTN/AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN  
RUEH DU/AMCONSUL DURBAN  
RUEHSA/AMCONSUL JOHANNESBURG  
RHEFDIA/DIA WASHINGTON DC  
RUEAIIA/CIA WASHINGTON DC  
RHEHNSC/NSC WASHDC  
BT

Classification Extended on : 07/14/2017 ~ Class: CONFIDENTIAL  
~ Authority: DSCG 11-1 ~ Declassify on: 03/18/2029

**CONTROLS**

REVIEW AUTHORITY: Sharon Ahmad, Senior  
Reviewer

~~C O N F I D E N T I A L~~

PRETORIA 000543

SIPDIS  
E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/18/2019  
TAGS: KDEM, PGOV, PREL, SF  
\*\*\*\*\* THIS IS A COMBINED MESSAGE \*\*\*\*\*

**BODY**

SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425  
REF: A. PRETORIA 02576  
B. DURBAN 000011  
C. DURBAN 000024  
D. PRETORIA 000451  
E. PRETORIA 000484  
F. 08 PRETORIA 002624  
G. PRETORIA 182  
H. PRETORIA 203  
I. CAPE TOWN 000019

~~SECRET//NF~~

Print Message(s)

B3

~~SECRET//NF~~

J. PRETORIA 000067  
K. CAPE TOWN 000034  
L. DURBAN 000006  
M. 08 PRETORIA 2650  
N. 08 PRETORIA 2576  
O. 08 PRETORIA 2736  
P. 08 PRETORIA 2764

CLASSIFIED BY: POLITICAL COUNSELOR RAYMOND L. BROWN FOR REASONS 1.4 (B)  
AND (D).

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SUMMARY  
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1. (C) THIS CABLE IS PART 1 OF 2 IN RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425 RECEIVED ON MARCH 9. REFEELS REFER TO PARTS 1 AND 2. THE STRUCTURE BELOW FOLLOWS A QUESTION AND ANSWER FORMAT AND INCLUDES REFEELS WHERE APPLICABLE. POST HAS SENT IN NEARLY 100 CABLES SINCE SEPTEMBER 2008 COVERING MANY OF THE QUESTIONS RAISED BELOW SO THIS CABLE IN MANY WAYS SERVES AS AN UPDATE FOR THOSE UNFAMILIAR WITH OUR WIDE BODY OF REPORTING OR WITH THE ONGOING STATE OF PLAY IN THE COUNTRY. POST INTENDS TO SEND IN AN ELECTIONS SCENESETTER IN COMING DAYS TO GIVE INSIGHT INTO THE SITUATION HERE AHEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLL. END SUMMARY.

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WHICH COMPANIES AND INDIVIDUALS ARE FINANCING THE VARIOUS PARTIES AND WHAT DO THEY EXPECT IN RETURN?  
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2. (C) FINANCING REMAINS A KEY COLLECTION GAP FOR ALL OBSERVERS OF SOUTH AFRICAN DYNAMICS. THERE IS NO REQUIREMENT THAT DONORS NOR RECIPIENTS PUBLICLY REPORT CONTRIBUTIONS OR THEIR SOURCE. HOWEVER, THERE ARE ANECDOTAL REPORTS OF HOW THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS (ANC) HAS RECEIVED FUNDING FOR THIS ELECTION. THE ANC FIRST RELIES ON KEY DONORS ALLIED TO THE PARTY, SUCH AS TOKYO SEXWALE AND CYRIL RAMAPHOSA, TO BANKROLL CAMPAIGN EFFORTS. THIS HAS LONG BEEN A PAST PRACTICE OF THE ANC AND APPEARS TO BE CONTINUING IN THIS ELECTION. SECOND, THERE ARE REPORTS THAT COMPANIES THAT HAVE BENEFITED FROM BLACK ECONOMIC EMPOWERMENT DEALS ARE PROVIDING FUNDS TO THE ANC. PRETORIA POLOFF MET NUMEROUS BUSINESSMEN AT THE ANC'S MANIFESTO LAUNCH IN EAST LONDON EARLIER THIS YEAR WHO HAVE CONNECTIONS TO THE ANC AND ATTENDED THE RALLY TO ENSURE THEIR BUSINESS SUPPORT WAS SEEN BY ANC PARTY STALWARTS. ADDITIONALLY, AT THE ANC GALA DINNER THE NIGHT BEFORE THE MANIFESTO LAUNCH, CAPE TOWN POLOFF OBSERVED PATRICE MOTSEPE, EXECUTIVE CHAIRMAN OF AFRICAN RAINBOW MINERALS AND THE WEALTHIEST MAN IN SOUTH AFRICA SITTING AT ONE OF THE HEAD TABLES. ALTHOUGH TWO SAG MINISTERS WERE ALSO SEATED AT THE SAME TABLE AS MOTSEPE, ALL EYES WERE ON THE

~~SECRET//NF~~

Print Message(s)

[Redacted]

B3

~~SECRET/NF~~

SOUTH AFRICAN BUSINESSMAN. MOTSEPE WAS THE FIRST (AND SOMETIMES ONLY) PERSON AT THE TABLE GREETED BY MANY PROMINENT MEMBERS OF THE ANC, SIGNIFYING HIS IMPORTANCE AS AN ANC FINANCIAL BACKER. LASTLY, [Redacted] TOLD POLOFF AND ECONOFF ON MARCH 11 THAT HE HAS HEARD STORIES OF THE ANC CALLING SENIOR AMALGAMATED BANKS OF SOUTH AFRICA (ABSA) EXECUTIVES INTO LUTHULI HOUSE TO ENSURE THE GROUP'S FINANCIAL SUPPORT AHEAD OF THE ELECTION. LARGE COMPANIES LIKE ABSA AND MINING GIANT ANGLO-AMERICAN REPORTEDLY HAVE A POLICY OF DONATING MONEY TO PARTIES, DISTRIBUTING THE FUNDS BASED ON THEIR PERCENTAGE OF REPRESENTATION IN PARLIAMENT.

1.4(D)  
B1

[Redacted] TOLD US DIPLOMATS ON MARCH 12 THAT GROUPS SUCH AS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE (COPE) ARE STRUGGLING FOR QAS THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE (COPE) ARE STRUGGLING FOR FUNDING BECAUSE OF SUCH GUIDELINES. HOWEVER, IN PRESS REPORTS THIS WEEK AND CONFIRMED TO CAPE TOWN POLOFF BY COPE MEMBER [Redacted], SAB MILLER CHANGED THEIR DONATION STRATEGY, WHICH HAD PREVIOUSLY BEEN TO DONATE PROPORTIONALLY BASED ON PARLIAMENT REPRESENTATION, AND DONATED MONEY TO COPE. EVEN WITH THIS DONATION, COPE IS STILL STRUGGLING TO RAISE FUNDS. ONE OF THE CLEARER EXAMPLES OF COPE, S STRUGGLE TO FUND ITS CAMPAIGN IS THE LACK OF POSTERS. HARDING TOLD CAPE TOWN POLOFF THAT NO POSTERS HAVE BEEN PUT \*\*\*\*\* START OF SECTION 2 \*\*\*\*\*

SIPDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/18/2019

TAGS: KDEM, PGOV, PREL, SF

SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425

UP AROUND THE WESTERN CAPE BECAUSE COPE DOES NOT HAVE THE MONEY TO REPLENISH THEM IF THEY ARE TORN DOWN. COPE IS WAITING TO HANG THE POSTERS CLOSER TO THE ELECTION DATE.

3. ~~(C)~~ ALTHOUGH CASH POOR, COPE REPORTEDLY IS RELYING ON FUNDS FROM BUSINESSES CONNECTED TO FORMER GAUTENG PREMIER MBHAZIMA SHILOWA AND FORMER ANC BUSINESSMAN SAKI MACOZOMA.

[Redacted] NOTED THAT EVEN WITH THESE BANKROLLERS FOR THE NEW PARTY, IT WILL NOT BE ENOUGH TO COUNTER THE WEALTH OF RAMAPHOSA AND SEXWALE.

-----  
WHAT ARE THE RESULTS OF THE POLITICAL PARTIES' POLLING EFFORTS?

HOW DO THE MAJOR PARTIES USE POLLING DATA?  
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4. ~~(C)~~ IN THE 15 YEARS SINCE THE END OF APARTHEID, FEW PROFESSIONAL SURVEY RESEARCH AND ELECTION POLLING INSTITUTIONS HAVE EMERGED TO CARRY OUT OPINION AND PREFERENCE POLLS FOR ELECTIONS. AS A RESULT, POLLING IN SOUTH AFRICA REMAINS SPORADIC, COSTLY, AND CONTRADICTIONARY. FIRST, POLLING

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Print Message(s)

[Redacted] B3

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IS SPORADIC, REPRESENTING A SNAPSHOT RATHER THAN A DATA TRIAL OVER TIME. ACCORDING TO UNIVERSITY OF WITSWATERSRAND [Redacted] ANC TREASURER MATTHEWS PHOSA LAST YEAR APPROACHED THE UNIVERSITY TO CONDUCT A PUBLIC POLL AHEAD OF THE APRIL 22 ELECTION. [Redacted] NOTED IN A MEETING WITH POLOFF LAST YEAR THAT AFTER THE UNIVERSITY PUT TOGETHER A PLAN -- INCLUDING SOME SURVEY QUESTIONS -- FOR THE ANCS POLLING EFFORT, HE NEVER HEARD AGAIN FROM PHOSA. [Redacted] SURMISED THAT THE ANC WAS NOT HAPPY WITH THE WAY IN WHICH THE SURVEY QUESTIONS WERE CRAFTED AND WAS CONCERNED THAT THE TIMING WOULD NOT HAVE GIVEN THE PARTY SPACE TO ADDRESS SOME OF THE RESULTS. (SEE REFTTEL A FOR MORE INFORMATION.)

SECOND, POLLING IS COSTLY. TWO OF THE MAJOR POLLING FIRMS IN THE COUNTRY, MARKINOR AND GRANT THORNTON, KNOWN MORE FOR MARKET AND CONSUMER PREFERENCE POLLING, ARE REGULARLY CITED AS TOO COSTLY FOR MOST POLITICAL PARTIES. MOREOVER, PRINCE MASHELE TOLD POLOFF LAST YEAR THE INSTITUTE OF SECURITY STUDIES DISCONTINUED ITS QUARTERLY CRIME SURVEY WITH NEDBANK BECAUSE OF COST OVERRUNS. THE CHEAPEST TYPES OF NON-SPECIALIST POLLING ARE CONDUCTED BY THE MAJOR NEWSPAPERS SUCH AS THE "SUNDAY TIMES" AND "MAIL AND GUARDIAN." HOWEVER, SUCH SURVEYS ARE NOT SCIENTIFIC OR COMPLETE, AS THEY MOSTLY RELY ON CALLING MOBILE PHONES, A METHOD THAT TENDS TO OVER SAMPLE URBAN AND RELATIVELY AFFLUENT POPULATIONS. THIRD, POLLS ARE CONTRADICTORY. DEMOCRATIC ALLIANCE LEADERS TOLD THE DURBAN CG AND VISITING PRETORIA POLOFF EARLIER THIS YEAR THAT IT COMMISSIONED TWO POLLS LAST YEAR THAT GAVE COMPLETELY CONTRADICTORY RESULTS. THE DA OFFICIALS ADMITTED THAT IT WAS HARD TO MAKE DECISIONS BASED ON SUCH DATA, BUT NOTED THAT THERE WERE SOME HELPFUL TRENDLINES. THE PARTY DID NOT SAY WHERE THE RESULTS CAME FROM, BUT DID SHARE THEIR PERSPECTIVES ON COPE BASED ON THE RESULTS. (SEE REFTTEL B FOR MORE INFORMATION.)

1.4(D)  
B1

5. ~~(C)~~ MOST POLITICAL PARTIES APPEAR TO RELY ON UNSCIENTIFIC "POLLS" TO GAUGE POPULAR SUPPORT. ANC SUPPORTERS IN EAST LONDON TOLD POLOFF EARLIER THIS YEAR THAT SEEING THE SIZE OF CAMPAIGN RALLIES IN TOWNSHIPS WAS A GOOD WAY TO UNDERSTAND POPULAR SUPPORT FOR A PARTY. (NOTE: THE SUPPORTERS DID NOT MENTION THAT PARTIES OFTEN BUS SUPPORTERS TO RALLIES TO BOOST THE NUMBERS IN ATTENDANCE. NOR DOES SUCH AN OBSERVATION DISTINGUISH BETWEEN TRULY COMMITTED SUPPORTERS AND THE MERELY CURIOS. END NOTE.) THEY ALSO NOTED THAT THE NUMBER OF POLITICAL PARTY CAMPAIGN POSTERS AND OTHER SIGNS POSTED IN AREAS ACROSS THE COUNTRY WAS A GOOD INDICATION OF WHAT AREAS SUPPORT A POLITICAL PARTY. SOME POLITICAL ANALYSTS OFFER A COROLLARY TO SUCH METHODS, NOTING THAT SEEING SIGNS TORN DOWN IN AN AREA ALSO OFFERS AN INDICATION OF SUPPORT IN AN AREA.

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Print Message(s)

B3

~~SECRET//NF~~

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WHAT ARE THE INDICATIONS THAT POLITICAL PARTIES ARE WORRIED ABOUT INTIMIDATION OR VIOLENCE EITHER AGAINST THEM OR PERPETRATED BY THEIR MEMBERS, AND WHAT ARE THEY WILLING TO DO TO STOP IT? OR IS THERE ANY EVIDENCE THAT THEY ARE ENCOURAGING IT?  
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6. ~~(C)~~ ALL POLITICAL PARTIES ARE CONCERNED ABOUT INTIMIDATION AND VIOLENCE AGAINST THEM AND PERPETRATED BY THEIR MEMBERS. THE MOST RECENT EXAMPLE OF THIS CONCERN IS THE SIGNING OF A "CODE OF CONDUCT" AT THE "CODE OF CONDUCT" CEREMONY HOSTED BY THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION ON \*\*\*\*\* START OF SECTION 3 \*\*\*\*\*

SIPDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/18/2019

TAGS: KDEM, PGOV, PREL, SF

SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425

MARCH 11. AT THE CEREMONY, EVERY POLITICAL PARTY COMPETING IN THE ELECTION PUBLICLY SIGNED THEIR PLEDGE AGAINST FOMENTING ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE. POLITICAL PARTIES SUCH AS THE INKATHA FREEDOM PARTY (IFP), COPE, AND THE ANC ALL PLEDGED TO RUN PEACEFUL CAMPAIGNS AND PUNISH THOSE SUPPORTERS WHO PERPETRATE HATE AGAINST OPPONENTS. THERE HAVE BEEN ISOLATED INCIDENTS OF ELECTION-RELATED VIOLENCE IN KWAZULU NATAL, EASTERN CAPE, AND FREE STATE, BUT SO FAR THE ANGRY RHETORIC BETWEEN LEADERS IN IFP AND ANC HAS BEEN THE MOST WORRYING TREND. EVEN AS NATIONAL LEADERS SAY THAT COOPERATION BETWEEN PARTIES IS SOLID, THERE HAVE BEEN ACCUSATIONS AND ANGER DIRECTED AT SENIOR LEADERS. UNITED DEMOCRATIC MOVEMENT (UDM) PRESIDENT BANTU HOLOMISA TOLD THE DIPLOMATIC CORPS LAST MONTH THAT HE WAS NOT CONCERNED ABOUT VIOLENCE, BUT WAS CONCERNED ABOUT INTIMIDATION AT RALLIES AND MEETINGS. [ ] HAS ECHOED THOSE CONCERNS, SAYING THAT COPE RALLIES ARE ROUTINELY DISTURBED BY THE ANC AND THAT SUCH BEHAVIOR IS MORE DAMAGING THAN VIOLENCE IN THE RUN-UP TO THE ELECTION. (SEE REFTELS C AND D FOR MORE INFORMATION.)

1.4(D)  
B1

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WHAT ARE THE INDICATIONS THAT ELECTION WORKERS IN THE FIELD ARE RECEIVING CLEAR CAMPAIGN MESSAGES FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE HEADQUARTERS? DO THE NATIONAL/PROVINCIAL LEADERS THINK THEIR MESSAGES ARE GETTING THROUGH TO THE GRASSROOTS CADRES?  
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7. ~~(C)~~ POST ASSESSES THAT ELECTION WORKERS IN THE FIELD ARE RECEIVING CLEAR CAMPAIGN MESSAGES FROM THEIR RESPECTIVE HEADQUARTERS, WITH THE EXCEPTION OF COPE. COPE SEEMS TO BE STRUGGLING TO BUILD LOCAL BRANCHES AND TO MAINTAIN SUPPORT GIVEN ITS LEADERSHIP STRUGGLES. (SEE REFTEL D FOR MORE

~~SECRET//NF~~



Print Message(s)

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INFORMATION.) POST JUDGES THAT NATIONAL AND PROVINCIAL LEADERS IN SOME PARTIES, SUCH AS THE ANC AND COPE, ARE LESS CONCERNED WITH GETTING THROUGH TO THE GRASSROOTS SUPPORTERS THAN WITH LOCKING UP POWERBASES IN CRITICAL CONSTITUENCIES, SUCH AS MIDDLE-CLASS UNIVERSITY GRADUATES OR SENIOR LEVELS OF THEIR PARTIES. IN A MEETING WITH CG DURBAN, THE DA NOTED THAT IT HAS BEEN BUSY REACHING OUT TO CONSTITUENTS ACROSS THE COUNTRY TO WAYS OF ADDRESSING THEIR CONCERNS. (SEE REFTTEL B FOR MORE INFORMATION.)

-----  
 IS THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION (IEC) CARRYING OUT A GOOD-FAITH EFFORT TO REGISTER ALL ELIGIBLE VOTERS AND WORKING TO CORRECT POTENTIAL INVALID ENTRIES IN THE VOTER REGISTER?

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 8. ~~(C)~~ THE INDEPENDENT ELECTORAL COMMISSION (IEC) IS CARRYING FORWARD A GOOD-FAITH EFFORT TO REGISTER ALL ELIGIBLE VOTERS, HOLDING SEVERAL VOTER REGISTRATION WEEKENDS AND ENCOURAGING NEW VOTERS TO REGISTER VIA SMS, INTERNET, AND TELEVISION CAMPAIGNS. FROM ALL INDICATIONS, THE IEC IS READY FOR THIS ELECTION AND HAS TAKEN STEPS TO ENSURE THAT THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CAN DEEM THE POLL FREE AND FAIR. THE MARCH 12 RULING THAT WILL ALLOW REGISTERED SOUTH AFRICANS LIVING OVERSEAS TO VOTE IS ANOTHER EXAMPLE OF THE IEC MAKING A GOOD FAITH EFFORT TO INCLUDE ALL SOUTH AFRICANS IN THIS POLL. (SEE REFTTEL E FOR MORE INFORMATION.)

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 IS THE IEC ABLE TO ACT IMPARTIALLY AND INDEPENDENTLY? CAN IT CARRY OUT ITS TASKS WITHOUT GOVERNMENT PRESSURE TO FAVOR ANC CANDIDATES? DOES IT HAVE ADEQUATE FUNDING FROM THE GOVERNMENT?  
 QFROM THE GOVERNMENT?

-----  
 9. ~~(C)~~ THE IEC OPERATES AUTONOMOUSLY FROM THE GOVERNMENT AND THE RULING PARTY. IT HAS A BUDGET DRIVEN BY ITS OWN INTERNAL ESTIMATES WHICH IS FUNDED BY THE TREASURY WITHOUT REFERENCE TO THE PRESIDENT, PARLIAMENT, OR ANY OTHER AGENCY. IT MAINTAINS A HEADQUARTERS STAFF AS WELL AS PROVINCIAL OFFICES THAT ANSWER TO THE IEC LEADERSHIP. THE IEC HAS CARRIED OUT PREPARATIONS IN AN EFFICIENT AND TRANSPARENT MANNER THAT HAS GARNERED MORE REGISTERED VOTERS THAN EVER BEFORE. THE IEC IS WELL-FUNDED AND RUNS INDEPENDENTLY OF THE GOVERNMENT. THE IEC HAS SAID AT PREVIOUS MEETINGS WITH US DIPLOMATS THAT IT HAS ENOUGH FUNDS TO OPERATE SUCCESSFULLY WITHOUT MONEY FROM THE DONOR COMMUNITY. THE IEC IN ALL ELECTIONS SINCE 1994 HAS A SOLID TRACK RECORD OF ACTING IMPARTIALLY AND INDEPENDENTLY; THIS ELECTION LOOKS TO BE NO DIFFERENT. (SEE SEPTTEL FOR MORE

~~SECRET//NF~~

Print Message(s)

B3

~~SECRET//NF~~

INFORMATION.)

\*\*\*\*\* START OF SECTION 4 \*\*\*\*\*

SIPDIS

E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/18/2019

TAGS: KDEM, PGOV, PREL, SF

SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE  
SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425

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IS THE GOVERNMENT OR ANC TRYING TO COVERTLY INFLUENCE PRIVATE MEDIA, SUCH AS BY PAYING REPORTERS TO RUN STORIES FAVORABLE TO THE ANC OR INTIMIDATING REPORTERS WHO RUN UNFAVORABLE STORIES?

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10. ~~(C)~~ THE GOVERNMENT DOES TRY TO INFLUENCE PRIVATE MEDIA, BUT GENERALLY NOT BY COVERT MEANS. MUCH OF WHAT THE ANC TRIES TO DO TO PUSH FORWARD ITS MESSAGE TAKES PLACE OPENLY ACROSS THE COUNTRY. THE ANC RUNS AN EFFECTIVE COMMUNICATIONS PROGRAM HEADED BY JESSE DUARTE, WHO IS VERY GOOD AT ADDRESSING MESSAGES AND STORIES WHILE ALSO ANSWERING QUESTIONS AND STAYING ON POINT. THE ANC TRIES TO INFLUENCE (RATHER THAN INTIMIDATE) WHAT IS WRITTEN IN THE MAINSTREAM PRESS, WITH LESS SUCCESS AS MANY NEWSPAPERS ARE DIVIDED INTO CAMPS EITHER SYMPATHETIC TO CURRENT GOVERNMENT INTERESTS OR TO THE INTERESTS OF FORMER PRESIDENT THABO MBEKI AND THE BUSINESS COMMUNITY. ANC LEADERS DO A GOOD JOB OF PENNING EDITORIALS THAT ADDRESS WHAT IS IN THE NEWS AND DRAW ATTENTION FROM READERS. THE ANC SPECIFICALLY TRIES TO INFLUENCE STORIES ON THE SOUTH AFRICAN BROADCASTING CORPORATION'S TELEVISION AND RADIO PROGRAMS. THE EMBASSY'S PUBLIC AFFAIRS PRESS ATTACHE SAYS THAT SABC IS NOT ENTIRELY SLANTED DESPITE SOME CLAIMS TO THE CONTRARY. HOWEVER, THE ATTACHE NOTES THAT POLITICAL INFIGHTING REMAINS AND WILL NOT BE GOING AWAY ANYTIME SOON. AN IMPORTANT POINT TO KEEP IN MIND WHEN ASSESSING THE ANC'S RELATIONSHIP WITH THE MEDIA IS THAT THE PARTY SEES TWO AUDIENCES: 1) ITS POPULAR CONSTITUENCY AND 2) THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY AND THE CHATTERING CLASSES. THE PARTY, FOR THE MOST PART, DOES AN EFFECTIVE JOB AT BALANCING BOTH AUDIENCES.

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WHAT ARE THE INDICATIONS THAT SOME POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE ENTERED OR PLAN TO ENTER INTO POLITICAL COALITIONS FOLLOWING THE ELECTION?

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11. ~~(C)~~ LOCAL ANALYSTS AND ACTIVISTS BELIEVE THAT THE ANC'S MAJORITY IN PARLIAMENT WILL SUFFER EROSION IN THIS ELECTION. THIS CARRIES THE PROSPECT THAT STRATEGIC COALITIONS AMONG OPPOSITION PARTIES MAY BE ABLE TO BLOCK OR AMEND ANC

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LEGISLATION INITIATIVES FOR THE FIRST TIME SINCE 1994. REPRESENTATIVES FROM EVERY MAJOR POLITICAL PARTY HAVE TOLD POLOFF THAT THEY HAVE NO PLANS TO FORM COALITIONS UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION. CURRENTLY, THE MOST LIKELY COALITIONS INCLUDE PARTNERSHIPS IN STRATEGIC SITUATIONS INVOLVING COPE, THE DA, THE UDM, AND THE INDEPENDENT DEMOCRATS (ID). COPE LEADERS HAVE SAID REPEATEDLY THAT THE PARTY HAS NO PLANS TO FORM ALLIANCES UNTIL AFTER THE ELECTION. [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] TOLD POLOFF THIS MONTH THAT COPE WOULD BE WORKING WITH THE UDM AFTER THE ELQON ON A POSSIBLE COALITION, BUT WOULD BE UNLIKELY TO WORK WITH DA LEADER HELEN ZILLE. HE SAID, "WE HAVE NO IDEA WHAT SHE IS DOING." HE SAID THAT THE PARTY IS FOCUSED ON WINNING EASTERN CAPE AND LIMPOPO, BUT MAY NOT PERFORM AS STRONGLY IN OTHER PROVINCES. HE NOTED, "IF WE HAD MONEY WE COULD COMPETE WITH ANYONE, BUT FUNDING HAS NOT COME FAST ENOUGH." HE SAID THAT THE PARTY WOULD DO EVERYTHING TO FORM COALITIONS TO KEEP A CHECK ON THE ANC. FURTHERMORE, COPE'S PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE, REVEREND DANDALA, SAID AT A CAPE TOWN PRESS CLUB LUNCH ON MARCH 19, THAT COPE WOULD NOT FORM A COALITION WITH THE ANC. (FOR QTHAT COPE WOULD NOT FORM A COALITION WITH THE ANC. (FOR REASONS WHY AN ALLIANCE BETWEEN COPE AND THE ANC MAY BE UNLIKELY SEE REFTEL F.) THE UDM, FOR ITS PART, HAS SAID IT WOULD BE OPEN TO WORKING WITH COPE. HOLOMISA MET WITH POLOFF IN FEBRUARY AND SAID THAT THE PARTY WOULD CONSIDER FORMING COALITIONS AFTER THE ELECTION RESULTS ARE ANNOUNCED "IF FORMING AN ALLIANCE MAKES SENSE." ACCORDING TO THE UDM LEADERSHIP, IT MAKES MOST SENSE FOR THE PARTY TO SEEK A PARTNERSHIP WITH COPE. HOWEVER, PRESENTLY THERE HAVE NOT BEEN TALKS ABOUT SUCH A RELATIONSHIP.

12. (C) MEANWHILE, THE DA HAS SAID THAT IT IS THE "TRUSTED HAND" IN COALITIONS AND WOULD BE OPEN TO WORKING WITH OTHER PARTIES. (SEE REFTEL B FOR MORE INFORMATION.) THE DA'S LEADERSHIP OF THE COALITION MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN CAPE TOWN HAS PROVEN EFFECTIVE AT ADDRESSING THE PUBLIC'S NEEDS AND STAVING OFF ANC EFFORTS TO RESTABILIZE OR REPLACE THEM. THE PARTY HAS CRITICIZED COPE AND THE ID FOR WORKING TOO CLOSELY WITH THE ANC. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TOLD CAPE TOWN POLOFF THE DA IS HAPPY TO WORK WITH COPE IN A COALITION, BUT WOULD NOT ALIGN THEMSELVES WITH THE \*\*\*\*\* START OF SECTION 5 \*\*\*\*\*

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E.O. 12958: DECL: 03/18/2019

TAGS: KDEM, PGOV, PREL, SF

SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425

ANC, "BECAUSE THE WHOLE PURPOSE OF FORMING A COALITION IS TO INCREASE DEMOCRACY BY DECREASING THE ANC'S POWER." [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] TOLD POLOFF ON MARCH 11 THAT HE CAN SEE ID LEADER PATRICIA DE LILLE SELLING HER PARTY OUT TO THE ANC AFTER THE POLLS. HE THOUGHT SOME IN COPE MIGHT PUSH FOR A COALITION WITH THE ANC, BUT FOR MANY THAT WOULD "PROVE TOO DIFFICULT AND WOULD RAISE THE QUESTION OF WHY THEY DEFECTED IN THE FIRST PLACE."

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WHAT ARE THE INDICATIONS THAT POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE DEVELOPED TAILORED CAMPAIGNS TO WIN VOTES AMONG SOUTH AFRICA'S MAJOR CONSTITUENCIES (SUCH AS TRADE UNIONISTS, RURAL POOR, URBAN POOR, BLACK MIDDLE CLASS, OR VARIOUS ETHNIC GROUPS?)

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13. ~~CT~~ ALL POLITICAL PARTIES TO SOME EXTENT HAVE TAILORED THEIR MESSAGES TO KEY CONSTITUENCIES, UNDERSCORING THE LIMITS OF BROADBASED POLITICAL ACTIVITY IN THE COUNTRY. THE ANC IS CAMPAIGNING HEAVILY IN URBAN TOWNSHIPS AND PREDOMINATELY BLACK SUBURBS OF THE COUNTRY WHILE LIMITING THEIR CAMPAIGNING IN WHITE AREAS OR COLORED AREAS. THE ONE EXCEPTION TO THIS APPEARS IN WESTERN CAPE, WHERE THE ANC IS MOST VULNERABLE AND HAS OPTED TO CAMPAIGN IN MANY WHITE SUBURBS WITH POSTERS IN AFRIKAANS. THE ANC'S CAMPAIGN EFFORTS SUGGEST THAT THE PARTY IS PRIMARILY TARGETING ITS CORE SUPPORTERS OF BLACK, URBAN, AND POOR VOTERS. MEANWHILE, COPE IS CAMPAIGNING HEAVILY IN AREAS WITH TRADITIONAL LEADERS, AT CHURCHES, AND IN SUBURBS ACROSS THE COUNTRY. (NOTE: COPE HAS HAD MIXED SUCCESS CAMPAIGNING IN URBAN TOWNSHIPS OUTSIDE WESTERN CAPE, SUGGESTING THAT IT IS EASIER FOR THE PARTY TO CAMPAIGN AMONG MIDDLE CLASS VOTERS. END NOTE.) COPE'S STRATEGY SUGGESTS THE PARTY IS LOOKING FOR SUPPORT AMONG TRADITIONAL LEADERS AND AMONG MIDDLE CLASS VOTERS. THE DA IS CAMPAIGNING IN ITS STRONGHOLDS IN WESTERN CAPE AND IN MAJOR URBAN AREAS, FOCUSING ON COLORED, INDIAN, AND NEW VOTERS AS WELL AS PROGRESSIVE WHITES. HOWEVER, ITS CAMPAIGN DEMONSTRATES THE DIFFICULTY THE PARTY IS HAVING TO ACHIEVE ITS ULTIMATE STRATEGY OF ATTRACTING BLACK VOTERS TO REVERSE THE POPULAR PERCEPTION THAT IT DOES NOT APPEAL TO BLACKS. SEE REFTEL B FOR MORE INFORMATION. THE FREEDOM FRONT PLUS (FF ) IS CAMPAIGNING HEAVILY IN AFRIKAANS-SPEAKING SUBURBS ACROSS THE COUNTRY AND SEEMINGLY HAS WRITTEN OFF TRYING TO WIN SUPPORT AMONG BLACK OR COLORED VOTERS IN SOME MAJOR AREAS. POLITICAL SCIENTIST [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] TOLD POLOFF AND ECONOFF ON MARCH 11 THAT ALL POLITICAL PARTIES ARE IGNORING THE RURAL VOTER. THE ANC EXPECTS POOR RURAL BLACKS TO VOTE FOR THE ANC EVEN WITHOUT TARGETED APPEALS FOR THEIR SUPPORT.

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WHAT ARE THE COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES OF THE VARIOUS

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POLITICAL PARTIES?

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14. ~~(C)~~ THE PARTIES COMMUNICATE VIA WEBSITES, COMMUNITY RADIO, TEXT MESSAGES, POLITICAL RALLIES, AND -- FOR THE FIRST TIME EVER -- THROUGH TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS. ALL MAJOR POLITICAL PARTIES HAVE HIGHLY DEVELOPED WEBSITES WHERE INFORMATION IS READILY AVAILABLE AND WHERE PARTY MEMBERS CAN DONATE MONEY. PARTIES, ESPECIALLY COPE, HAVE EMBRACED SOCIAL-NETWORKING SITES SUCH AS FACEBOOK.COM. AS OF MID-MARCH, COPE HAD ROUGHLY 20,000 FACEBOOK MEMBERS. ALL OF COPE'S LEADERSHIP ARE REGISTERED ON FACEBOOK.COM AND QCOPE'S LEADERSHIP ARE REGISTERED ON FACEBOOK.COM AND REGULARLY RESPOND TO QUESTIONS VIA THE SITE. PARTIES SHARE NEWS AND INFORMATION THROUGH SMS MESSAGES AND CAN ACCEPT PARTY CONTRIBUTIONS THROUGH TEXT MESSAGES. PARTIES USE POLITICAL RALLIES TO SPREAD THEIR CAMPAIGN MESSAGES, WHICH WAS CLEAR WHEN PARTIES LAUNCHED THEIR MANIFESTOS EARLIER THIS YEAR. (SEE REFTELS G-J FOR MORE INFORMATION.) (NOTE: PARTIES ALSO USE RALLY SIZE TO INDICATE CAMPAIGN SUCCESS. END NOTE.) PARTIES ARE NOW COMMUNICATING VIA TELEVISION ADVERTISEMENTS. THIS IS THE FIRST ELECTION WHERE SUCH CAMPAIGNING IS ALLOWED AND THE ANC WAS THE FIRST PARTY TO SHOW A CAMPAIGN ADVERTISEMENT ON TELEVISION; COPE, THE DA, AND THE IFP INTEND TO FOLLOW COURSE ON SUCH ADVERTISING. LESS EDUCATED AND POOR BLACK RURAL VOTERS DO NOT OFTEN HAVE TELEVISIONS OR READ THE NEWSPAPERS, SO LOCAL COMMUNITY RADIO HAS BECOME THE BEST OPTION FOR REACHING THEM WITH PARTY CAMPAIGN APPEALS.

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~~(C)~~ WHAT ARE THE INDICATIONS THAT THE ANC LEADERSHIP

\*\*\*\*\* START OF SECTION 6 \*\*\*\*\*

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TAGS: KDEM, PGOV, PREL, SF

SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425

VIEWS JACOB ZUMA'S CONTINUING LEGAL SITUATION AS A PROBLEM?

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15. ~~(C)~~ THE ANC ON MARCH 17 BECAME A PARTY IN THE LEGAL CASE AGAINST JACOB ZUMA. (SEE REFTEL K FOR MORE INFORMATION.) THE PARTY SINCE POLOKWANE IN DECEMBER 2007 HAS FULLY SUPPORTED ZUMA AS ITS LEADER AND HAS NOT WAVERED IN ITS SUPPORT; THIS IS CLEAR IN NEARLY EVERY PARTY STATEMENT AND AT NEARLY EVERY PARTY EVENT. PARTY LEADERS INSIST THAT UNDER PARTY RULES RATIFIED IN POLOKWANE, THE ANC'S PRESIDENT WILL INDEED BE THEIR CANDIDATE FOR THE NATIONAL PRESIDENCY. THE PARTY IS SELECTIVE IN SHOWING PUBLIC SUPPORT FOR ZUMA AND SEEMS TO RELY ON APPEARING AT COURT APPEARANCES WHERE THE ANC

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LEADER IS EXPECTED TO WIN. YET, THE PARTY VOCIFEROUSLY DEFENDS ZUMA'S RIGHT TO BECOME THE NEXT STATE LEADER AND DECRIES THOSE WHO ARGUE THE EXISTENCE OF CORRUPTION CHARGES SHOULD PRECLUDE HIM FROM THE PRESIDENCY. ALTHOUGH CLAIMS OF ZUMA'S INNOCENCE ARE MUTED, THERE REMAIN STRONG ALLEGATIONS THAT HE IS BEING POLITICALLY PERSECUTED AS OTHER PEOPLE HAVE ENGAGED IN ACTS MORE OBJECTIONABLE THAN HE HAS. REMINDING ALL LISTENERS THAT ZUMA IS INNOCENT UNTIL PROVEN GUILTY, THE ANC INSISTS ON HIS RIGHT TO LEAD SOUTH AFRICA AS HE HAS YET TO BE CONVICTED OF ANYTHING. (SEE REFTTEL L FOR MORE INFORMATION.) THERE ARE REPORTS THAT SOME SENIOR LEADERS ARE CONCERNED THAT ZUMA'S LEGAL TROUBLES COULD CAST A CLOUD OVER THE PARTY'S AGENDA, BUT SOME STILL VIEW IT AS AN OPPORTUNITY FOR SELF-ADVANCEMENT RATHER THAN MERELY A NEGATIVE FOR THE PARTY. ACCORDING TO AN ANC INSIDER, MANY IN THE ANC BELIEVE NELSON MANDELA'S RECENT APPEARANCE AT AN ANC RALLY IN THE EASTERN CAPE WAS DONE AS A TRADE OFF BETWEEN HIM AND ZUMA. IT IS SPECULATED THAT MANDELA AGREED TO APPEAR AT THE RALLY ON THE CONDITION THAT ZUMA STEPS DOWN AS THE ANC PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE IF HIS LEGAL TROUBLES CONTINUE TO ESCALATE. ANC SECRETARY GENERAL GWEDE MANTASHE TOLD REPORTERS ON MARCH 17 THAT ZUMA WOULD STAND DOWN IF HE LOSES HIS COURT CASE THIS YEAR AND IS CONVICTED OF MONEY LAUNDERING, RACKETEERING, CORRUPTION, AND FRAUD CHARGES. THE ANC'S LEGAL ADVISER, IN A MEETING EARLIER THIS YEAR WITH VISITING PRETORIA POLOFF AND CAPE TOWN ECONOFF, HIT STRONGLY ON THE POINT THAT THE TIME IT HAS TAKEN TO BRING ZUMA TO TRIAL HAS UNFAIRLY PREJUDICED POTENTIAL JUDGES AGAINST HIM, A POINT EMPHASIZED BY MANY WITHIN THE RULING PARTY EVEN AS SOME ADMITTED PRIVATELY THAT THE COURSE OF JUSTICE SHOULD BE FOLLOWED.

~~(C)~~ IS THE NATIONAL ANC LEADERSHIP DIRECTING ELECTION-RELATED CORRUPTION, SUCH AS FOOD FOR VOTES SCHEMES? IF SO, DOES THE ANC USE STATE RESOURCES FOR SUCH SCHEMES, AS OPPOSED TO PARTY FUNDS?

16. ~~(C)~~ THERE ARE CREDIBLE REPORTS THAT THE ANC, ON THE LOCAL LEVEL, HAS USED PARTY RESOURCES TO PROVIDE GRANTS AND FOOD FOR HARD-PRESSED VOTERS. YET, POST HAS SEEN NO INDICATION OF THE ANC LEADERSHIP USING PUBLIC FUNDS TO DIRECT ELECTION-RELATED BENEFITS SUCH AS FOOD-FOR-VOTES SCHEMES. THERE ARE ANECDOTAL REPORTS THAT THE ANC IS FOCUSING ON AREAS IT HAS IGNORED DURING THE PAST FIVE YEARS TO BOOST ITS VOTES IN CERTAIN AREAS, BUT THERE IS NO EVIDENCE THAT THE PARTY IS USING STATE RESOURCES FOR ELECTION-RELATED CORRUPTION. THE ANC, HOWEVER, IS USING STATE RESOURCES FOR ITS CAMPAIGN. THE QANC, HOWEVER, IS USING STATE RESOURCES FOR ITS CAMPAIGN. THE PARTY USED A NATIONAL HELICOPTER TO CARRY PRESIDENT KGALEMA

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MOTLANTHE INTO EAST LONDON FOR THE ANC'S PARTY MANIFESTO LAUNCH. MOREOVER, THE PRESS HAS BEEN FEATURING NUMEROUS STORIES ABOUT THE COST OF ZUMA'S BODYGUARDS, WHICH REPORTEDLY RUNS INTO THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS. ZUMA HAS 24-HOUR PROTECTION DESPITE THE FACT THAT HE IS A PARTY CANDIDATE -- NOT A GOVERNMENT OFFICIAL. THE ANC HAS JUSTIFIED THE USE OF BODYGUARDS BY CLAIMING THAT AS A FORMER DEPUTY PRESIDENT HE IS ENTITLED TO PROTECTION. (SEE REFTEL J FOR MORE INFORMATION.)

~~(C)~~ WHAT IS BALEKA MBETE'S BACKGROUND? WHAT IS MBETE'S AGENDA AND WHO ARE HER BIGGEST SUPPORTERS IN THE ANC?

17. ~~(C)~~ DEPUTY PRESIDENT BALEKA MBETE IS A LONGSTANDING MEMBER OF THE ANC, HAVING SERVED ON THE ANC'S NATIONAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE SINCE 1991. SHE HAS BEEN A MEMBER OF PARLIAMENT SINCE 1994 AND SERVED ON THE TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION DURING THE 1990S. SHE WAS DEPUTY SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT FROM 1996 TO 2004 BEFORE BECOMING THE SPEAKER OF PARLIAMENT. AS A FORMER SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE \*\*\*\*\* START OF SECTION 7 \*\*\*\*\*

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SUBJECT: PART 1 OF 2: QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS AHEAD OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN ELECTION: RESPONSE TO C-AL9-00425  
ANC'S WOMEN'S LEAGUE SHE BRINGS STRONG SUPPORT FROM THE ORGANIZATION TO BOTH THE DEPUTY PRESIDENCY AND TO HER POSITION AS NATIONAL CHAIRPERSON OF THE ANC. MANY PUNDITS AND POLITICAL ANALYSTS, INCLUDING COLUMNIST PATRICK LAURENCE, WERE SHOCKED WHEN ZUMA WON SUPPORT FROM THE WOMEN'S LEAGUE AT POLOKWANE IN 2007, BUT COMMENTATORS SAY ANC OFFICIALS SUCH AS MBETE PLAYED A KEY ROLE IN ZUMAS ASCENSION TO THE PARTY PRESIDENCY.

18. ~~(C)~~ HER BIGGEST SUPPORTERS IN THE ANC INCLUDE BOTH ZUMA AND MOTLANTHE, WHO REPORTEDLY VIEW HER AS A COMPROMISE CANDIDATE IN BROADER ANC POWER STRUGGLES AND SEE HER AS A WAY TO CARRY FORWARD THE MANDATE OF GENDER BALANCE WITHIN THE RULING PARTY. IF NOTHING CHANGES TO THE ANC'S FINAL LIST SUBMITTED TO THE IEC, MBETE WOULD NO LONGER BE DEPUTY PRESIDENT AFTER THE ELECTION.

~~(C)~~ WHO IN THE ANC IS CONSIDERING TRANSFERRING LOYALTIES TO THE CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE (COPE)?

19. ~~(C)~~ THERE IS ENDLESS SPECULATION THAT MBEKI WILL JOIN COPE AND THERE ARE REPORTS THAT HE IS ASSISTING THE PARTY IN POLICY FORMATION. (SEE REPTELS C AND L FOR MORE

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INFORMATION.) HOWEVER, SO FAR THERE IS LITTLE CONCRETE EVIDENCE THAT MBEKI WILL MAKE HIS SUPPORT PUBLIC EITHER NOW OR IN THE FUTURE. MOREOVER, THERE IS THE QUESTION OF WHETHER MBEKI'S COMING OUT IN FAVOR OF COPE WOULD PROVIDE THE PARTY WITH A BIG BOOST AHEAD OF THE ELECTION. MANY POLITICAL ANALYSTS AND PUNDITS SUCH AS UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH AFRICA PROFESSOR [REDACTED] AND WITSWATERSRAND UNIVERSITY PROFESSOR [REDACTED] HAVE TOLD POLOFF IN RECENT MONTHS THAT MBEKI SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY COULD BACKFIRE AS MANY SEE HIM AS HAVING FAILED IN SOME AREAS OF GOVERNANCE DURING THE PAST TEN YEARS. THERE IS SPECULATION THAT FRANK CHIKANE, SYDNEY MUFAMADI, AND MOTLANTHE COULD DEFECT EITHER BEFORE OR AFTER THE ELECTION. CLEARLY, SINCE MBEKI'S FORCED RESIGNATION IN SEPTEMBER 2008, A MAJOR IMPETUS FOR THE FORMATION OF COPE IS FOUND IN THE ALIENATION OF FORMER ANC MEMBERS WHO WERE MBEKI SUPPORTERS WHO FEEL LIKE ZUMA SUPPORTERS IN THE ANC FORCED THEM OUT.  
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